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# THE OSTRACISM OF THE ELDER ALKIBIADES

(PLATE 1)

## I. THE OSTRAKA

NINE ostraka have been discovered bearing the name Alkibiades. Eight of the potsherds come from the Agora Excavations, the ninth from the North Slope of the Acropolis. Since we know from ancient authors that an elder Alkibiades was actually ostracized and that a younger, the famous statesman and general, was a "candidate" in the year when Hyperbolos was banished,<sup>1</sup> the first thing to be decided in the case of each ostrakon is which of the two persons is meant. Name, patronymic and demotic are the same for both men, so other criteria must be sought. The shapes of the letters, particularly *lambda* and *sigma*, and the use of E or H in the last syllable offer the readiest means of distinction, and when the Attic forms are used the ostrakon may with some confidence be assigned to the elder Alkibiades, whereas when Ionic forms appear it is more likely that the younger Alkibiades is meant. The circumstances of finding and the type of pottery used for the ostrakon may sometimes offer additional criteria. Using these data six of the ostraka have been assigned to the elder Alkibiades and three to the younger.

### 1-6 OSTRAKA OF ALKIBIADES THE ELDER

1. Inv. No. P 18537. Diam. of foot, est. 0.065 m. Max. dim. 0.049 m. Plate 1 and Fig. 1.

Found in a deposit of the second quarter of

the fifth century B. C. containing pottery which runs down to, but hardly beyond, the middle of the century. From the same deposit come three ostraka of Kimon and one of Themistokles.



Fig. 1. Nos. 1 and 2. Profiles of kylix feet used as ostraka of Alkibiades the Elder.

<sup>1</sup> 417 B. C. is the date usually given for this ostracism: see J. Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*<sup>2</sup>, 1935, pp. 191 ff., and W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, *Inscripten, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, pp. 101 ff. 415 B. C. has recently been proposed by A. E. Raubitschek, *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 191-210; see also A. G. Woodhead, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 78-83.



This deposit was in the southern part of the large poros building in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs.<sup>2</sup>

The ostrakon is a fragment from the foot of a black-glazed kylix of a type which flourished in the second quarter of the fifth century B. C. and which is not found earlier.<sup>3</sup> The outer face of the foot is slightly set back near the top, the upper half being reserved, the lower half glazed. The resting surface is reserved. The under side is glazed as far up as preserved. There is no line or off-set on the upper side, which is entirely glazed. For the profile see Fig. 1.

Incised on the upper surface:

[A]λκιβ[ιάδες][K]λινό.

Note the Ionic *lambdas*, on which see below. On the use of *iota* for *epsilon iota* in the first syllable of the patronymic, see Miss Milne's recent discussion of the inscriptions on the Taleides amphora; *Bull. Met. Mus.*, V, 1946-7, pp. 226-7.

2. Inv. No. A-O 194. Diam. of foot 0.06 m.  
Plate 1 and Fig. 1.

Found in a mixed fill on the North Slope of the Acropolis in excavations under the supervision of Oscar Broneer.

Fragment of a kylix foot of the same type as the last, hence not earlier than the second quarter of the fifth century B. C. The thoroughly archaic letter forms, even including punctuation, would be quite out of place in 415 B. C. and in fact at any time much after the middle of the century. We may therefore date the ostrakon on internal evidence alone somewhere in the years 475-440 B. C.

Published by Carl Roebuck, *Hesperia*, IX,

1940, pp. 247-8, No. 296, fig. 51. A profile is given here, Fig. 1.

3. Inv. No. P 6794. Max. dim. 0.06 m.;  
diam. est. 0.09 m. Plate 1.

Found in a deposit of the Hellenistic period on Kolonos Agoraios, some fifty meters south of the Temple of Hephaistos.

Fragment of the knob from the lid of a large vase, probably a lekanis. The upper surface is glazed except for the deep central depression and the rim. The outer face has a band of glaze at the top and is reserved and reddened below. The profile and fabric would suit a date in the first half of the fifth century B. C. The inscription is incised through the glaze on the upper surface: [A]λκιβι[άδες K]λινό | Σκαμβ]ο<ν>ί<δ> ε[s].

The restoration of the demotic in the second line is not certain, but seems probable. This line may have been written by a different hand, for the style shows less assurance and two of the letters, if we have interpreted them correctly, are badly misshapen; but the effect might also be due to crowding on the shorter inner curve.

4. Inv. No. P 7134. Max. dim. 0.036 m.  
Plate 1.

Found between the Metroon and the Temple of Apollo Patroos in a thin layer of the first half of the fifth century B. C. which also contained a few later fragments of Hellenistic times.

Fragment from the wall of a closed pot with glaze wash outside and dull black glaze inside. Incised outside: [A]λκιβ[ιάδες][K]λινό[o].

5. Inv. No. P 20562. Max. dim. 0.084 m.  
Plate 1.

Found in a deposit of the fourth century B. C.

<sup>2</sup> On this building see *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 168 ff., especially pp. 178-9. One of the Kimon ostraka is published, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 194, pl. 69, 5.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen*, pp. 139-141, pl. 38; "Wiener Schalen": *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 336-339, fig. 4, P 5116 and P 5126; it is definitely not like the early form of this foot as illustrated by the Agora white-ground cup, *ibid.* fig. 5, and *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 229, fig. 6, datable to around or soon after 480 B. C.



near the northern end of the Stoa of Attalos.

Fragment from the wall of a large amphora with thin brown wash on the outside, unglazed inside. Incised outside: 'Αλ[κ]ιβιά[δ]ες | Κλινί[ο].

6. Inv. No. P 10720. Max. dim. 0.066 m.  
Plate 1.

Found near the Tholos, in a deposit containing much fifth century B. C. pottery but also

some fragments as late as the second century B. C.

Fragment from the wall of a large, unglazed amphora. Incised outside: ['Αλκ]ιβιάδ[ε]ς | [Κλ]ινί[ο].

Published *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 361-2 and fig. 50 on p. 359; cf. also *A. J. A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 13 and p. 15, fig. 20; and *B. C. H.*, LXI, 1937, p. 448, fig. 11.

### 7-9 OSTRAKA OF ALKIBIADES THE YOUNGER

7. Inv. No. P 7310. Max. dim. 0.075 m.  
Fig. 2.

Found in a well of the Roman period on Kolonos Agoraios some eighty meters south of the Temple of Hephaistos.



Fig. 2. No. 7. Ostrakon of Alkibiades the Younger

Fragment from the wall of a large, coarse, unglazed amphora of dark buff, very micaceous clay; non-Attic. Incised outside: ['Α]λκ[ι]βιάδ[ε]ς | [Κλ]ινί[ο].

Mentioned *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 2.

8. Inv. No. P 4506. Max. dim. 0.038 m.  
Plate 1.

Found in a disturbed deposit near the Tholos.

Fragment from the wall of a skyphos, the glaze fired red inside and out. Incised inside: ['Αλκ]ιβιάδ[ε]ς | Κλινί[ο] | [Σκαμ]βο[ν]ιδ[η]ς.

9. Inv. No. P 19077. Max. dim. 0.048 m.  
Plate 1.

Found in the excavation dump in earth probably brought from the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs.

Rim fragment from a red-figured bell krater; below the rim outside a reserved band. Good glaze, chipped. Incised inside, below a reserved line: <'Α>λκ[ι]β[ι]άδ[ε]ς | ην ε' ε' [Σκαμ]βο[ν]ιδ[η]ς.

The vase from which this ostrakon came may be dated on grounds of shape and style in the twenties of the fifth century B. C. as Miss Talcott and Mr. Corbett assure me.

## II. THE DATE OF THE OSTRACISM OF THE ELDER ALKIBIADES

There can be no doubt about the fact that an elder Alkibiades, the grandfather of the famous statesman and general, was ostracized. It is so stated by two ancient authors,<sup>4</sup> and there are now six ostraka which support the tradition. The exact date,

<sup>4</sup> Lysias XIV, 39; [Andoc.] IV, 34. He was ostracized once only, not twice, see J. Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*<sup>2</sup>, 1935, pp. 112-114; J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 1940, pp. 14-15 and 20-22; Raubitschek, *T. A. P. A.*, LXXIX, 1948, p. 203.



however, is not known, although the consensus of modern opinion places it in 485 B. C., a year in which we know that someone was ostracized but do not know his name, Aristotle referring to him merely as the third friend of the tyrants.<sup>5</sup> There is now some archaeological evidence bearing on the question which makes it necessary to reconsider this verdict.

A great deal of fill dating from the time of the Persian sack of Athens in 480 B. C. and the years immediately preceding it has been dug in the course of the Agora excavations, and ostraka of all the persons definitely known to have been banished in the eighties have been found in contemporary deposits; <sup>6</sup> no ostrakon with the name Alkibiades has yet been found in such a deposit. On the other hand, one ostrakon, No. 1 above, comes from a deposit of the second quarter of the fifth century B. C., and the sherd is a fragment of a kylix that can be dated to this same quarter century and not earlier.<sup>7</sup> The *lambdas* on this ostrakon are of Ionic form, not Attic, and if we did not have the evidence of the circumstances of finding which gives us a lower limit of about 450 B. C., we should have been tempted to assign this ostrakon to the younger Alkibiades assuming that an old sherd had been used, as frequently happens. Ionic forms are not out of place in the second quarter of the fifth century, however, and other ostraka and graffiti show us that they begin to appear with some frequency at this time; on ostraka of Kimon, 461 B. C., for example, both the Attic and the Ionic *lambda* occur.<sup>8</sup> We may therefore date this ostrakon with complete assurance in the second quarter of the fifth century B. C. As it seems fair to assume that it was used on the occasion of his own ostracism and not on some other occasion when his name may have been up (for example at the ostracism of Kimon), it follows that his ostracism is to be dated in the second quarter of the century.

In order to test this conclusion and if possible to pin the event down more precisely within this quarter century, it will be necessary to see what we know about the career of this elder Alkibiades.

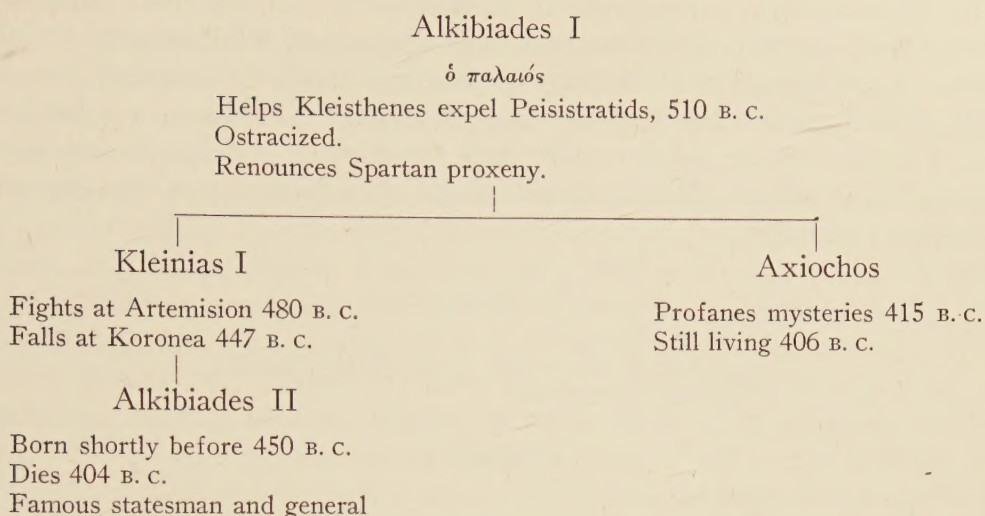
The ostraka give us for the first time the name of his father, Kleinias, and this important new fact forces us to revise somewhat the current views on the genealogy of the Alkibiades family. At the beginning of the present century three generations were recognized in the period that immediately concerns us, and the stemma drawn up by J. Kirchner in *Prosopographia Attica*, I, p. 42, illustrates the view then current. In its essentials it is this:

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 6. For the date, see Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-148, and Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

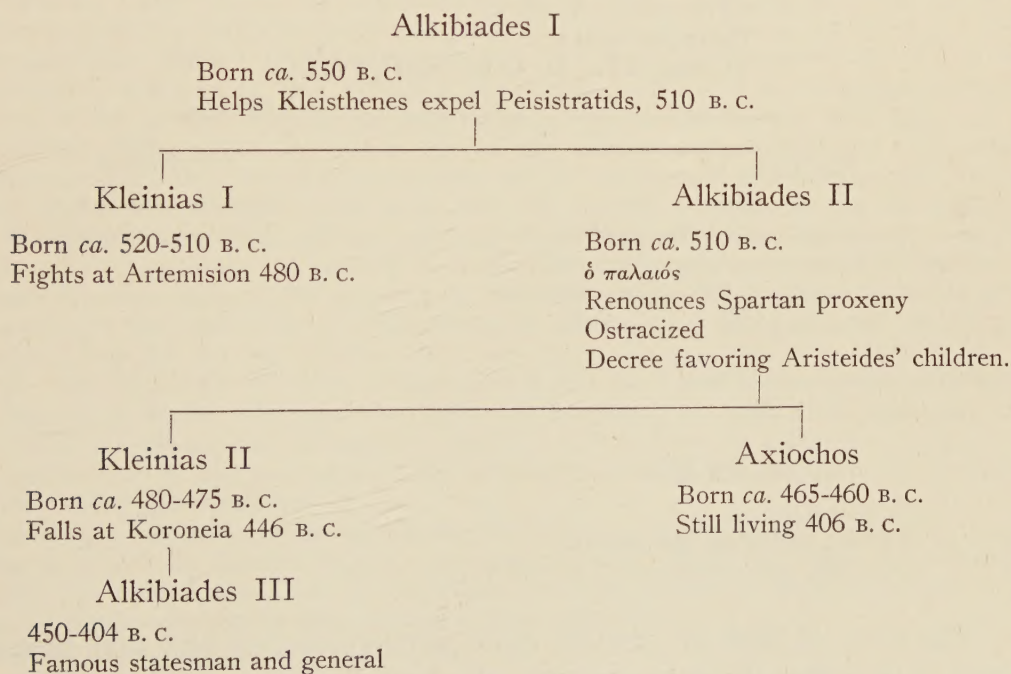
<sup>6</sup> For Hipparchos, Megakles and Aristeides, see especially *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 266 and 271-275; for Xanthippos, cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 394-5 (other examples to be published shortly).

<sup>7</sup> Remember that the ostrakon No. 2 above is from a similar kylix.

<sup>8</sup> Attic *lambda*: W. Peek, *Kerameikos* III, *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, pp. 51-62. Ionic *lambda*: *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 241-2; XVII, 1948, p. 194.

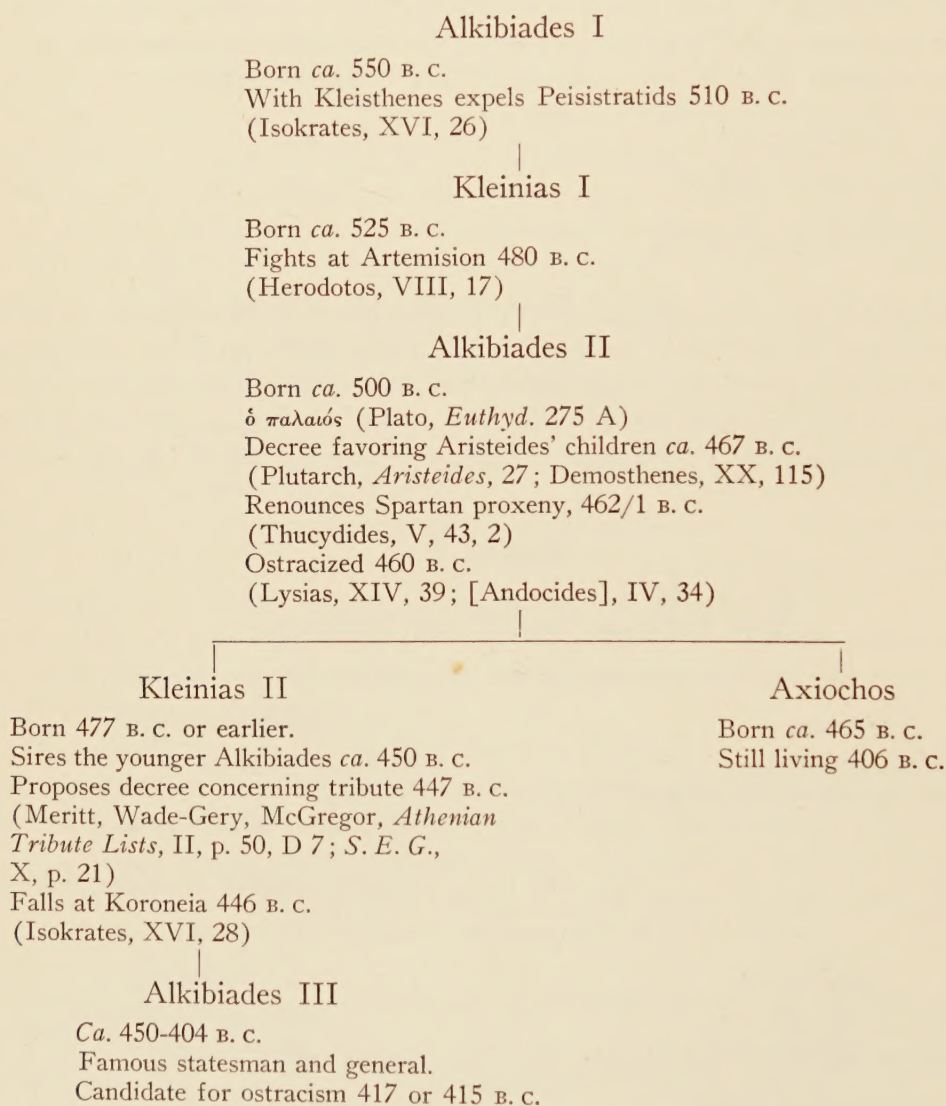


This scheme is open to a number of serious objections which were at once pointed out by Dittenberger in an article in *Hermes*, XXXVII, 1902, pp. 1-13. He proposed a different stemma, inserting an extra generation, and this was adopted by Kirchner in the addenda to the *Prosopographia Attica*, II, p. 442, and has since been generally accepted, most recently by J. Hatzfeld, *Alcibiade*, 1940, pp. 10-18. In its essentials it is this:





This plausible scheme must now in its turn be revised, for the ostraka show us that the Alkibiades who was ostracized was the son of Kleinias and not the son of another Alkibiades as in Dittenberger's stemma. One's first thought is to return to Kirchner's original scheme merely adding another Kleinias at the head of the stemma; but this scheme has extremely long generations and involves us in several chronological absurdities. We may therefore add still another generation and establish the following succession:



The dates of birth are for the most part hypothetical and have been included merely to show that the stemma is not only chronologically possible but represents an



easy and natural sequence. The twenty five year interval for each generation is somewhat less than the thirty three usually allowed by prosopographers, but thirty three is itself only a rule of thumb and applicable to any or all offspring; and since we are probably dealing here almost exclusively with eldest sons, we need not hesitate to adopt the lower figure.<sup>9</sup>

The date 460 B. C. suggested for the ostracism is arrived at in the following way. The decree providing benefits for Aristeides' children, which was introduced by Alkibiades, may be dated most reasonably about 467 B. C., right after the death of Aristeides.<sup>10</sup> The renunciation of the Spartan proxeny is doubtless connected with the affair of Ithome and the resulting wave of anti-Spartan feeling and may therefore be dated in 462-1 B. C.<sup>11</sup> These two facts show us that Alkibiades the elder was in Athens during most of the four sixties. If his ostracism is to be placed before this time, we must go back at least to the early seventies if not to the eighties, for the normal term of exile was ten years, and we have seen that this is not admissible on

<sup>9</sup> This stemma does not agree with the statement found in Isokrates, XVI, 26, according to which the Alkibiades who worked with Kleisthenes was the great-grandfather of the famous Alkibiades; it makes him the great-great-grandfather. Possibly Isokrates was using the term *πρόπαππος* loosely in the sense of ancestor, preferring it to the more exact but awkward designation *τέταρτος γονεύς*; or perhaps the tradition was already, in his day, a little vague owing to the fact that the names Alkibiades and Kleinias were repeated over and over in alternate generations. In any event, the point that is being made in this passage is that the Alkibiades who aided Kleisthenes, and also Kleisthenes himself, are direct ancestors; the exact generation does not matter.

Nor does the stemma agree with the statement in Plutarch, *Alkibiades*, I, 1, that the father of the famous Alkibiades fought at Artemision (480 B. C.), equipping a trireme at his own expense, and fell at Koroneia (446 B. C.). This statement will not bear scrutiny, however, for if it is true, Kleinias will have been a young man, perhaps in his twenties, at the time of Artemision and in his fifties when he fell at Koroneia, having only recently begotten the famous Alkibiades and his younger brother. Dittenberger (*op. cit.*, p. 9) saw the difficulty and assumed that two persons, one a generation older than the other, were involved. In our stemma these two persons are two generations apart, but their ages prove to be eminently suitable to the roles that we find them playing. The equipping, manning, and commanding of a trireme presupposes a mature man, wealthy in his own right and probably the head of his family; and at the age of about 45 our Kleinias I was probably all those things. The begetting of two sons, and falling in action in a land battle suggests a younger man; our Kleinias II will have been twenty-five to thirty years of age; he must have reached 30 by 447 B. C. for we find him proposing a decree in that year. We may safely assume then that Plutarch knew from various sources that the father of the famous Alkibiades, Kleinias, son of an earlier Alkibiades, had fallen at Koroneia; he read in his Herodotos that Kleinias, son of Alkibiades, had distinguished himself at Artemision in a trireme which he had equipped and manned at his own expense; and he simply identified the two men, not pausing to consider the chronological difficulty.

The love name Alkibiades which appears on a kylix by the Briseis Painter in Ruvo is thought by Beazley to be modern though perhaps over ancient traces: *Attic Red-figure Vase-Painters*, 1942, p. 267, No. 14 and p. 913. If the inscription could be accepted it might well refer to our Alkibiades II, for the vase is to be dated around or soon after 480 B. C.

<sup>10</sup> Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> Hatzfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

archaeological grounds; furthermore, if our calculations are correct, he would have been a very young man at this time. We are forced then to seek a later date. Kimon was ostracized in all probability in 461 B. C.,<sup>12</sup> which excludes that year, but in the following year, in the spring of 460 B. C. we may with considerable assurance place the ostracism of Alkibiades the Elder, attributing it to the continuing wave of anti-Spartan feeling; his renunciation of the Spartan proxeny was not enough, or had come too late in the day to save him.

### III. THE VICTIM OF 485 B. C.

If the above argument is correct, we are again left with a blank for the year 485 B. C. when, as Aristotle tells us, the third friend of the tyrants was banished.<sup>13</sup> Two possibilities suggest themselves for filling this gap. Archaeological evidence indicates that Boutalion of Marathon and Hippokrates, son of Anaxileos, were both "candidates" for ostracism in the middle eighties.<sup>14</sup> Boutalion may perhaps be ruled out, for since he is generally identified by his demotic rather than by his patronymic, we may guess that he was a *novus homo*.<sup>15</sup> Hippokrates, son of Anaxileos, however, has a name which suggests that he was an aristocrat and perhaps an Alkmeonid, and it may well be that he was the victim in 485 B. C. and followed his kinsman Megakles into exile.

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NOTE: This article was written while the author was holding a research grant under the Fulbright Act.

<sup>12</sup> Carcopino, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-168; Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 62; A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I, pp. 395, 411-12.

<sup>13</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 22, 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 272, Nos. 5 and 6.

<sup>15</sup> It has often been observed that the members of the great aristocratic families were generally identified by their patronymics rather than by their demotics; see Koerte, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 6 f.; Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 76. This is in general borne out by the ostraka from the Agora. It is perhaps possible, but I think unlikely, that Boutalion was a local worthy who had sided with Hippias at the time of the Persian landing at Marathon and so was known as a friend of the tyrants.

# THE VICTORY MONUMENT OF TIMOLEON AT CORINTH

(PLATE 2)

IN THE excavations of Corinth in 1907 there was found an inscribed block of dark gray limestone, complete except for the left front corner, whose text indicated that the block had once been part of a monument erected to commemorate a victory by the Corinthian general Timoleon.<sup>1</sup> Since the most recent publication of the inscription, a second block from the same monument has been recovered; this block consists of four adjoining fragments, of which three preserve parts of the inscribed face and the fourth preserves the back. The left portion of the inscribed surface (Corinth Inventory Number 1896: two fragments) was found in the South Stoa, north of Shop XXVIII, in October, 1937, while the small fragment of text from the right half of the block (Corinth Inventory Number 2150) was found in St. John's Church in May, 1938. The discovery of the backer is not recorded, but it probably comes from the excavations of 1907.<sup>2</sup>

Both blocks bear evidence of re-use. Their original function, to be discussed below, was to serve as part of a base that supported a bronze statue; they were set up and inscribed in the latter half of the fourth century B. C. At some later time, in all likelihood during the destruction of Corinth in 146 B. C., the statue and its base were overthrown, and up to the present time only these two blocks of the original base have been identified. They were re-used early in the Roman period at Corinth, probably not long after the founding of the Roman colony in 44 B. C., but it was found that their height (vertical thickness) was slightly greater than was required; consequently, most of their original top surfaces was chiselled down two centimeters, and their height reduced to 0.29 m.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the two inscribed blocks from the statue base (Block A and Block B), there have been found in the Corinthian excavations nine other blocks of the same dark gray limestone which were used in the Roman con-

<sup>1</sup> This was pointed out in the first study and publication of the block by K. K. Smith (*A. J. A.*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 362-372), whose conclusions were later approved by B. D. Meritt (*Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 23). The dimensions of the block are: height (vertical thickness), 0.31 m. (original); width, 0.91 m. (original); thickness (horizontal depth from inscribed face), 0.905 m. Height of letters, 0.025 m. This block is referred to throughout this paper as "Block A."

<sup>2</sup> The dimensions of this block, referred to as "Block B," are: height (vertical thickness), 0.31 m. (original); width, 0.95 m. (original); thickness (horizontal depth from inscribed face), 0.905 m. Height of letters, 0.025 m.

<sup>3</sup> Of the original top surface (height 0.31 m.) there survives only a narrow strip along the top front edge of both blocks and a small rectangular area near the inscribed face of Block A. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 363, fig. 14 and below, Fig. 2.



struction of *ca.* 44 B. C. Later in the Roman Imperial period, perhaps after the earthquake of A. D. 77,<sup>4</sup> it was decided to rebuild the earlier Roman construction, and the blocks were numbered on their rear vertical surfaces in order that their relative positions might be maintained in the new structure. This re-use of the eleven blocks (a second re-use in the case of Blocks A and B) is assured by the double sets of clamp and dowel cuttings that remain in some of the blocks, while in one case (Block number I) the stone was inverted at the time of its second use. The following Roman numerals survive on the rear surfaces of the individual blocks (Pl. 2a): I, II, III, VII, VIII (Block B), VIII (Block A), X, XII, and XIII.<sup>5</sup>

The top course of the Greek monument consisted originally of four blocks of dark gray limestone: (1) an end block to the left of Block A, (2) Block A, (3) Block B, and (4) an end block to the right of Block B. That there were not more than four is shown by the text of the inscription and by the position of the bronze statue, which rested on both central blocks.<sup>6</sup> The letters preserved on the front vertical face of the central blocks are as follows (Pl. 2b):

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, VIII, ii, pp. 19-20.

<sup>5</sup> Of these, numerals I, II, and III are found on blocks whose height (vertical thickness) is 0.25 m.; the rest of the numerals occur on blocks whose height is 0.29 m. (except for the original top surface of Blocks A and B, as noted above). Two other blocks (III? and V?) are also 0.25 m. in height, but their backs are broken and the numerals are lost. Blocks I and XIII (bearing the least and the greatest numerals extant) seem to have been used as corner blocks. The original widths of the blocks are as follows: I, 0.70 m.; II, greater than 0.745 m.; III?, 1.125 m.; IIII, greater than 0.75 m.; V?, greater than 0.63 m.; VII, 0.77 m.; VIII (Block B), 0.95 m.; VIII (Block A), 0.91 m.; X, greater than 0.74 m.; XII, greater than 0.852 m.; XIII, 1.145 m. It seems probable that in the Roman construction the blocks were laid in two courses, numbers I-VI in a course 0.25 m. in height, numbers VII-XIII in a course 0.29 m. in height. Blocks I and II contain foot cuttings for bronze statues, thus showing that they too antedate Roman construction.

While none of the blocks of the Roman course 0.25 m. in height preserves the complete thickness (horizontal depth), the thickness of the course 0.29 m. high seems to have been 0.905 m. throughout: Blocks VIII, VIII, and XII, which preserve both front and rear vertical surfaces, all agree in the above measurement. However, since the back surface of Blocks B and A, on which the numerals VIII and VIII are engraved, is finely picked, whereas their front and top surfaces were smooth, it is possible that their back surfaces were re-worked in Roman times, and that their original thickness (horizontal depth) was greater than 0.905 m. Blocks A and B were twice re-used in the same relative position they originally had had in the Greek base, namely, side by side in the same course. It would appear likely, therefore, that had the Romans re-used a third block from the Greek base, it too would have been located in its original relationship, adjacent to either Block A or to Block B, and its Roman numeral would have been either X or VII. Hence the discovery in the Corinthian excavations of both block VII and block X, neither of which belongs to the Greek base (their original vertical thickness is 0.29 m., not 0.31 m.) probably means that A and B were the only two blocks from the Greek base which were re-used in the Roman structure.

<sup>6</sup> If the pedestal supported more than one statue, the minimum number of the blocks possible is six. The text of the inscription, however, shows it is highly improbable that the number was greater than four. The asymmetrical location of the text on the blocks makes it virtually certain that all lines began at the left end of the left corner block, and the spacing of the extant letters shows that one block placed at the left of Block A, will exactly suit the restoration of the text (see



ΙΩΤΑΙΚΟ...ΠΑΙΟ...ΠΟ.ΛΩ  
 ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝΑ.ΕΘΗΚΑΝ *vac.*  
 ΚΤΙΣΤΗΡΑΚΟΡΙΝΘΟΝ *vac.*  
 ΧΡΗΣΑΜΕΝΑΙ *vac.*  
 5 ΘΕΡΙΑΣΕΤΕΒΗΣΑΝ *vac.*  
 ΤΑΔΕ *vac.*

The text is classified by Austin as stoichedon badly executed,<sup>7</sup> but a close scrutiny of the spacing of the letters shows that while the engraver made some attempt to place his letters in vertical alignment, he was almost completely unfamiliar with the stoichedon technique. Although he used horizontal guide lines, drawn 0.036 m. apart, he failed to space letters properly, both horizontally and vertically, and it is plain that he knew nothing of the checker.<sup>8</sup> He evidently failed also to calculate the length of surface at his disposal, for even in the first line the letters are not equidistant, but tend to become more widely spaced as he proceeded to the right.<sup>9</sup>

Fig. 1). Again, had there been two blocks to the right of Block B, the words which were in fact engraved in the second line of the text would surely have been inscribed in the top line, on the fifth and sixth blocks.

Excavations at Corinth have so far uncovered only two structures that seem to be suitable for the original location of the monument from which the blocks have come. The first is the groove on the top of the Triglyph Wall, where Blocks A and B are at present located: the width of this groove is exactly the width required (0.905 m.) in which to fit the blocks. During the excavation of the Wall, the gray limestone base containing the signature of Lysippos (*Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 34; see below, note 25) was discovered in this groove, but it was not *in situ* (cf. Richardson, *A. J. A.*, VI, 1902, p. 316). If it were certain that the groove marks the original location of Blocks A and B, not only would the Triglyph Wall have served as the lower pedestal of the monument, but it would be possible to identify the sacred area enclosed by the Triglyph Wall with the sanctuary of Poseidon mentioned in Diodorus XVI, 80, 6 (see below, note 22). There are, however, two objections to the location: first, the original thickness (horizontal depth) of Blocks A and B may have been greater than 0.905 m. (see above, note 5); second, the groove as it is preserved at present is not long enough to have supported four contiguous blocks, which would require approximately 4 m. (0.91 m. plus 0.95 m. plus two end blocks).

The second possibility, pointed out to me by Mr. B. H. Hill, is a foundation of squared poros blocks set in bed-rock in the northwest area of the Corinthian Agora where excavations have been carried down to the Greek level. The foundation measures 5 m. by 1.62 m.; its superstructure was completely removed in ancient times, and until 1907 it was covered by Roman pavement. Its dimensions and proportions correspond very well with what is required for the substructure of a pedestal whose top area was approximately 4 m. by 1 m., and a more conspicuous place in the Corinthian Agora for a monument could scarcely be found, for it is very close to the spot where the road from Sikyon entered the market-place. In Roman times the sanctuary of Poseidon was located about thirty meters southwest of this foundation (*Corinth*, I, iii, pp. 36-52).

<sup>7</sup> R. P. Austin, *The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1938, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> This is shown most clearly by the misplaced omega in line 2 and by the hasta of epsilon in line 6, which is engraved, not to the left of the iota of line 5, but directly below it.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Austin, *loc. cit.* A tabulation of the distances between the extant letters of the text is instructive (measurements have been made from the centers of the letters, in millimeters):

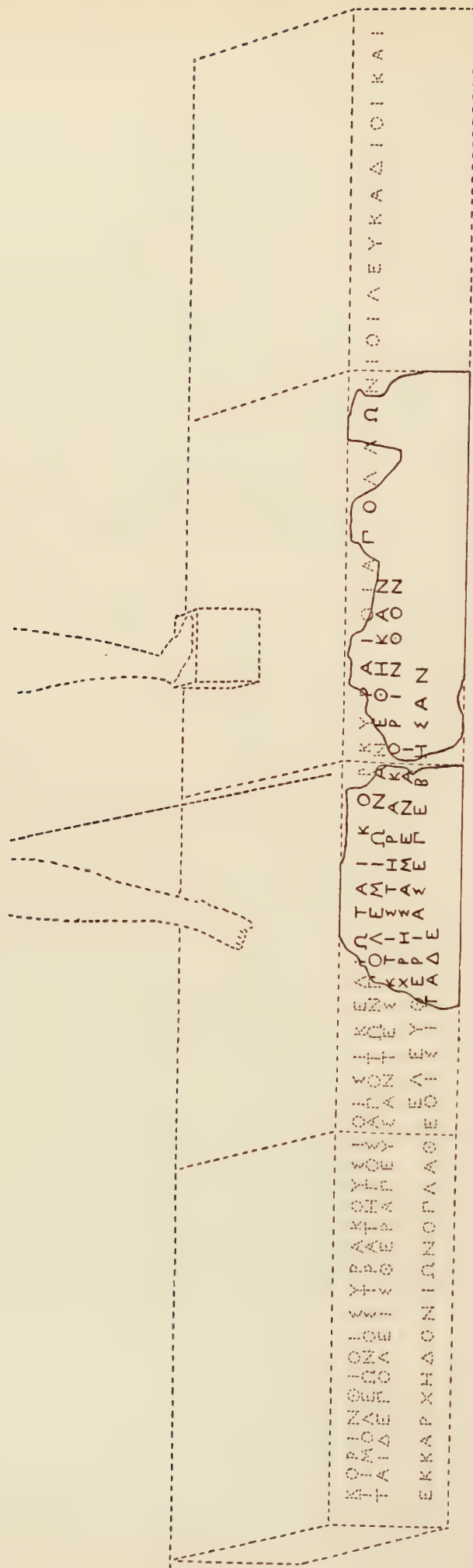


Fig. 1. Top course of Greek base with Inscription Restored and position of Statue indicated

The text may be restored as follows (Fig. 1):

- [Κορίνθιοι, Συρακούσιοι, Σικελ]ιώται, Κο[ρκυ]ραῖο[ι, Ἀ]πο[λ]λώ[νιοι,  
 Λευκάδιοι, καὶ]  
 [Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τῶν] πολεμίων ἀ[ν]έθηκαν.  
 [Ταῖδε πόλεις θεραπεύσαντες] κτιστήρα Κόρινθον  
 [.....<sup>24</sup>.....] χρησάμεναι  
 5 [.....<sup>19</sup>..... ἐλευ]θερίας ἐπέβησαν  
 [ἐκ Καρχηδονίων ὅπλα θεοῖσι] τάδε.

Line 1. The conclusion of K. K. Smith that the inscription refers to the exploits of Timoleon in Sicily is confirmed by the new text, for it is now clear that the first line contained the names of the allies who took part in the victory at the river Krimesos in 341 B. C.<sup>10</sup> In Plutarch's account of the battle the only Greek participants mentioned by name are the Κορίνθιοι, the Συρακούσιοι, and the Σικελιώται;<sup>11</sup> these were doubtless the most important Greek forces, and it is therefore to be expected that in a victory inscription these three names would be placed first. Of the three, only the last half of [Σικελ]ιώται is preserved. We are further informed by Plutarch<sup>12</sup> that Timoleon's original force when he first set out on his Sicilian expedition consisted of seven ships from Corinth, two from Corcyra, and one from Leukas; the reading Κο[ρκυ]ραῖο[ι] shows that some of the Corcyreans and probably also Leukadians were still in his forces when the battle of the Krimesos took place. To them we can now add a contingent of Apollonians, whose presence at the battle was not hitherto known. Some time previous to the victory at the Krimesos Timoleon had expelled the tyrant Leptines from Apollonia;<sup>13</sup> it now appears that after the tyrant's expulsion

Ι Ω Τ Α Ι Κ Ο [Ρ] [Κ] [Υ] Ρ Α Ι Ο [Ι] [Α] Π Ο [Λ] Λ Ω  
 53 65 55 65 70 80 [65] [65] [65] 70 58 60 [66] [66] [66] 80 [74] [74] 77  
 Π Ο Λ Ε Μ Ι Ω Ν Α [Ν] Ε Θ Η Κ Α Ν  
 50 50 63 60 60 58 95 65 [60] [60] 70 66 68 60 70  
 Κ Τ Ι Σ Τ Η Ρ Α Κ Ο Ρ Ι Ν Θ Ο Ν  
 54 46 60 60 62 59 79 70 65 60 69 69 69 60 70  
 Χ Ρ Η Σ Α Μ Ε Ν Α Ι  
 57 49 60 55 65 61 77 69 65  
 Θ Ε Ρ Ι Α Σ Ε Π Ε Β Η Σ Α Ν  
 49 47 49 55 64 59 64 70 69 69 63 57 70  
 Τ Α Δ Ε.  
 50 53 56

<sup>10</sup> For the date, cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2 ed., III, 2, p. 383; R. Hackforth, *C. A. H.*, VI, p. 295; Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, III, p. 415.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25-29, especially 27, 4. The expression of Diodorus (XVI, 78, 2) is τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους.

<sup>12</sup> *Timoleon*, 8, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 24, 2.



a number of Apollonians took service under Timoleon's command. The location of their name in the list, between the Corcyreans and the Leukadians, shows that their number cannot have been very large.

Line 2. The restoration of this line is suggested by Plutarch's account of the dedication at Corinth of part of the victor's spoils.<sup>14</sup> After the battle, he says, Timoleon sent back to Corinth the best specimens of captured Carthaginian arms: *βαρβαρικά σκῦλα καλλίσταις ἐπιγραφαῖς δηλοῦντα μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας τῶν νενικηκότων τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐλευθέρωσαντες τοὺς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων χαριστήρια θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν.* The wording of the passage is significant: neither Corinthians nor Carthaginians nor gods have a definite article, and the position of ἀνέθηκαν at the end of the sentence is customary epigraphic practice. Indeed, it is found at the end of the prose portion of our inscription. The expression καλλίσταις ἐπιγραφαῖς surely refers to verses, and the last four lines of our text are metrical (see below); and Plutarch's word ἐλευθέρωσαντες echoes [ἐλευ]θερίας of line 5. It thus appears that Plutarch's source, Timaeus, saw the original inscription at Corinth, and that either he or Plutarch has epitomized its contents.<sup>15</sup> Since the names of the victorious states have been assigned to the first line of the inscription, it becomes very probable in the light of Plutarch's statement that the name of Timoleon was engraved in the second line. It will be noted that Plutarch's expression, Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγός, has precisely the number of letters required to restore the line completely.<sup>16</sup>

Lines 3-6. It was pointed out by K. K. Smith<sup>17</sup> and A. M. Woodward<sup>18</sup> that the last four lines probably consisted of two elegiac distichs; the recovery of the ends of lines 3-5 now confirms their inference. In line 6 Plutarch's χαριστήρια, while making excellent sense with τὰδε, is metrically impossible in elegiacs. The restoration suggested above does, however, make use of two other words in Plutarch, Καρχηδονίων and θεοῖς. In line 4, the form χρῆσασθαι may be construed either as dative singular with, for example, [Τρινακρία], or as a nominative plural. Since the expres-

<sup>14</sup> *Timoleon*, 29, 3. Cf. below, note 22.

<sup>15</sup> An analysis of the sources of Plutarch's *Life of Timoleon* by H. D. Westlake (*Class. Quart.*, XXXII, 1938, pp. 65-74) reveals that Plutarch's two principal sources were Timaeus and, in all probability, a Peripatetic *Life of Timoleon*. Westlake (p. 72) ascribes Plutarch's account of the battle of the Krimesos (chapters 25-29) to Timaeus, and Timaeus is known to have resided for fifty years at Athens (Polybius, XII, 25, d, 1; 25, h, 1 [Loeb]). During this time he would have had many opportunities to visit Corinth, so that it was probably he who saw the inscription (see also below, note 22). It could not, of course, have been Plutarch himself who saw it.

<sup>16</sup> This means that καί should be restored at the end of line 1. An alternate restoration is to end line 1 with [Λευκάδιοι] instead of [Λευκάδιοι, καί]—there is no control to the precise length of the line—and to supply in line 2 [καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ ἡγεμὼν]; this, however, departs from Plutarch's wording and gives Timoleon's name a less prominent position in line 2.

<sup>17</sup> *A. J. A.*, XXIII, 1919, p. 372.

<sup>18</sup> *J. H. S.*, LII, 1932, p. 144.



sion *κτιστήρα Κόρινθον* in line 3 probably refers to the fact that Syracuse, Corcyra, Apollonia, and Leukas were all originally colonies of Corinth, I have preferred to take *χρησάμεναι* as nominative, and to suggest in line 3 [*ταῖδε πόλεις θεραπεύσαντες*].<sup>19</sup> It should be emphasized, however, that, while the restoration of lines 1-2 seems more or less assured, the restorations offered for lines 3 and 6 are presented merely as two out of many possibilities.

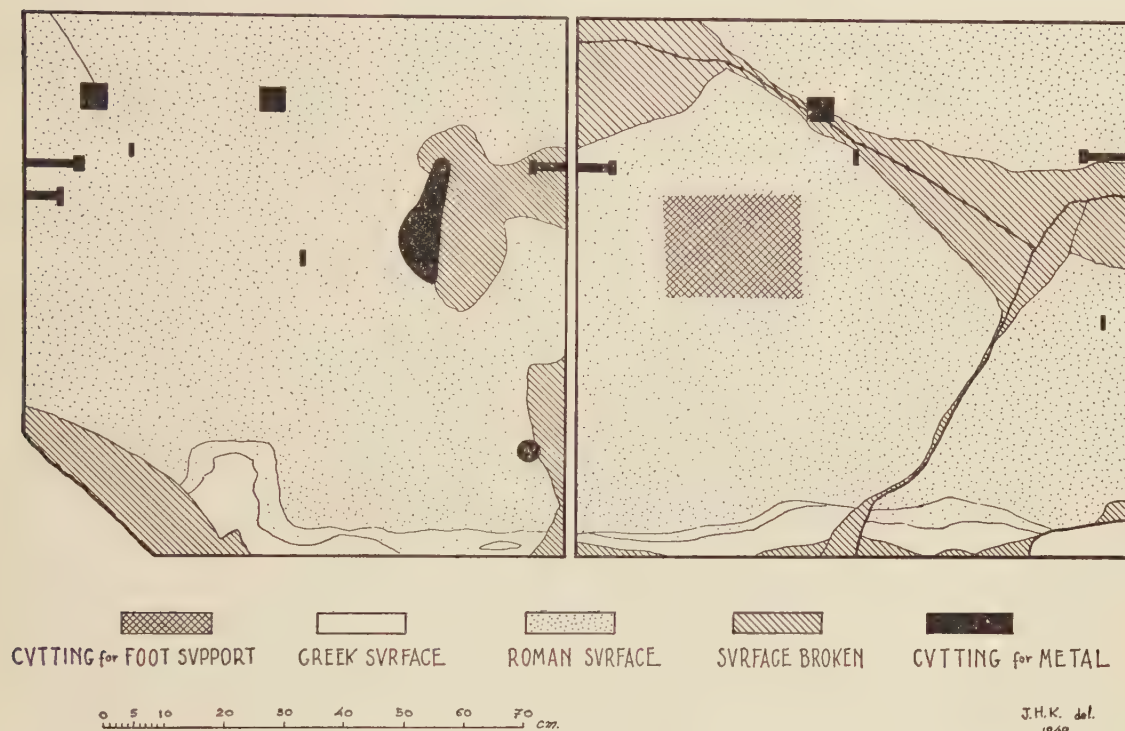


Fig. 2. Top surface of Inscribed Blocks with cuttings for Statue

The statue base is of interest not only for its inscription but also for the cuttings that remain on the top surfaces of Blocks A and B (Fig. 2). Block A contains two cuttings; the first, 0.233 m. in length, is a foot socket for the right foot of a bronze statue, the second is a circular hole, 0.035 m. in diameter, set at the right edge of the block near the front.<sup>20</sup> On the top surface of Block B, set back from the inscribed front face almost, but not quite, as far as the foot socket in Block A is set, there

<sup>19</sup> For the form *ταῖδε* (= *αἷδε*) in the Corinthian dialect, cf. Bechtel, *Die griechische Dialekte*, II, 1, Berlin, 1923, p. 256; Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 2 ed., Boston, 1928, pp. 92, 141. For the form *θεοῖσι* (= *θεοῖς*) restored in line 6, cf. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 362, fig. 13; p. 363, fig. 14.

are faint remains of a shallow rectangular cutting, 0.23 m. by 0.18 m., which the Roman chiselling has not gone quite deep enough to remove.<sup>21</sup>

On the basis of these three cuttings two reconstructions of the statue are possible. First, we may think with Smith that the right foot of the statue was set in the foot socket and that the circular hole was for the toe of the left foot. In that case, the rectangular cutting of Block B, which had not been found at the time Smith studied the monument, would presumably have been for a pillar which supported the left arm or hand. However, not only is a supporting pillar for a bronze statue unnecessary and implausible, but the position suggested by Smith results in an extremely unhappy posture; we should be forced to imagine a figure with the weight falling mostly on the right foot, with the right knee bent, the left leg extended well in front of the body, and the left foot pointed so that only one toe rested on the base. Such a figure would appear to be in the undignified process of falling over backwards; and while this is not an impossible figure to visualize (for example, it might conceivably have been a stricken Carthaginian), it would seem to be out of keeping with the spirit of pre-Hellenistic sculpture. A far more satisfactory alternative is to suppose that the right foot of the statue fitted in the foot socket of Block A and that the rectangular cutting of Block B once contained a support of some sort for the left foot. If so, the small circular cutting in front was made for the butt end of some kind of shaft. We thus obtain for our bronze statue a standing figure, somewhat greater than life size, with its right foot set on the plinth, its left foot supported by a foot rest, and in front of the figure a slender shaft, presumably grasped above and held in place by one or both of the hands (Fig. 1). Such a figure can scarcely have been other than a bronze Poseidon, standing with his left foot slightly elevated and holding his trident in the pose familiar in reverse in the famous Lateran Poseidon. Diodorus states that some of the spoils of the Krimesos were sent by Timoleon to Corinth, to be set up in the sanctuary of Poseidon.<sup>22</sup> It seems plausible that, in addition to

<sup>21</sup> The foot socket, circular cutting, and the remains of the rectangular cutting form the points of a triangle of which the length between points is as follows (measurements from centers): foot socket to circular cutting, 0.44 m.; foot socket to rectangular cutting, 0.50 m.; circular socket to rectangular cutting, 0.51 m.

<sup>22</sup> Diodorus XVI, 80, 6: τῶν δ' ὅπλων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διεφθάρη, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Τιμολέοντος σκηνὴν χίλιοι μὲν θώρακες, ἀσπίδες δὲ πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἀπηνέχθησαν. τούτων δ' ὕστερον τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐν Συρακούσαις ναοῖς ἀνετέθη, τὰ δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις διμερίσθη, τινὰ δ' εἰς Κόρινθον Τιμολέον ἀπέστειλε, προστάξας εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἀναθεῖναι.

The expression εἰς Κόρινθον — — — εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν clearly refers to a sanctuary of Poseidon within the city of Corinth, not to the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus. Plutarch's account shows that the spoils were intended to be displayed in Corinth itself (*Timoleon*, 29, 2-3): ἅμα δὲ τῇ φήμῃ τῆς νίκης ὁ Τιμολέον εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπεμψε τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅπλων, βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν πάτριδα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ζηλωτὴν εἶναι, θεωμένους ἐν ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ναοὺς οὐχ Ἑλληνικοῖς κεκοσμημένους λαφύροις οὐδ' ἀπὸ συγγενῶν φόνον καὶ ὁμοφύλων ἀναθημάτων μνήμας ἀτερπεῖς ἔχοντας. When it is observed that the information of both Diodorus and Plutarch concerning



a display of captured enemy arms in Poseidon's sanctuary, a bronze figure of the god, presumably financed from the sale of booty, was set up as one of the reminders of victory.<sup>23</sup>

Who was the sculptor of the bronze Poseidon? It is not possible, of course, to answer with finality, but there is some evidence, rather slight perhaps, which suggests that it may have been Lysippos of Sikyon. A passage in Lucian shows that the Corinthians once commissioned Lysippos to make for them a bronze Poseidon which later became famous.<sup>24</sup> A Corinthian statue base with sockets for both feet, of the same dark gray limestone as that of the Timoleon inscription and engraved with the same style of lettering, reads Λύσιππος ἐπ[όησε].<sup>25</sup> The date of the erection of the Timoleon monument, presumably not long after the victory at the Krimesos river and therefore not long after 341 B. C., falls well within the period of Lysippos'

the disposition of the Carthaginian spoils was obtained from a common source, the historian Timaeus (*Diodorus* = *Timaeus*: E. Schwartz, Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v. *Diodorus* 38, cols. 686-687; *Plutarch* = *Timaeus*: H. D. Westlake, *op. cit.*, p. 72; see also above, note 15), there is no doubt that the city of Corinth, not the Isthmian sanctuary (cf. note 24), is intended.

<sup>23</sup> See the cogent remarks of Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 367). It is not impossible that on either side of the Poseidon statue there rose from the top surface of each of the two missing end blocks a vertical support on which could be hung shields and other trophies of the Krimesos victory (for the general appearance of a support of this kind, cf. G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 494). If such were the case, the end blocks either would have been of irregular shape (assuming that support and block were fashioned from a single stone) or would have been weakened by the cuttings into which the supports were set. In either event we should have an explanation of why the two central blocks were re-used by the Romans, but the two end blocks rejected (cf. notes 5 and 6).

<sup>24</sup> Lucian, *Zeus Tragoedus*, 9: ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ: καὶ τοῦ τοῦτο, ὃ Ἑρμῇ, δίκαιον, τὸν κυνοπρόσωπον τοῦτον προκαθίζει μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, καὶ ταῦτα Ποσειδῶνος ὄντος; ΕΡΜΗΣ: ναί, ἀλλὰ σὲ μὲν, ὃ ἐννοσίγαιε, χαλκοῦν ὁ Λύσιππος καὶ πτωχὸν ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἔχόντων τότε τῶν Κορινθίων χρυσόν.

This passage has sometimes been used to support the view that the original bronze Poseidon of Lysippos stood, not in the city of Corinth, but in the Isthmian sanctuary. This hypothesis was first advanced by K. Lange (*Das Motiv des ausgestützten Fusses in der antike Kunst*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 31-52) and has since been stated as a fact in several handbooks on Greek sculpture. It is difficult to see, however, how Lucian's words furnish any evidence for the precise location of the statue, and indeed the natural inference would seem to be that if the Corinthians paid for the statue, the statue was set up in Corinth. Lange's other evidence to support his opinion consists of certain passages in Pausanias (II, 1, 7-9; 2, 1) which tell of at least four bronze Poseidons in the Isthmian sanctuary—in no case is the sculptor named—and certain coins of Demetrios Poliorketes which show a standing Poseidon with one foot raised on a rock (cf. C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, plate L, no. 5). While this seems very weak evidence on which to base the conclusion that Lysippos' Poseidon stood in the Isthmian sanctuary and not in Corinth, Lange sums up his view with great confidence (p. 45): "The Corinthians had the original statue of Poseidon with the raised foot—that is to say, the bronze statue of Poseidon Isthmios—made at their expense by Lysippos and had it set up in the temple of Poseidon on the Isthmus." For further discussion of the problem, see F. P. Johnson, *Lysippos*, Durham, 1927, p. 142.

<sup>25</sup> *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 34. B. Powell (*A. J. A.*, VII, 1903, p. 30) has suggested that the date of *Corinth*, VIII, i, no. 35 is ca. 325 B. C. No. 34 seems to be earlier.



creative activity.<sup>26</sup> Finally, the lost original of the Poseidon type that is exemplified by the Lateran Poseidon has been ascribed by many critics on stylistic grounds to Lysippos.<sup>27</sup> Taken singly, none of these considerations can bear very great weight, but taken together they indicate a possibility that the base of Lysippos' original bronze Poseidon has now been found.

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<sup>26</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 229.

<sup>27</sup> The critics who ascribe the Poseidon type to Lysippos include K. Lange (*op. cit.*, pp. 31-52), J. Overbeck (*Geschichte der griechische Plastik*, 4 ed., II, Leipzig, 1894, p. 151), E. A. Gardner (*A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, London, 1904, p. 410; *Six Greek Sculptors*, London, 1910, p. 232), P. Gardner (*J. H. S.*, XXV, 1905, p. 255), E. von Mach (*A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Boston, 1905, p. 232), G. Cultrera (*Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, XIV, 1910, pp. 239-240), R. R. Richardson (*A History of Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1911, p. 233), E. Löwy (*Die griechische Plastik*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 105, 107), C. Picard (*La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère byzantine*, Paris, 1926, p. 178), and G. Carettoni (*Memorie della Pont. Accad. Romana di Archeologia*, VI, 1942, pp. 61-62). Opponents of the identification include G. Lippold (Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, s. v. Lysippos 6, col. 60), H. Bulle (Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. Poseidon, cols. 2888-2892, and especially col. 2891), W. Amelung (Helbig's *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4 ed. rev. Amelung, II, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 25-26), and F. P. Johnson (*Lysippos*, p. 149). G. M. A. Richter (*Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1951, p. 19) considers the evidence for attribution to Lysippos slender, but notes that "the style in general fits."

# SAMOTHRACE: FIFTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

(PLATES 3-11)

**A** FIFTH campaign of excavation was carried out by the Archaeological Research Fund of New York University under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during the summer months of 1950 in the Sanctuary of the Great Samothracian Gods.<sup>1</sup> We continued to concentrate primarily on exploration of the main area of the Sanctuary. During the preceding campaigns, we had fully excavated the northern region of this area including the archaic initiation hall (the Anaktoron), the rotunda (the Arsinoeion) and the region immediately adjacent to it as well as the great marble building to the south known as the "New Temple." In these regions not only the aforementioned major structures had been excavated but earlier strata and buildings had also been uncovered which lead the history of this Greek mystery cult back to the latter part of the seventh century B. C. and, beyond it, to a native pre-Greek cult.<sup>2</sup>

In 1950 we connected these two main sections of our excavation by exploring the region between them: an area of *ca.* 35 m. extent from north to south situated to the east of the western river bed of the Sanctuary.<sup>3</sup> This area includes the Central Terrace—on which previous excavators had erroneously placed an "Old Temple"—<sup>4</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> The campaign lasted from the middle of June to the end of July. I was again assisted by Phyllis Williams Lehmann, Associate Professor at Smith College and assistant field director, and Stuart M. Shaw of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, our architect. Alec Daykin, of the Department of Architecture of Sheffield University, joined us as architectural assistant and added greatly to the success of our work by the keenness of his observation and his enthusiastic cooperation. Other members of the staff were: Martha Leeb of New York University, Instructor at Smith College; Eileen Rooney and Thomas Todd of the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. We again enjoyed the privilege of having Vassilios Kallipolitis with us as representative of the Greek Government. Jean Charbonneaux, Curator of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Musée du Louvre, joined us for the excavation in the precinct of the Victory. To all these helpers as well as to our loyal foreman, Georgios Nikolaides, and our restorer, G. Kontogeorgios, I owe gratitude. The continued generous sponsorship of the Bollingen Foundation and additional help from the same unnamed donor who has contributed much to our work in previous years enabled us to carry on. The officers of New York University, of the American School of Classical Studies and of the Royal Greek Ministry of Education helped us greatly as always. D. Papaeustratiou of the American Express Company and his staff were of invaluable assistance.

We are especially indebted to many individuals who have been helpful in a variety of ways: John D. Barrett, John Caskey, Harry Woodburn Chase, Walter W. S. Cook, Fritz Eichler, Denise Feytmans, Lady Gabriel, Harry Hill, Vernon Knight, Aristides Kyriakides, Edwin Land, Benjamin D. Meritt, A. K. Orlandos, Ephraim Shorr, Lucy Talcott, Eugene Vanderpool.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 1 ff. with bibliography.

<sup>3</sup> See *Archäologische Untersuchungen in Samothrake* (henceforth *S.*), vol. II, pl. 1; *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 329, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *S.*, II, pls. 2 ff., pp. 1 ff.

and a triangle framed by its southwestern line, the river bed adjacent to its western corner and the façade of the "New Temple" to the south (Pl. 3a and b). Though natural erosion and wilful destruction throughout many centuries have marked this region with particular violence and though our predecessors have extracted from it all the major sculptural remnants of the decoration of the "New Temple,"<sup>5</sup> our exploration has had very gratifying results. We have been able to clarify the religious and architectural history of a very important ritual area of the Sanctuary, the Central Terrace; by the discovery of a stratum containing early Greek ceramics of great beauty and of a hitherto unknown style, we were enabled to trace the Greek origin of the cult back into the earlier part of the seventh century B. C.; we have located and can now safely restore the building once decorated with a graceful frieze of dancers in archaistic style dating from the time of Alexander the Great; we have made progress in restoring the façade of the "New Temple" by the discovery of fragments in themselves not spectacular; and, finally, we have been able to suggest the impressive appearance of that great Hellenistic building in its landscape setting by assembling and erecting column drums on its northern platform, hoping that in the future a good deal of the façade may be physically reconstructed (Pl. 3a).

In addition to our major work in the center of the Sanctuary, we fully excavated and explored the site of the famous Victory of Samothrace in the Louvre<sup>6</sup> in collaboration with Jean Charbonneaux. By means of ceramic finds, we have finally been able to ascertain the long debated date of the monument in the decades around the turn of the third to the second century B. C. Furthermore, this excavation furnished us evidence of the picturesque setting of the statue which sailed forth on her ship behind and above a basin containing water, in a half romantic surrounding of natural rocks included in an architectural frame. The discovery, in this excavation, of the beautifully modelled main part of the right hand of the Nike and the upper part of its ring finger, to which we later added the missing part of that very finger and the entire thumb as the result of a find made by us in a storeroom of the Vienna Museum, has solved the equally long debated and crucial problem of the restoration of this famous masterpiece. Numerous new fragments of the ship which will complete and modify the restoration in other respects were also discovered. M. Charbonneaux has obliged us by adding to this report a short note on the hand of the Victory (below, pp. 44-46). A thorough publication of the excavation and restoration of the Nike Precinct will be submitted in the near future by Messrs. Shaw and Daykin.

The following report is therefore limited to the main excavation of 1950 in the center of the Sanctuary.

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<sup>5</sup> S., I, pp. 1 ff., pls. 35 ff.; A. Schober, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The work was begun in 1939: *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 352. For a short note on the recent discoveries, see *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 25, 1950, pp. 867 ff.



Between the buildings dominating the sacred precinct of the Great Gods, the Rotunda of Arsinoe and the "New Temple," there had always been visible the northwestern terrace face <sup>7</sup> of a large structure extending from southeast towards northwest. The first modern explorers, Deville and Coquart,<sup>8</sup> observing a ravine on its eastern side roughly parallel to the river bed that passes the western corner of this structure, called it a "sacred island" and rightly suggested that no major building but only a precinct was situated here. Later the Austrians discovered the southern corner of this structure close to the northeastern corner of the "New Temple"<sup>9</sup> and subsequently they excavated<sup>10</sup> parts of a rectangular foundation which they suggested had supported the walls of an "Old Temple" built in the archaic period, renewed in marble in the fourth century B. C., and accessible from the top of the terrace the northwestern face of which had always remained exposed near the western corner of the entire complex.

In the interior of this structure, the Austrians uncovered various elements of installation dating from different periods. These elements, shown in their plan <sup>11</sup> (Pl. 5a) and documented in photographs and detailed drawings<sup>12</sup> which are valuable records of details now completely destroyed, were: an early sacrificial hearth <sup>13</sup> (A) approximately in the center of the main structure, a later hearth (B) supplanting it at a slight distance to the northwest at a somewhat higher level; and a marble floor supported by rows of small stones covering up the escharae A and B and including another sunken rectangle, evidently a third and later eschara, halfway between hearth B and the northwestern foundation of the main structure. The rear part of this floor had a level one step higher than the forepart.<sup>14</sup>

Our work revealed the sad fact that, after the Austrian excavation, local vandals wilfully destroyed the entire interior installation uncovered by our predecessors, leaving no trace of it. Olive and pear trees were planted here. Later excavators dug a big funnel shaped hole into the virgin soil about in the center of the structure and another smaller hole in front of the center of the northwestern foundation in a vain search for earlier traces.

<sup>7</sup> S., II, pl. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Arch. miss. scientif.*, n. s., IV, 1867, p. 276.

<sup>9</sup> S., I, p. 49, fig. 15, cf. p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> S., II, pp. 13 ff., 21 ff., pls. 1 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 4-7.

<sup>13</sup> After the discoveries in the nave of the "New Temple" and their analogies in other Greek sanctuaries, these structures may be interpreted as escharae rather than bothroi: see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 5 ff., *ibid.*, XX, 1951, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> The levels in S., II, pl. 2, indicate an additional difference between the central part (over B) and these two. There are several mistakes in the figures indicating levels on pl. 2 in the parts still preserved, and this may be one of them. In the following discussion we have accepted the Austrian levels where they correspond to preserved parts or are unquestionably borne out by the evidence of their photographs and detailed drawings.

In 1949 we exposed the entire northwestern face of the great terrace to a length of 15.50 m. In front of it, we found parts of a wall preserved at a lower level along a road that ascended from the river bed to the northern corner of the Terrace. We uncovered here a great quantity of fallen blocks from a small Ionic building of the late fourth century B. C. that once stood on the terrace and included in its decoration the well-known archaistic frieze of dancing girls of which we found excellently preserved parts intermingled with other remnants of the building. We concluded that the Austrian reconstruction of a big temple on the Central Terrace was erroneous and that a small Ionic building, a propylon leading to a precinct or, possibly, a monumental altar, once stood there.<sup>15</sup>

It is necessary to recall this history of exploration in order to make the evidence obtained in 1950 understandable, inasmuch as this evidence must be evaluated in connection with previous observations made by our Austrian predecessors.

Our excavations reveal that in later antiquity the Central Terrace was occupied by an open-air precinct (Fig. 1) (coinciding in size with the temple previously reconstructed here) built about 320 B. C.<sup>16</sup> The foundations of the entire southwestern and northwestern walls enclosing the precinct are preserved (Pl. 4a and b) though nowhere to the height of the original level of the marble floor uncovered by the Austrians.<sup>17</sup> Owing to late antique destruction, only a small section of the southeastern foundation is preserved at the southern corner (Pl. 5b) and the eastern part of the enclosure is entirely destroyed. We were able, however, to locate the eastern corner in rock cuttings made for its foundation (Pl. 5b, background). The rectangular precinct measured approximately 24 m. by 9.50 m.

Together with this precinct, an open terrace (Pls. 3b, 5c) was built to the northwest. It is *ca.* 7.50 m. wide and is supported on the southwestern and northwestern side by the impressive rock wall which has always been visible at the western corner.<sup>18</sup> While the southwestern line of this terrace—as indicated in the earlier plans—continues the line of the precinct on this side, its northwestern face (15.50 m. long to the preserved northern corner)<sup>19</sup> extends more than 5 m. beyond the line of the northeastern periphery of the precinct. This terrace, whose level was evidently equal to or but slightly lower than the floor level of the precinct, once emerged to a height of *ca.*

<sup>15</sup> See for a preliminary account of these discoveries, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 13 ff., pls. 2a, 3a, 7b-d, 8-10, 14c.

<sup>16</sup> This date has previously been suggested (*ibid.*, pp. 17 f.) on stylistic grounds, for the building with the archaistic frieze. It has been confirmed by the ceramic finds in the fills of both the precinct foundations and the terrace to its northwest which are homogeneous and contain as their latest variety mid-fourth century glazed pottery with stamped decoration.

<sup>17</sup> See *S.*, II, pl. 2 = fig. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *S.*, II, pl. 3; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 13 f.; pls. 3a, 4f, 7b. The large upper corner block visible in our Plate 5c was found in fallen position and has been approximately replaced by us.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 13.



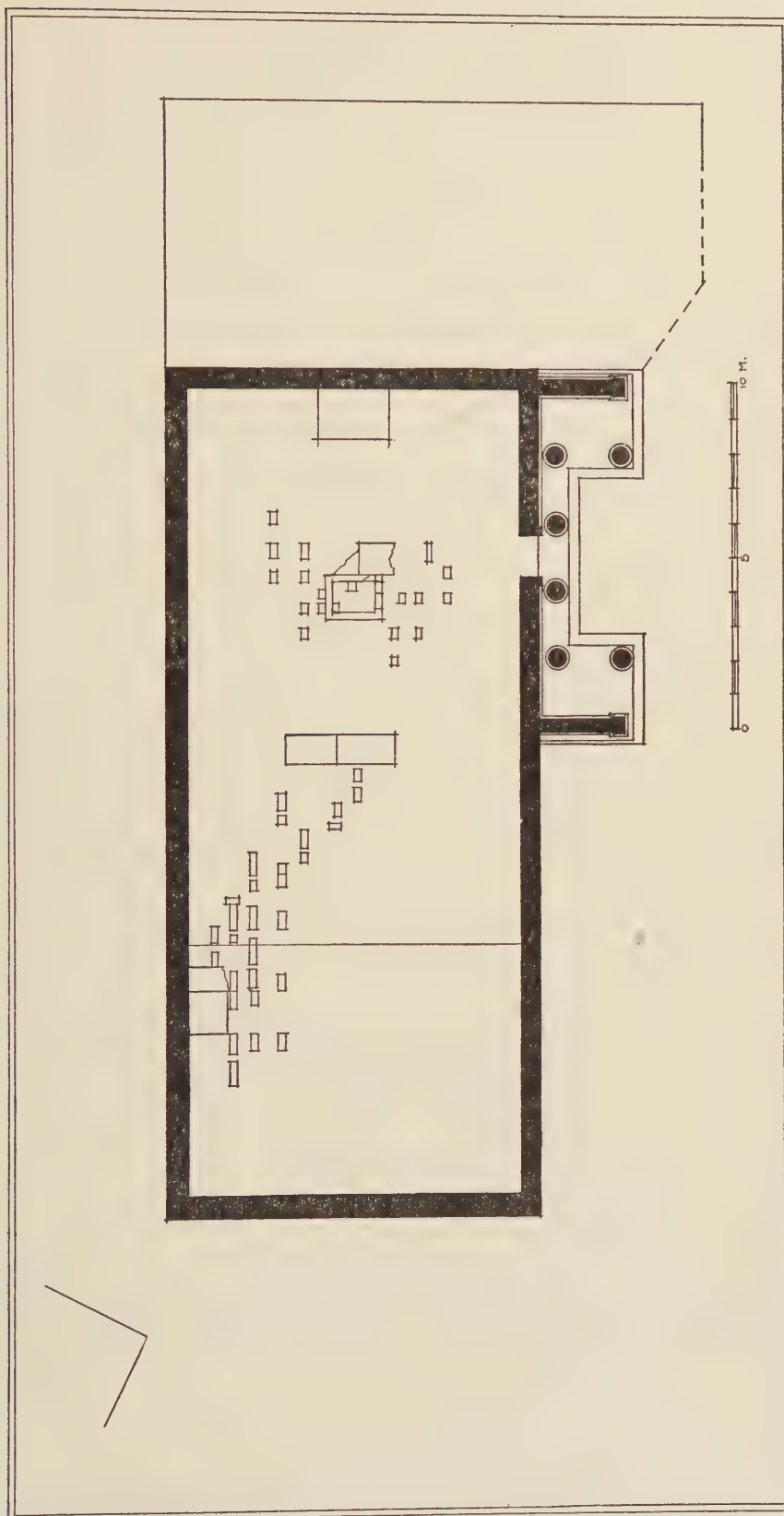


Fig. 1. Central Terrace. Tentative restored Plan of 4th century B. C. Precinct and Propylon

5 m. above the river bed at the western corner (Pl. 5c). The rock terrace wall, curiously irregular on its outer faces, was only an inner retaining wall and had an outer facing of ashlar masonry in limestone throughout its entire height and along most of its long northwestern as well as its short southwestern faces. This outer limestone wall has a thickness of 1.50 m. along the former and 0.62 m. along the returning angle which is only about four meters long. Evidently this great terrace, somewhat analogous to the Delphian temple terrace, was meant to support dedications along its widely visible outer edge.<sup>20</sup> From the deepest point two roads ascended along the terrace. One led to the northern corner, turned around it, and gave access first to the surface of the terrace and then to the precinct. Another road must have ascended more steeply from the river bed at the western corner of the terrace to the area in front of the "New Temple."

The ceramic finds made in the fills of the Central Terrace and the precinct confirm the contemporaneity of this entire complex and the previously suggested date in the latter part of the fourth century B. C.<sup>21</sup>

It was natural to assume that the terrace had been built to support the small Ionic structure decorated with the frieze of Dancing Maidens. However, excavation showed that no foundations for such a building existed on this terrace. Inside its western and northern corners, a rock packing is preserved at some distance from the irregular inner faces of the terrace walls. It is either a device to relieve the pressure of the fill against the outer shell of the terrace or else these packings may have supported isolated small structures such as altars. We have no indication that any door provided for communication between the terrace and the interior of the precinct<sup>22</sup> nor could a door have existed in the center, where such an entrance would have been blocked on the inside by a structure, the foundation of which was preserved at this point and was contemporary with the fourth century precinct.<sup>23</sup> (Pl. 6a)

We believe that the main entrance to the precinct was situated on its northeastern side and adjacent to the terrace at the eastern corner. Here we uncovered

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14, pl. 3a. We had first assumed that the outer ashlar wall supported monuments at a lower level. But Mr. Daykin pointed out that cuttings on the upper surface of the preserved limestone blocks are merely a dressing down of the surfaces for posing the next course on top of these blocks—a procedure used also in the northern foundation of the precinct—and that the outer face of the rock retaining wall shows traces of the ashlar wall that once screened it throughout its entire height.

<sup>21</sup> See above, note 16. Potsherds extracted from the joints of the outer limestone wall and between it and the rock wall prove the contemporaneity of both structures.

<sup>22</sup> In the plan, S., II, pl. 2 (Pl. 5a) several stones inside the center of the northwestern precinct wall are drawn as if they formed part of an entrance at the point where the Austrians placed the door of their temple. These limestone blocks were still there when we began our work; however, they were not in the regular position indicated in the plan and loose earth was under them. They were not *in situ* from any ancient construction.

<sup>23</sup> See below, p. 29.



all that seems to be left of the foundations of the Ionic building with the Dancing Maidens (Pl. 6b). Part of these foundations already appear on the Austrian plan (Pl. 5a) although they are not exactly rendered. Observations made on the previously discovered remnants of the superstructure had already suggested that the building was a propylon and that it probably had two projecting lateral wings.<sup>24</sup> These assumptions have now been found to be correct. A detailed description and analysis of this quite unique Greek building cannot yet be presented in this report. But its general appearance (Figs. 1, 2) and basic data may be mentioned, briefly.

The building faced northeast, it seems, toward the road which turned around the northern corner of the terrace, giving access both to the terrace and to the propylon. Parts of the foundation of the projecting wing adjacent to the terrace and of the rear wall are preserved (Pl. 6b). The northwestern foundation of that wing continues the line of the northwestern precinct wall, the rear foundation that of the now destroyed northeastern long wall of the precinct. At the inside, this foundation is strengthened by a rock packing<sup>25</sup> relieving the pressure on it and this packing is preserved almost throughout the entire extent of the building. The foundation of the wing on the spectator's left is entirely destroyed but sufficient traces of the right wing are preserved in foundation walls and rock cuttings to suggest its size. To the numerous blocks of the superstructure found in 1949 in front of the terrace<sup>26</sup> many more were added in 1950. In part they were discovered in fallen position to the north of the building and in its immediate vicinity; in part they were found in the area of the precinct and in dumps of previous excavators containing material from this area. One frieze block from the entablature (Pl. 8a) was found outside the western corner of the terrace in the river bed. We possess marble blocks of the euthynteria, with inner and outer corners of the wings, steps with inner corner, orthostates, fragments of almost all the blocks of the wall frieze of the dancing maidens,<sup>27</sup> a column shaft

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> It was erroneously assumed by our predecessors to be an earlier "cyclopean" wall, S., II, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 14 ff., pls. 2a, 3a, 6d, 8-10, 14c.

<sup>27</sup> In 1949 we had found an almost complete block of the frieze moving towards right (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 8a, p. 16); we had also found two smaller fragments of one or two other blocks, one with the feet of two figures (49.1043e) and one of a moulding (49.1043i), the mouldings of this frieze differing slightly in dimension from that moving in the other direction. To this belonged a previously discovered scattered fragment with part of the body of a girl (39.515; *ibid.*, p. 17, note 55). In 1950, we found a number of additional fragments of mouldings from this frieze (50.526-2, 574 a, b, c, 618 and 781). There is evidence of at least four blocks. More large fragments of the frieze moving towards left are preserved although they are mostly in bad condition. In addition to the two Louvre slabs (*ibid.*, p. 16, pl. 8b) we discovered, in 1949, a fragment with parts of four figures and a right edge (*ibid.*, pl. 9b; 49.1043a-c) and a fragment with a head and upper moulding (49.1043, g), possibly belonging to the missing part of the same block; another with part of three figures and a left edge (49.1043d); a moulding fragment

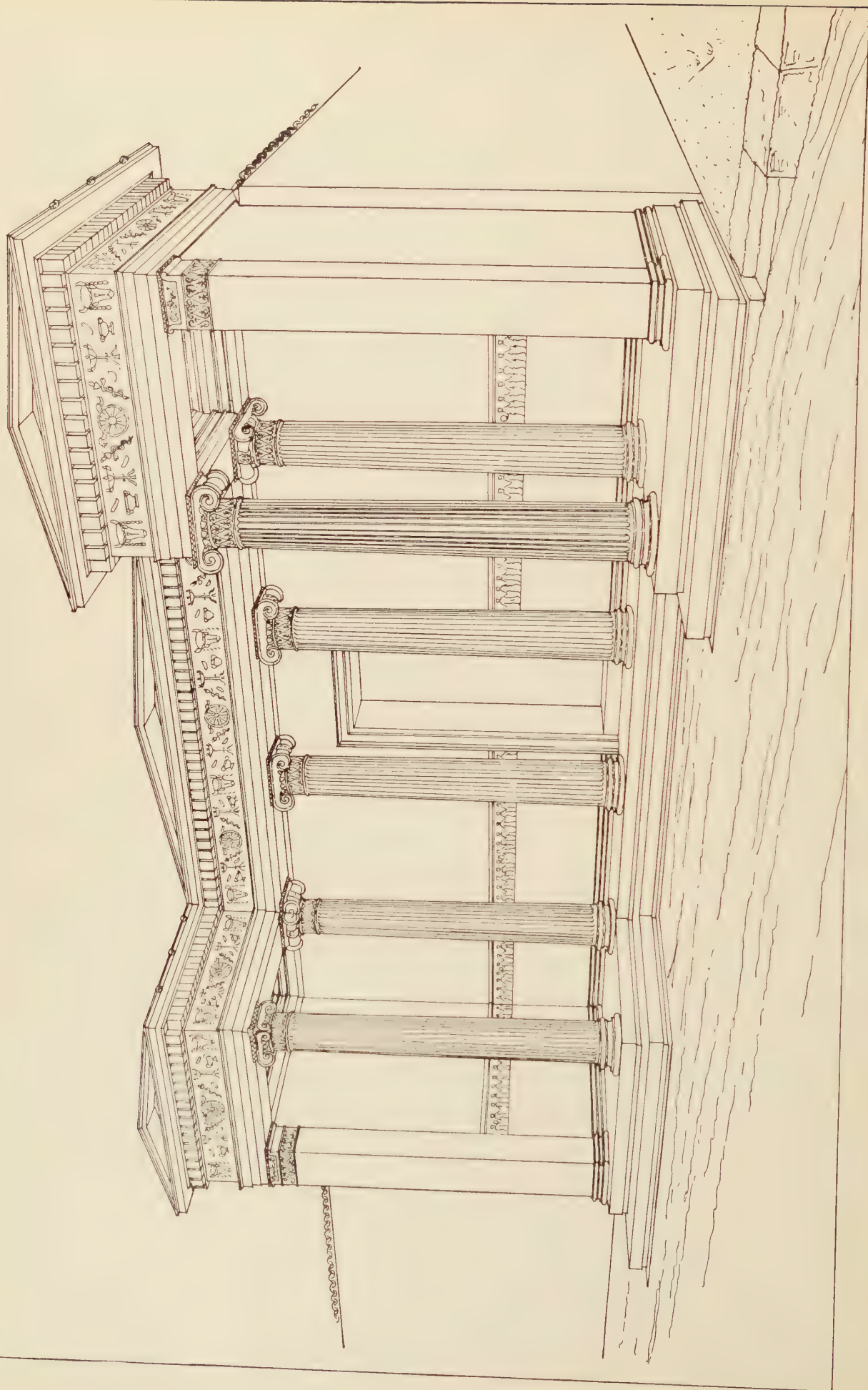


Fig. 2. Tentative Restoration of Propylon of Central Terrace Precinct



and other column fragments, capitals, entire and fragmentary free and wall architraves, a frieze block, numerous cornice-sima blocks in one piece<sup>28</sup> (one from the inner angle of a wing), marble roof tiles, fragments of the raking cornice of the central pediment, ceiling beams, and fragments of the coffered ceiling. A fine antefix fitting onto the roof tiles is preserved in Vienna. The only elements missing so far are the column bases and dentils; the existence of the latter is, however, implied by the dimensions of the inner beams at the level of the outer frieze which is exceeded to a height that requires the restoration of this element.<sup>29</sup>

The building had a width, it seems, of *ca.* 10 m. and a depth, including the projecting wings, of *ca.* 3.60 m. It stood on two steps that supported six Ionic columns, four of which stood directly in front of the rear wall flanking the door, two being placed on the corners of the wings facing towards the inside. The outer walls of the

(49.1043f) of a third block. In 1950, in various places including Austrian dumps to the west and east of the precinct, we found a fragment with part of four figures and a right edge (50.620); another with five figures and a left edge (50.371; possibly identical with the one mentioned *S.*, II, p. 13, note, where a dimension too big for a fragment containing only five figures is given); a third with three figures and a left edge (*ibid.*, no. 2; 50.621); one with two figures (50.481c), possibly part of the second block (1043d) discovered in 1949; part of one figure with a lower edge (50.570), possibly a fragment of the same block, and a part of the same figure (50.538); a lower edge with part of one figure (50.26); another with one foot (50.569), a thigh and leg of one figure (50.450/1), a piece of drapery (50.60) and two fragments of mouldings (50.93 and 541). There are two more fragments of lower parts in Vienna, *S.*, I, p. 10. These fragments belong to at least six different blocks, each of them probably 0.93 m. long like one complete block now in the Louvre. The resulting length of 5.58 m. would fit the proposed reconstruction of the Propylon. Of the four blocks of the frieze moving towards right, one had double length (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 8a). We have fragments of three more blocks which, with a fourth missing one of normal length, would add up to the same dimension. The frieze thus contained 84 figures, 42 in each half. If symmetry is assumed in both halves, there were at least three musicians in each of them; there may have been more. But we have no fragments of any other musicians. On the large frieze block discovered in 1949, we have a chorus originally of twelve girls on both sides of the cithara player—ideally thought to dance around her—with a leader behind the musician in the center. In the left Paris block, we seem to have six dancers of a chorus followed by their tympanum player while another block would have contained the other six chorus girls preceded by their leader. The other fragmentary block in Paris, the left edge of which does not fit the right edge of the first block to which it is now joined, shows a flute player and originally had six dancing girls, leaving room for the missing seven dancing girls of this second chorus on another block. If one assumes a symmetrical arrangement in both friezes, there were on each side three choruses of twelve dancing girls and a chorus leader—one dancing to the music of the tympanum, one to the flute, one to the cithara. A restoration of this kind with the choruses of tympanum and flute on the rear wall and the cithara choruses on the side walls of the wings fits all that is preserved of the frieze and the building as we know it. The sequence of tympanum, flute and cithara may have corresponded to a succession of rites.

<sup>28</sup> The sima blocks which the Austrian excavators attributed to the "Old Temple" and of which a corner piece is in Vienna, *S.*, I, pl. 49; II, pl. 9, are much bigger and from a still unknown building. We have found various fragments of this sima scattered in several regions of the Sanctuary. See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> The Austrians reported the discovery of dentil fragments in this region: *S.*, II, p. 14.

wings ran forward to their full length. The frieze of Dancing Maidens over the orthostates moved along these lateral walls from both sides and continued along the rear wall towards the central door, seen through the intercolumnia of the wings and of the rear columns which stood directly in front of it. This arrangement anticipates the later appearance of the Telephos frieze on the altar of Pergamon as originally designed to be seen through the colonnade of its inner courtyard and, also, in monumental painting, the scheme of the Second Pompeian Style.

With its projecting wings, the building is based on the Periclean concept of a propylaea. But unlike other propylaea, it had no inner porch and is but a façade. This aspect, enhanced by the columns directly in front of the rear wall and the lack of communication between the lateral wings and the center which resulted from this arrangement, recalls theatre façades with projecting paraskenia as much as the tradition of the Propylaea of which it is a playful descendent. The column capitals,<sup>30</sup> playing equally freely with a traditional type, are but another element of this architectural approach.

Another distinctive feature of the building is the addition of metal decoration, undoubtedly of bronze. The frieze block (Pl. 8a) discovered in 1950<sup>31</sup> has holes for dowels and cuttings for applied decoration which was pried off later and cannot have been of stone. This destruction has made the original character of the ornament now entirely obscure but the traces left point rather to the application of bronze sacrificial implements than to figures. If that assumption is correct, we have here a Greek forerunner of a type of decoration otherwise known only from temple friezes of the Roman time. The waterspouts on the sima (Pl. 8b), which is otherwise smooth and must have had painted ornament, were also separately attached pieces set into semi-circular cuttings and, again, these pieces must have been of bronze inasmuch as no provision was made for stone attachment and it would be absurd to assume the existence of stucco or terracotta gargoyles in a building otherwise so delicately executed in marble.

The use of extensive bronze appliqué decoration on the outside of a Greek building of the classical period is a novelty. Evidence for such decoration was hitherto available only from the end of the Hellenistic age on.<sup>32</sup>

Akroterial decoration, probably also of bronze, has left its traces on a cornice-sima block from an inner corner of the wings. The ceiling, too, was richly sculptured in relief, for heads of divinities appeared in some of its coffers,<sup>33</sup> again, the earliest instance of such a decoration.

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 15, pl. 7c-d.

<sup>31</sup> Now in the Museum.

<sup>32</sup> However, the geison of a small archaic Doric poros structure found by the Austrian excavators and now in Vienna (*S.*, II, p. 22, pl. 8, figs. 1, 2) had inserted guttae, probably of metal, and gives evidence of a local tradition in Samothrace of such metal decoration.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 16.



The Propylon of the Dancing Maidens, like the graceful frieze itself, thus presented a novel and somewhat capricious appearance well in tune with the end of the Classical Age in Greece and the beginning of a new epoch.

The precinct walls seem to have been built in limestone over a dado of marble orthostates and to have had a coping of tiles.<sup>34</sup>

To the interior installation of the fourth century precinct may be attributed the marble pavement posed on small rectangular limestone supports which was uncovered by the Austrian excavators and has now completely disappeared.<sup>35</sup> Opposite the propylon, according to their plan, and in the center of this marble floor, a sunken rectangle appeared, evidently a sacred hearth of the type known in Samothrace in the earlier escharae of the same region and now, too, in the Hellenistic "New Temple."<sup>36</sup> In line with this eschara, near the center of the northwestern precinct wall (where the Austrians had assumed the door of their "Old Temple" to be) we found part of an already mentioned fieldstone foundation dating from the same period (Pl. 6a, right background). It was 3.15 m. long and composed of a narrower southwestern and a wider northeastern section as if intended to support a statuary group of a larger and a smaller figure. Its southeastern termination was destroyed and its depth can no longer be defined. In view of the prominent position of this foundation, its character and date, as well as the chorus of maidens shown on the propylon, one is tempted to think that it once supported the group of Aphrodite and Pothos by Skopas which the Samothracians worshipped, according to Pliny, "in most sacred ceremonies."<sup>37</sup>

According to the Austrian records, the southeastern part of the precinct where the natural rock emerges to a greater height near the southern corner was on a level one step higher than the northwestern section. Their statements make it possible to assume that this slightly raised platform was not entirely paved and that the rear section of *ca.* 3.50 m. depth had simply an earthen floor. Such an arrangement seems to be indicated by a stone packing found along the southwestern foundation wall (Pl. 4a) and dating from this period.<sup>38</sup> In view of the analogy offered by the "New

<sup>34</sup> We have larger and smaller orthostates of the same workmanship, the former probably from the Propylon, the latter from the precinct wall. A small amount of tiles of Laconian type were found. For such a coping, compare L. B. Holland, *A. J. A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 349, fig. 5, p. 355.

<sup>35</sup> S., II, pls. 2, 4, 6, 7, pp. 14 f., 21 f.

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 5 f., figs. 8, 12.

<sup>37</sup> *sanctissimis caerimoniis*, Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVI, 5, 25; for this group, see the recent discussion of H. Bulle, *Jahrbuch*, LVI, 1941, pp. 121 ff.; B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Upsala, 1950, p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> The plan, S., II, pl. 2, shows that no supports for the marble floor were found in this rear section where they should have been preserved, if anywhere, given the preservation of the south corner to a level higher than the rest of the foundation. On the other hand, where the plan shows the beginning of the marble floor, a stone packing along the now destroyed upper foundation courses of the precinct wall is still preserved. This stone packing covers the inner part of the wider archaic foundation (see below p. 32), while another earlier and more regular packing inside the archaic foundation fills the interval between this later packing and the southern corner (Pl. 4a).

Temple" in which a higher floor in the rear part of the building surrounded a bothros and was preceded by escharae—in this case, two, instead of one—one may conclude that a similar succession of rites took place in the precinct on the Central Terrace.

The picture of the rites performed here from the age of Alexander the Great on is one possibly beginning with sacrifices on the outer terrace, then ceremonies in the precinct—including offerings on a sacred hearth in front of images, probably of Aphrodite and Pothos—followed by other rites in the background. Dances of maidens accompanied by the music of tympana, flutes, cithera and possibly other instruments must have taken place in this precinct too. Such dances would fit a precinct within which Aphrodite was present.

We have previously suggested that the dancing choruses may be connected with the story of the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia in Samothrace given the insistence of ancient authors on dance and music on this occasion and the nature of the musical instruments appearing in the frieze.<sup>39</sup> That the performance of a sacred marriage in the legendary form of the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia took place in Samothrace and that the origin of the Samothracian cult was allegedly connected with this very event we know.<sup>40</sup> In the Samothracian festival, the search for the bride, Harmonia, who had been carried off by Kadmos, was enacted.<sup>41</sup> This rape motive connects the legend and the rites with underworld ideas and the search may have been followed by celebration of the wedding.<sup>42</sup> At this stage of our knowledge, it seems probable that these rites took place in the precinct on the Central Terrace as part of the public festival and not of the exclusive mystery initiations to which the Anaktoron and the "New Temple" were dedicated, and that the fourth century precinct was built as a dignified setting for these celebrations.

Most revered they were, according to Pliny or, more likely, his source Varro,

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> See, now, Hemberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Ephoros, *F. Gr. Hist.* 70F120: καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐν τῇ Σαμοθράκῃ ζητοῦσιν αὐτὴν (scil. Harmonia) ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς. The annual Samothracian festival to which the Theoroi came was public, and the initiation into the mysteries, though undoubtedly obtained by many people at that time, was a different matter and could be gotten at any time even before the late Hellenistic and Roman age for which we have epigraphical evidence. The account of the initiation of the Argonauts in Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.*, I, 915 ff., already gives evidence of this practice, as Naphtali Lewis remarks. Ephoros was in a position to mention the performance of the Wedding of Harmonia precisely because this was not part of the mystery initiation. See Hemberg, *loc. cit.*, where, however, the statement that this *drōmenon* was performed in the theatre in Samothrace (p. 106) has no basis. There is no evidence for the earlier existence of the theatre whose construction probably dates from the second century B. C. or later. But in Ephoros' time, the Central Terrace precinct with its propylon and the frieze of dancing maidens was built and Skopas' group was commissioned. See also, below, pp. 37 f.

<sup>42</sup> For similar ideas, see Hemberg, *loc. cit.*



who had himself been to Samothrace. And their ancient origin is indicated in the archaistic style of the dancers and musicians in the frieze of the Propylon.<sup>43</sup>

In harmony with this allusion, the Austrian and our recent excavations have shown the very old tradition of the cult and the character of the rites in this region. We may now briefly explain the main features of this earlier evidence.

The northwestern foundation of the precinct wall is not homogeneous (Pls. 3b, 4b). Its northern part is rather sloppily built of a very porous limestone material and includes spoils of earlier buildings. It is coherent with the foundation of the Propylon but attached to an already extant wall that serves, for almost half of its length, as the foundation of the northwestern precinct wall. This earlier wall can be dated from finds in its foundation ditches and inner fill in the period around 400 B. C. It is carefully built of finer limestone material and, on the western corner, has preserved the remnants of an entrance (Pls. 4b, 6a, 7a) in two fine porous blocks at a level 1.18 m. beneath that of the later precinct.<sup>44</sup> These stones have anathyrosis on their southwestern end where this original entrance was cut off by the builders of the precinct and it is clear that the structure originally extended farther southwest towards the river bed where nothing is now preserved. The wall pierced by this entrance was exposed on its outer northwestern face while, on the inside, it has irregular projections and it evidently was the face of a terrace to which a stairway led at the entrance. The preserved entrance slabs were never exposed but supported the lowest step of the stairway. If we assume a symmetrical arrangement, the terrace was *ca.* 8 m. wide with an entrance 1.92 m. wide in the center and at the western corner of the later precinct. The width was approximately that of the later precinct. To the left of the entrance, and on the inside, we found a fieldstone foundation (Pl. 6a left, foreground) 1.25 m. wide which, according to the ceramics found in it, dates in the period of the earlier terrace. It is tempting to assume that it supported an altar and that a second such altar flanked the other side of the entrance stairway. In that case, this late fifth-century terrace, while providing access to both the later area of the precinct and to the region in front of the "New Temple" where still another altar had been situated since the archaic period,<sup>45</sup> may be the ritual predecessor of the great rock-terrace outside the later precinct. The fourth-century architect availed himself of this earlier terrace wall, posing his new precinct wall upon it and continuing its line.

Though no chronological data are obtainable, it seems likely that an eschara with a carefully built frame of marble over a limestone projection (Bothros B) under the marble floor of the later precinct<sup>46</sup> and situated at *ca.* 8 m. southeast of the northern corner of the earlier terrace belonged to this same period. It is earlier than

<sup>43</sup> *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>44</sup> The levels here given (compare above note 14) refer to -1.69 m. of S., II, pl. 2.

<sup>45</sup> *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 140, fig. 2; XLIV, 1940, p. 329, fig. 1.

<sup>46</sup> S., II, pls. 2, 4, figs. 2, 7, pp. 15, 22.

the fourth-century precinct, and later than the archaic age to which its predecessor farther to the southeast (A) evidently belonged. This eschara, in turn, is the immediate predecessor of the eschara of the later precinct, the position of which was changed to a place almost exactly opposite the assumed position of the door of the Propylon.

The earliest eschara (Bothros A) found by the Austrians<sup>47</sup> on a slightly lower level than its fifth-century successor and built of poros was correctly dated in the archaic period. Our predecessors also recognized—we cannot say on the basis of exactly what evidence—that part of the foundation of the precinct at its southern corner was earlier than the fourth century and attributed it to the archaic age. Our full excavation has shown that the lower course of the southern corner of the precinct foundation and the adjoining section of the southwestern foundation (Pl. 4a) antedate the fourth-century structure. This part is in the nature of a very broad foundation (average *ca.* 1.00 m.) carefully built of limestone with an alternation of transversal bonders and coupled stretchers. At the northern end a corner-stone 1.35 m. long is preserved. The length of this foundation from corner to corner amounts to 8.90 m. and the fact that this dimension is close to the width of the later precinct from southwest to northeast makes it probable that the preceding structure, which occupied the southeastern part of that precinct, was *ca.* 8.50 m. square. This square structure defined the orientation of both the late fifth-century terrace to its northwest and the still later precinct, as it also defined the width, central axis and southeastern extension of that precinct. The level of the natural rock inside the southern corner ascends to a height emerging somewhat over that of the Austrians' archaic eschara (A) which was situated at a distance of only *ca.* 1 m. in front of the center of the structure. This situation shows that the archaic square foundation supported a higher platform behind an eschara corresponding to the later arrangement in the fourth-century precinct which seems to have continued earlier tradition in all details. The archaic predecessor of the later precinct would thus have been in the nature of a square and, in view of its strong foundations, the high platform and the eschara in front of the steps leading up to it, it is possible that in type and dimensions it was not so different from the well-known archaic altar of Monodendri near Miletos.<sup>48</sup>

Between the southern and eastern corners of the precinct, we found a sculptural fragment: two fingers of island marble. It fits the fragmentary right hand holding a patera from a life-sized archaic statue which we discovered at a slight distance to the west in 1938.<sup>49</sup> A sixth-century life-sized image of a divinity—conceivably a

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 2, 4, figs. 1, 5-6, pp. 15, 21 f.

<sup>48</sup> *Miletus*, I, pt. 4, Berlin, 1915.

<sup>49</sup> *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 146, fig. 7. In 1950, we also found another piece of the throne (Acc. No. 50.576) of which part had been found in this region in 1938 (Acc. No. 38.17).



predecessor of the Aphrodite of Skopas—might thus have once stood on this archaic cult place.

The archaic ritual section to the northwest of which a terrace with altars was added in the late fifth century, and which finally was succeeded by the fourth-century precinct, was flanked by other altars from the sixth century on. We discovered one such altar in 1938 to the west of the archaic platform in an almost north-south orientation.<sup>50</sup> Excavation of the area in 1950 revealed that this altar was built around and above one of the natural boulders which, in the early phase of the Samothracian cult, seem to have time and again formed the nucleus of ritual performances.

At the end of this campaign we uncovered another archaic altar to the north (Pl. 7b, center) halfway between a rocky cliff to the south of the Arsinoeion<sup>51</sup> and the northern corner of the fourth-century Central Terrace. Here, at a slight distance from the cliff that emerged to a height of 4 m. behind it, a large boulder *ca.* 3 feet high was cut to form a roughly rectangular prism of 1.75 m. length (from southeast to northwest) and 0.80 m. width and posed upon another flattened rock. The lower end of this boulder was framed by a step of 0.43 m. width posed on a foundation course the blocks of which are held together by swallow-tailed clamps. The boulder emerged 0.58 m. above this step. On the southeastern side, the step was doubled in width, evidently to form a prothysis for the sacrificer facing northwest. The material of the steps is a marine limestone but they include spoils of yellow tufa blocks of the type used in the seventh-century structures farther to the north in the region of the Arsinoeion.<sup>52</sup> This fact, as well as the character of the ceramic finds made around the foundation, indicates a date in the intermediate period<sup>53</sup> of the sixth century. The animal bones found around this altar are of lambs.<sup>54</sup>

Most of the northwestern and the entire southwestern step frame of the archaic altar were destroyed in the latter part of the fourth century when a smaller boulder and other stones were posed against the original rock altar on the southwestern side: undoubtedly to enlarge what was now to support a successor to the archaic altar on the higher level<sup>55</sup> of the road that passed by it and gave access to the Propylon with the Dancing Maidens and to the terrace adjacent to it.

The entire Central Terrace area thus seems to have been of great importance in the sixth century B. C. Sporadic archaic finds from this region include a fragment of a large vase with relief decoration (Pl. 8c).<sup>56</sup> Part of a frieze with a chariot

<sup>50</sup> See above, p. 31 and note 45.

<sup>51</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 2 ff., pls. 1, 5a. The area is visible, *ibid.* on pl. 3a, upper left.

<sup>52</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 9 ff.; XX, 1951, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>54</sup> We are again indebted to Dr. Edwin Colbert of the American Museum of Natural History for examining the animal bones found during the campaign of 1950.

<sup>55</sup> A similar procedure was observed previously in an altar foundation to the west of the Arsinoeion: *ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Acc. No. 50.80. Pres. height 0.107 m.; length 0.09 m.; thickness 0.016 m. Orange clay.



procession or race in a vigorous, rather heavy and rounded Ionic style of the mid-sixth century is preserved on it. While a chariot procession is not uncommon on archaic Greek relief vases and architectural terracottas, its style as well as certain other peculiarities distinguish this fragment. The bearded charioteer eagerly bending forward holds the two pairs of reins of a biga. The chariot pole has an elaborate metal finial ornamented with a bud between two volutes.<sup>57</sup> Behind the charioteer appears what seems to be the upper part of a tripod<sup>58</sup> of which one entire and one-half ring-shaped handle is preserved.

Still earlier than this relief are numerous ceramic fragments of a variety having a thick white slip and glazed ornamentation found in various places on the Central Terrace, chiefly in the dumps of previous hasty excavations, and evidently from a layer dating around 600 B. C. They seem to have been imported from the Cycladic Islands. One such fragment was found among the remnants of a sacrifice containing ashes, other ceramic bits and burnt sheep and rams' bones which had been deposited in a hole dug into a pre-archaic stamped-earth floor beneath the center of the northern part of the later precinct. This earth floor, of which only a small part was preserved, belongs to the earliest phase of the long history of sacrificial rites and "most sacred ceremonies" celebrated on this spot.

Inside the northwestern foundation of the fourth-century precinct, that is, behind the late fifth-century terrace wall incorporated in that foundation,<sup>59</sup> we discovered the earliest sacrificial area of this region. Here, at a level 2.26 m. beneath the floor of the precinct, we found a pavement of small stones in what evidently was an aboriginal hearth (Pl. 8d). This pavement lay in front of still another large natural boulder (1.75 m. long and 0.70 m. high) and smaller rocks flanked it on the sides to form a horseshoe, a primitive type of fireplace such as temporary campers might build. Earth, ashes, charcoal fragments and a few burned bones of pigs and lambs—one cut for the extraction of marrow at the feast<sup>60</sup>—were found over the floor within the hearth. Over this hearth we found a stratum of sacrificial debris about two feet high (0.65 m.) from a succeeding period. In the center, it emerged to a level of 0.91 m. beneath the floor of the later precinct. This stratum consisted of a dense accumulation of burned bones and ceramic fragments. Originally this heap was surrounded by a curved frame of rocks some of which are still *in situ* on the northeastern and southern periphery and encircle an area *ca.* 3.50 m. in diameter—evidently a shallow pit over the initial hearth into which the debris of sacrifices from a near-by place were thrown until it filled up and finally accumulated in a high heap in the center.

<sup>57</sup> Simpler finials occur in Larissa: L. Kjelberg, *Larissa am Hermos, II, Die architektonischen Terracotten*, Stockholm, 1940.

<sup>58</sup> Compare: *A. J. A.*, V, 1901, pl. 14, no. 11; *Annuario*, I, 1914, p. 67, fig. 36; p. 70, fig. 39; *B. C. H.*, XII, 1888, p. 479.

<sup>59</sup> See above, p. 31.

<sup>60</sup> Compare, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 10.

The stone frame of this shallow pit was surrounded by the above-mentioned stamped-earth floor at a level 1.26 m. beneath the later precinct floor. Later builders and previous diggers have destroyed this earth floor and most of the stone frame. And in the course of the building activity of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. which entirely destroyed the original frame on the western and northern sides, the blackened sacrificial relics were spilled out in the vicinity so that we found thin layers of them descending the hillside outside the precinct beneath the inner fill of the fourth-century terrace and inside the precinct foundation wall to the northeast.

The animal bones found in masses in this deposit are of the same variety as those from the hearth beneath it, consisting of lambs and many pigs, and attest to the continuation of the same chthonic sacrifices. But now these ceremonies also included sacramental drinking and evidently the vessels used for the purpose in this early period<sup>61</sup> in Samothrace as well as later were ritually broken up after use and deposited with the bones in a pit made for the purpose.

The ceramic finds from this deposit and its spilled out dependencies are of considerable interest both for the history of Samothrace and her cult and for the history of early Greek ceramics, to which they add a hitherto unknown and extremely fine ware. Though the study of these finds and their restoration is not yet completed, some general observations may already be made and some examples may serve to illustrate these observations.

The fill is homogeneous and from one period, subgeometric of the first half of the seventh century B. C. With its prevalence of Greek ceramics, it dates the arrival of the Greek settlers in Samothrace and their worship on the site of the later sanctuary in that age, at least one generation earlier than the construction of the late seventh-century double precinct previously discovered by us in the region of the Arsinoeion.<sup>62</sup>

The majority of the vases are drinking cups, though other forms also occur, given evidence of ritual meals and drinking in this very early phase of the Samothracian cult. And, as later, *kantharoi* prevail among the drinking vessels.

The ceramic finds are mainly of Greek manufacture but they are mixed, in curious contrast, with indigenous, handmade, thick, badly burnt and undecorated native products, possibly indicating the co-worship of Greek settlers and natives that we had already concluded from former discoveries. The native vases are mostly small cups with at most one or two handles<sup>63</sup> (Pl. 9a-d).

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 16.

<sup>62</sup> See, *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> Pl. 9a. Acc. No. 50.558; height 0.065 m. Could have had a second handle.

Pl. 9b. Acc. No. 50.560; height 0.085 m. Only part of upper rim preserved. Possibly had handles.

Pl. 9c. Acc. No. 50.561; height 0.075 m. Two handles preserved at starting points.

Pl. 9d. Acc. No. 50.557; height 0.115 m. Could have had a second handle.

The Greek ceramics (Pls. 9e, f; 10a, b, c) include many fragments of extremely fine manufacture characterized by a peculiarly restrained and refined subgeometric decoration. This class of vase is very thin, employs glaze on the interior and for the sparse decoration of the exterior without using a slip on the sometimes burnished surface of the fine orange-colored mica-less clay.

The ornaments include rectangles or circles of dots about a large central dot, rows of Z-shaped hooks, pendant triangles, concentric circles, zigzag bands with filling dots, diagonal crosses (on the handles), horizontal and (on the handles) vertical lines. What is characteristic of this ornamentation is its extreme economy, the conscious and sophisticated restraint that makes it stand out with precise, thin, clarity on the large light surfaces of the vases.

Apart from two-handled bowls,<sup>64</sup> we already possess several large restored kantharoi<sup>65</sup> and numerous fragments of such vessels. While slight variations occur,<sup>66</sup> the type is a forerunner of the Boeotian kantharos, from the sixth century on the favored ritual vessel of Dionysos. But our early seventh-century kantharoi with their elegant vertical shape and low foot are novel in type, as is the form of the large double handled bowl.

A few fragments of this ceramic group have been found in Antissa on Lesbos<sup>67</sup> and here, also, the only analogy to the form of our kantharoi was found in what now is clearly to be understood as a local imitation of this Greek type.<sup>68</sup> This connection may or may not have significance for the origin of the Greek colonists of Samothrace, whose cult is related to Amazons coming from Mytilene in one legend. We can hardly credit the colonists themselves with the manufacture of this ceramic group which is equal to the best Greek ceramics of this age and so peculiarly refined in taste that it must be the result of a considerable tradition. On the other hand, we have learned from Professor Caskey that potsherds of identical character have

<sup>64</sup> Pl. 10b. Acc. No. 50.125; height 0.207 m. Most of one handle restored, but its lower end preserved.

Pl. 10c. Acc. No. 50.563; height 0.097 m. One handle restored.

<sup>65</sup> Pl. 9e. Acc. No. 50.614; height 0.183m. Left handle restored.

Pl. 9f. Acc. No. 50.567; preserved height 0.173 m. Both handles restored.

Pl. 10a. Acc. No. 50.398.

<sup>66</sup> Compare also, the unglazed and undecorated kantharos found in the later seventh century fill of the double precinct illustrated in *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 13, fig. 33 and discussed p. 18 with reference to some analogies.

<sup>67</sup> *B. S. A.*, XXXII, 1931/2, pl. 23, nos. 6, 8, 16, 21 and p. 56. This observation has not escaped the sharp eyes of Mr. Kallipolitis.

<sup>68</sup> *B. S. A.*, XXXI, 1930/1, p. 175, fig. 5, no. 3. Some of the smaller vases found in the Tyrrhenian necropolis in Lemnos, with subgeometric decoration, show a similar restraint in ornament though cruder handling and different shapes. They may have been inspired by the same center. See *Annuario*, XV-XVI, 1942, p. 104, fig. 168; p. 116, fig. 192; p. 125, fig. 222.



been found in Troy VIII and this connection, too, is of peculiar interest in view of the legendary relationship of Samothrace to Troy.<sup>69</sup>

Fragments of larger vessels with even more reduced decorative elements seem to be from the same still enigmatic provenance in spite of the fact that they are less thin.

Other fragments of subgeometric ceramic from this deposit point to importation from Rhodes and the Cycladic Islands. Rhodian importation has already been noted in the later seventh-century ceramics of the double precinct beneath the Arsinoeion,<sup>70</sup> and Cycladic finds of that later period were made in the area of the Central Terrace, specifically in a hole dug into the early seventh-century earth floor, as stated above.

A small sea-shell pierced with two holes for suspension as an amulet or votive gift also found its way into this early Greek sacrificial deposit.

These discoveries have revealed a long tradition of rites in this region, a tradition which seems to have developed continuously after the arrival of Greek settlers around 700 B. C. An original primitive hearth for chthonic sacrifices was succeeded by a continuation of the same sacrifices, with banqueting in the vicinity, throughout the seventh and early sixth centuries, the relics of these rites being buried over and near the original eschara. Presumably in the later archaic age, a new limestone eschara was built at a slight distance farther to the southeast (Bothros A) along with a high platform accessible from behind by steps. Possibly a sacrificial place and an image of Aphrodite existed on the platform in this age, too.

Other altars arose in the vicinity to the west and north. At the end of the fifth century, a terrace accessible by steps and supporting altars was built in the region of the original hearth over the seventh-century sacrificial deposit, and the eschara (Bothros B) was shifted halfway toward it. In the last third of the fourth century, the major elements of this region were incorporated in a precinct surrounded by walls, accessible through the Propylon of the Dancing Maidens (whose archaistic grace refers to the early origin of the rites) and preceded by an open terrace, probably, again, supporting two altars. The precinct continued to have an eschara in its marble floor opposite the entrance and—if we are right—was embellished by the near-by group of Aphrodite and Pothos. To the rear again, it contained a higher platform.

Inasmuch as this area shows such a marked continuity of rites, was evidently very important, and, although situated in the very heart of the Sanctuary, remained open and exposed until the time of Alexander the Great, the rites performed here were evidently not part of the technical mystery initiation but of the great, annually celebrated festivals. It was in these public festivals, according to a statement made by Ephoros<sup>71</sup> in the age when the precinct and its propylon were constructed, that a dramatic performance of the story of Kadmos and Harmonia took place and we

<sup>69</sup> See *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 8, note 27, p. 9.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>71</sup> See above p. 30 and note 41.

have seen that this precinct was probably the site of that performance. Over the wedding feast, then, if we are right, there presided Scopas' Aphrodite, made in the same age and accompanied by the longing god of desire. According to Demagoras,<sup>72</sup> probably an early Hellenistic source of slightly later date, Harmonia had seen Kadmos in the initiation of the Samothracian mysteries and had fallen in love with him on that occasion. In Diodoros' account,<sup>73</sup> too, Kadmos is initiated in Samothrace before he marries Harmonia. The story evidently offers a parallel in this respect to Olympias' falling in love with Philip of Macedon during their initiation in Samothrace and to their subsequent wedding.<sup>74</sup> These relationships not only give evidence of the peculiar interest in the rites and the story of the wedlock of Kadmos and Harmonia in Samothrace in Alexander's age, an interest leading to the elaborate artistic setting created at that time for the performance of these rites, but also afford us a glimpse of the emotional atmosphere of this age which mixed personal romance with legendary stories and ancient religious ceremonies.

These ceremonies now had a history of over three and a half centuries of Greek life on this sacred spot. Originally, they were probably in the nature of a rape and succeeding holy marriage of divinities, a *ἱερὸς γάμος*.<sup>75</sup> Other such rites with mystical meaning and explanation may have been performed for the initiates<sup>76</sup> in the seclusion of the near-by "New Temple." In its Hellenistic form, this originally archaic building still preserved an installation with sacred hearths and, behind them, a higher floor framing a bothros in striking analogy to the elements of the Central Terrace precinct.

When that precinct took on its final form, in the time of Alexander the Great, it did not include an altar of archaic origin to the west which was renewed at the same time.<sup>77</sup> This altar was situated in the center of a triangular open area between the precinct, the river bed to the west, and the façade of a predecessor of the "New Temple" to the south. Between this building, shorter then than it now is, and the southern corner of the precinct there was space for a broad passage. It was only in the Hellenistic age that the Doric façade of the "New Temple" narrowed this space to a passage of less than three meters width between its northeastern corner and the southern corner of the precinct.

In the mid-second century B. C., the area in front of the "New Temple" was paved with a floor of opus signinum supported by a stone packing (Pl. 4a, left)<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *F. Gr. Hist.*, IV, p. 378. For Demagoras, see F. Jacoby, *R. E.*, s. v.

<sup>73</sup> V, 48, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2, 2; Himerius, *Melet.*, I, 12 = Photius, 243, p. 367 Bekker.

<sup>75</sup> Hemberg, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106. For references to phallic symbols possibly connected with the *ἱερὸς γάμος* see, also, Bulle, *op. cit.*, note 37, who recognized that the sceptre of the Scopasian Pothos on a gem was crowned by a phallic symbol.

<sup>77</sup> See above, p. 33.

<sup>78</sup> This edge was in part uncovered by the Austrian excavators and appears as wall B in S., I, p. 49, fig. 15, but not in their later plan.

parallel to the southwestern precinct wall and leaving space for a narrow drain between that wall and the higher level in front of the "New Temple." This floor must have surrounded the altar situated in the center of the triangle to the north of the temple.

Still later, in a not exactly definable Roman period, another drain was led through the same area. It came from the western side of the "New Temple," ran north for ca. 4.25 m. from the northwestern corner of that building, then curved toward the northeast around the northwestern corner of the altar and evidently, after another bend, continued to the northwest along the line of the southwestern precinct wall until it reached the river bed to the north. This drain (0.30-0.36 m. wide) is still preserved to a considerable extent around the western and southern periphery of the altar to the north of the "New Temple" (Pl. 11a). Its stone floor, stone walls and partly preserved cover slabs are of heterogeneous material and include marble spoils.

By the time this drain was constructed the aspect of the entire area had profoundly changed. In the fourth century and in the Hellenistic period, it retained the appearance of a river valley. Roads led through it and around the Central Precinct terrace over ascending slopes along it to the "New Temple," and towards north to the Arsinoeion and the Anaktoron. By the time the Arsinoeion was built, a concrete wall had risen above the river bed to create a high terrace to its west.<sup>79</sup> We had previously observed that this Hellenistic concrete wall was later reinforced by a slightly diverging outer shell and, in 1950, we found remnants of the continuation of that later reinforcement encircling the western corner of the Central Terrace<sup>80</sup> and posed upon the corner of the then partly dismantled terrace facing (Pl. 11b) in addition to a piece of its continuation farther to the south at a distance of about 10 m. from that corner. As Mr. Daykin observed, a large section of this collapsed right bank retaining wall fell towards a stretch of the still preserved corresponding left bank wall in the area between the Arsinoeion and the Central Terrace precinct (Pl. 11b, background), but sections of the left bank wall, too, are preserved opposite the Arsinoeion. We made a sounding behind this upright section of the left bank wall halfway between the Arsinoeion and the Central Terrace to determine the date of these retaining walls. The finds from its fill indicate that the concrete walls along the river were built in the first century B. C., probably in the period of restoration following the destruction caused by the pirates, a period which has left its traces in many spots.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 8 f., pl. 4, b-d.

<sup>80</sup> Not quite correctly indicated with the other remnants of river-walls (U) in S., II, pl. 1. See also, *ibid.*, I, pp. 31 f.

<sup>81</sup> The ceramic finds correspond to those made behind the central section of the terrace wall to the east of the Arsinoeion, regarding whose date see *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 4. Roman glass, which is found everywhere in strata of the Roman Empire in Samothrace, was completely absent here. Coquart had dated these concrete walls mediaeval, the Austrians, late Roman.



Here, however, this activity amounted to a radical transformation of natural and architectural physiognomy. At least from the region west of the Arsinoeion to that west of the façade of the "New Temple," the natural river bed was now converted into a subterranean drain and a more or less unified level was created from the Anaktoron in the north to the "New Temple" in the south. The old roads were buried in the ground. The powerful wall of the Central Terrace was now hidden and this terrace lost its distinctive character to become part of a levelled off area. This level extended towards the hills to the west where other buildings rose over it in higher terraced steps.

Successive phases of Hellenistic building activity created first the precinct of the Central Terrace, in the age of Alexander, then the great rotunda of Arsinoe occupying the space between it and the Anaktoron in the early third century and, shortly afterward, a marble "New Temple" to the south of the precinct to supplant a modest earlier structure. The late Hellenistic marble façade of that building, filling whatever space was still left in the heart of the Sanctuary, was the culmination of this activity and thus prepared the way for the last radical transformation just described.

Our excavation in front of that façade, in the region where our Austrian predecessors had searched and found remnants of the pedimental sculptures, furnished only minor additions to those earlier finds. More important are the architectural fragments found in 1950, including pieces of the raking sima identical with those previously discovered at the rear<sup>82</sup> and numerous fragments of a central floral akroterion, again, analogous to the akroterial decoration of the rear pediment.<sup>83</sup> Near the northwestern corner of the building, we also found part of an arm and additional pieces of a marble Victory of the type of the lateral akroteria known from the southern corners.<sup>84</sup> While all these pieces are from the late Hellenistic renewal, a lion's head water spout of appropriate dimensions and of a style close to that of the Arsinoeion (Pl. 10e) may belong to its early Hellenistic predecessor.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 23, pl. 13c.

<sup>83</sup> This discovery seems to exclude the suggestion made by Professor Schober, *Oest. Jahresh.*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 17 f. of façade akroteria different from those of the rear.

<sup>84</sup> Acc. No. 50.30. See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 25 ff., pls. 15, 16. Our excavations in 1949 and 1950 also yielded, on the surface near the southwestern corner of the "New Temple," joining fragments (Acc. No. 49.450-50.117) of a wing of the type and workmanship of the Vienna Victory which, however, does not belong to it but to its counterpart at the southwestern corner which supplanted the Hellenistic statue discovered by us in 1949. The Vienna figure, which we tend to date as late as ca. A. D. 200 after study of the original, is clearly derived from the Hellenistic prototype that had to be replaced at that time, and the fragments of whose counterpart were then buried. The Vienna statue exhibits a reversal of poise compared with the Hellenistic figure found by us in 1949. It therefore replaced the counterpart of our Victory, while the wing mentioned above belongs to the Roman substitute for our Victory.

<sup>85</sup> Acc. No. 50.122 A-B. Compare *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pls. 13b and 6e, p. 23. We are indebted to Dr. Jiri Frel for a reprint of his article in *Listy Filologické*, LXXIV, 1950, pp. 65 ff., in which he discusses and illustrates (pl. 1) two waterspouts from the "New Temple" in Samothrace

Near the northwestern corner of the "New Temple," we found a fragmentary poros block with a hole 0.16 x 0.16 m. square and 0.14 m. deep in the center of its upper surface (Pl. 10d). This hole still contains a lead pouring bearing impressions of the lower end of a vertical wooden beam or pole. Similar stones supporting masts or poles and flanking the façade of a temple have been found in the Sanctuary of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, such masts seem not to be uncommon in Greek sanctuaries.

To the previously known marble blocks of the superstructure of the "New Temple" a great number was added in 1950. Some were discovered by our predecessors; others were found by us either in the positions into which they had fallen in the great earthquake of the mid-sixth century or where they had been dragged by stone looters of various periods.

In a preceding report, we have told the sad story of lime burning in the heart of the Sanctuary during the Early Christian and Byzantine eras.<sup>87</sup> When the lime burners built their first kiln between the Arsinoeion and the Central Terrace, probably in the fifth century after Christ, the concrete walls flanking the river bed must either have already been partly destroyed or else they were destroyed to lead a road through the river bed to the seashore. There followed the collapse of the buildings in an earthquake in the mid-sixth century.<sup>88</sup> After this catastrophe, vandals destroyed the Central Terrace precinct, digging a deep road bed obliquely through its eastern portion from the area of the lime kiln to the eastern side of the "New Temple." At this time, the entire eastern foundation of the precinct including most of the southeastern and northeastern walls and the foundation of the southern projecting wing of the propylon were wilfully destroyed. A coin of Justinian found in the road among the debris of smashed building blocks is a document of this destruction. Subsequently, the deeply cut road valley transformed itself into a stream, the gravel and sand of which covered the valley to a considerable height. In the Byzantine Middle Ages, when lime burners again began to work, the stream was once more converted into a road and debris from the fallen buildings was dragged along it. On this road marked by the dis-

which found their way into the Archaeological Museum of Charles University in Prague. One of them is of the normal type which we attribute to the structure of the second century B.C., (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 13b); the other shows very pronounced drill work and crude modelling which suggests that it belonged to a Roman restoration, while Frel would attribute it to the second century and the common type to the earlier temple.

<sup>86</sup> E. Døggve, *Das Laphrion*, Copenhagen, 1948, p. 45, fig. 41, pp. 250 f. with reference to analogies.

<sup>87</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 12.

<sup>88</sup> G. Downey, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 20 f.; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 12. It is evident that the right bank river wall (above p. 39) in front of the Central Terrace and of the Propylon (many fallen pieces of the Propylon were found near the line of the river wall at a deep level, *ibid.*, pp. 14 ff.) collapsed in the same general catastrophe of the Sanctuary.



covery of occasional fragments of Byzantine pottery, we found a dozen marble column drums from the "New Temple" lined up over the eastern corner of the old precinct. They were evidently destined to be transported along the road and through the northern river bed to be reused in a building in Constantinople or elsewhere but fortunately escaped that destiny so that they may one day find their place in a restoration of the façade of the "New Temple" if and when such a re-erection can be undertaken.

Partly owing to this long road of destruction and to the previous excavations in this area, the amount of single finds of interest in 1950 was small. Among the epigraphic items, which will be published separately by Mr. Kallipolitis, two fragments of a late Hellenistic votive inscription deserve a preliminary word here. Found in the area of the altar to the west of the Central Precinct, they contain, for the first time in Samothrace, part of the name of one of the divinities worshipped there and otherwise known only from scant literary references, namely Kadmilos, who was commonly identified with Hermes.

The sculptural pieces, apart from those already mentioned, include several fragments of the small-sized marble statuettes of the Hellenistic period that seem to be typical of Samothrace,<sup>89</sup> while bronze and terracotta statuettes are so far absent in the Sanctuary. Among these statuettes is a fragmentary figure of a half-nude and seemingly bearded<sup>90</sup> man wearing an animal skin as a cloak. Fragments of small votive reliefs also appeared for the first time in the Sanctuary. One late archaic example has preserved part of a seated female divinity.<sup>91</sup> Another, of miniature proportions, shows the legs of a running horse in delicate and spirited Hellenistic modelling.

Puzzling, indeed, are more than half a dozen marble fragments of a type of miniature stele without inscription or relief, possibly originally bearing a painted dedication, which were found all around the northern part of the Central Terrace precinct.

The discovery that the large relief representation of a centaur in Hellenistic style which the Austrian excavators found at the northern end of the "New Temple" and which is now in Vienna<sup>92</sup> was only one of several such figures is of considerable interest. While we found a hoof, probably belonging to this very centaur,<sup>93</sup> we also found parts of at least a second, and possibly a third, such figure in front of the

<sup>89</sup> See *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 354.

<sup>90</sup> Acc. No. 50.452. Height 0.073 m.

<sup>91</sup> Acc. No. 50.354. Pres. length 0.095 m.; pres. height 0.065 m.

<sup>92</sup> *S.*, I, pl. 52, pp. 12, 27 f. Dr. Eichler tells us that he has found evidence for more than one centaur in re-examining the pieces in Vienna.

<sup>93</sup> Found in 1938 in the region of the Anaktorion (38.558) and seemingly the right rear hoof of the Vienna Centaur. It may have been lost there after the previous excavation.



Temple. The use of these reliefs will, we hope, be defined in the course of further excavation.

The Samothracian Sanctuary, like Eleusis, was a center of mystic rites for which peculiar liturgical buildings were erected. But, unlike Eleusis, in Samothrace such buildings as the Anaktoron and the "New Temple" were only part of a public precinct where Greeks from many lands gathered for the performance of old ceremonies in annual festivals, witnessing these rites in later ages in such spectacular edifices as the Central Terrace Precinct and the Rotunda of Arsinoe. Public political dedications such as the Victory of Samothrace, buildings for the great festivals, a theatre, a large stoa, a propylon dedicated by the second Ptolemy, and other not yet fully explored or still buried buildings and monuments were added. The Sanctuary, thus, became one of the great Panhellenic shrines, though it held special promise for those initiated in the mysteries.

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## LA MAIN DROITE DE LA VICTOIRE DE SAMOTHRACE

(PLATES 12, 13)

**A**L'ENDROIT même où fut découverte par Champoiseau en de très nombreux fragments, la "Victoire de Samothrace," les fouilles de la campagne 1950 ont mis au jour la paume d'une main droite en marbre de Paros. La qualité du marbre, les dimensions de la main, le style de la sculpture ne permettent pas de douter que ce fragment appartient à la statue du Louvre (Pls. 12, 13a).

Un complément inattendu est venu se joindre à cette découverte. Lors de leur séjour à Vienne, en août 1950, M. et Mme Lehmann et M. Shaw ont retrouvé parmi des fragments de marbre conservés dans les réserves du "Kunsthistorisches Museum," un pouce et la partie inférieure d'un annulaire qui, par leurs dimensions et la nature du marbre, leur semblèrent pouvoir appartenir à la même main. Grâce à l'obligeante générosité du professeur F. Eichler, ces deux doigts purent être apportés au Musée du Louvre et rapprochés du moulage de la paume; ils s'y adaptèrent parfaitement et, de plus l'annulaire put être complété par le moulage d'un fragment découvert en même temps que la paume, à Samothrace<sup>1</sup> (Pl. 13b and c).

La main droite, recomposée au moyen de ces quatre fragments, n'est donc plus privée maintenant que de l'index, du médius et de l'auriculaire.

Voici les principales mesures prises sur la main, telle qu'elle se présente actuellement:

Hauteur totale: 0.27 m.

Longueur du pouce: 0.09 m.

Longueur de l'annulaire: 0.135 m.

Largeur sous l'attache du pouce: 0.17 m.

Largeur au dessus de l'attache du pouce: 0.135 m.

Tour du poignet: 0.30 m.

Tour de la main au-dessous des doigts: 0.31 m.

Ces dimensions s'accordent parfaitement avec celles de la statue elle-même, dont la hauteur actuelle est de 2.45 m., ce qui suppose, avec le cou et la tête, une hauteur totale de 2.90 m. environ. A première vue, la largeur et l'épaisseur peuvent

<sup>1</sup> Un petit fragment qui provient peut-être du petit doigt du pied droit de la Victoire a été également apporté de Vienne au Louvre par M. et Mme Lehmann, ainsi qu'un petit morceau de draperie. Ces fragments sont maintenant officiellement mis en dépôt par le Kunsthistorisches Museum de Vienne au Musée du Louvre.

paraître un peu excessives ; mais il faut tenir compte du fait que la main levée, et par conséquent isolée de la masse formée par le corps drapé, devait être renforcée pour ne pas paraître grêle.

La découverte des doigts a permis de modifier l'idée que l'on pouvait se faire du caractère de cette main par le seul examen de la paume. Celle-ci est en effet charnue et grasse, avec ses monts développés et les fossettes qui se creusent, sur la face supérieure, au dessous de l'annulaire et de l'auriculaire. Mais la longueur et le contour animé et nerveux des deux doigts retrouvés changent les proportions et accusent l'originalité du style. L'annulaire, un peu étranglé à la base, se gonfle dans la première et la seconde phalanges, s'amincit ensuite et s'élargit légèrement au sommet ; le pouce, un peu épais, est d'une largeur à peu près constante. L'un et l'autre doigts se retournent curieusement à leur extrémité et les ongles courts sont enfoncés dans la chair. On remarquera d'autre part comme les articulations sont précédées de dépressions très marquées. La plupart de ces caractères se retrouvent—un peu moins accusés—sur certaines des mains conservées de la grande frise de Pergame, notamment celles d'Alkyoneus et de Gè.<sup>2</sup>

Ce que nous possédons maintenant de la main droite de la Victoire nous apporte des indications très importantes, sinon tout-à-fait décisives, concernant le geste lui-même. On savait déjà, d'après la partie conservée du cou, que la tête se tournait vers l'épaule gauche—position qui rend caduque l'ancienne restauration avec la trompette.<sup>3</sup> L'élévation de l'épaule droite indiquant que le bras était levé, on pouvait normalement restituer dans la main droite une couronne. Il faut également renoncer à cette hypothèse, qui exige le repliement des doigts vers la paume.

Des traces de râpe assez brutales, nettement visibles au dos de la main dans le prolongement du pouce, nous avaient dès l'abord fait supposer la présence d'une bandelette métallique passant entre le pouce et l'index et touchant la partie moins soigneusement travaillée. Mais la découverte, l'examen et la mise en place du pouce et de l'annulaire nous ont ensuite conduit à penser que la main était ouverte et ne tenait rien. En effet, des traces de râpe restent imprimées à la base de l'annulaire, du côté gauche, et d'autre part sur le sommet et sur les deux faces du pouce.<sup>4</sup> On ne peut donc pas en tenir compte, d'une manière générale, comme d'un indice valable. Cependant, sur la face interne du pouce, et du côté droit, notamment vers le sommet, c'est-à-dire dans la partie qui est normalement en contact avec l'index, la masse charnue est nettement entamée et aplanie par une action vigoureuse de l'outil ; or rien de tel ne

<sup>2</sup> *Pergamon*, III, 2, pl. XII et H. Kähler, *Der gr. Fries von Perg.*, pl. 25 et 29.

<sup>3</sup> Encore admise cependant par H. Kähler, *op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 76 (p. 175).

<sup>4</sup> Des traces de râpe analogues se remarquent un peu partout sur la draperie de la statue même dans les parties les mieux travaillées.



s'observe sur l'annulaire. D'autre part, bien que le pouce ne soit pas du tout plié, il s'écarte peu de la paume; enfin, si les tendons ne sont pas visibles sur le dos de la main—ce qui nous prive d'un indice précieux—la direction oblique de la dépression qui sépare l'index du médius permet d'admettre que l'index était plié. On est donc en droit de supposer la présence d'une bandelette métallique, tenue entre le pouce et l'index et flottant entre les doigts.

Il faut espérer qu'une découverte nouvelle (celle de l'index serait décisive) nous permettra de trancher définitivement le problème si important du geste de la main droite de la Victoire.

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# THE ALTAR OF PITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 14-18)

“THERE was in the midst of the city [i. e. Athens] an altar belonging to no god of power; gentle Clemency had there her seat and the wretched made it sacred; never did she lack a new suppliant, none did she condemn or refuse their prayers. All that ask are heard; night and day may one approach and win the heart of the goddess by complaints alone. No costly rites are hers; she accepts no incense flame, no blood deep-welling; tears flow upon her altar, sad offerings of severed tresses hang above it, and raiment left when fortune changed. Around is a grove of gentle trees, marked by the cult of the venerable; wool-entwined laurel and the suppliant olive. No image is there, to no metal is the divine form entrusted, in hearts and minds does the goddess delight to dwell. The distressed are ever nigh her, her precinct ever swarms with needy folk; only to the prosperous is her shrine unknown. Fame says that the sons of Hercules, saved in battle after the death of their divine sire, set up this altar. — — — — — Already to countless ages were those altars known; hither came flocking those defeated in war and exiled from their country, kings who had lost their realms and those guilty of grievous crime, and sought for peace.”

(Statius, *Thebais*, XII, ll. 481-509; reprinted by permission of the publishers from the Loeb Classical Library, translated by H. J. Mosley.)<sup>2</sup>

## HISTORY AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE SANCTUARY

Statius, writing about A. D. 90, has left a circumstantial and probably trustworthy picture of the setting of the Altar of Pity and some illuminating details as

<sup>1</sup> I owe my photographs to Alison Frantz, my drawings to John Travlos and the benefit of stimulating discussion to Margaret Crosby.

<sup>2</sup> Urbe fuit media nulli concessa potentum  
Ara deum; mitis posuit Clementia sedem,  
Et miseri fecere sacram; sine supplice  
nunquam  
Illa novo, nulla damnavit vota repulsa.  
Auditi quicunque rogant, noctes diesque  
Ire datum; et solis numen placare querelis.  
Parca superstitio: non turea flamma nec altus  
Accipitur sanguis, lacrimis altaria sudant,  
Maestarumque super libamina sarta comarum  
Pendent et vestes mutata sorte relictæ.  
Mite nemus circa, cultu insigne verendo;  
Vittatæ laurus et supplicis arbor olivæ.  
Nulla autem effigies, nulli commissæ metallo

Forma deæ, mentes habitare et pectora  
gaudet.  
Semper habet trepidos, semper locus horret  
egenis  
Coetibus, ignotæ tantum felicibus aræ.  
Fama est, defensos acie post busta paterni  
Numinis Herculeos sedem fundasse nepotes.  
— — — — —  
Jam tunc innumerae norant altaria gentes:  
Huc victi bellis patriaque a sede fugati,  
Regnorumque inopes scelerumque errore  
nocentes  
Conveniunt pacemque rogant.

to the cult.<sup>3</sup> According to the tradition followed by Statius, the altar was founded by the children of Herakles; others report that the children took refuge at an existing altar.<sup>4</sup> The high antiquity of the foundation receives further confirmation from the

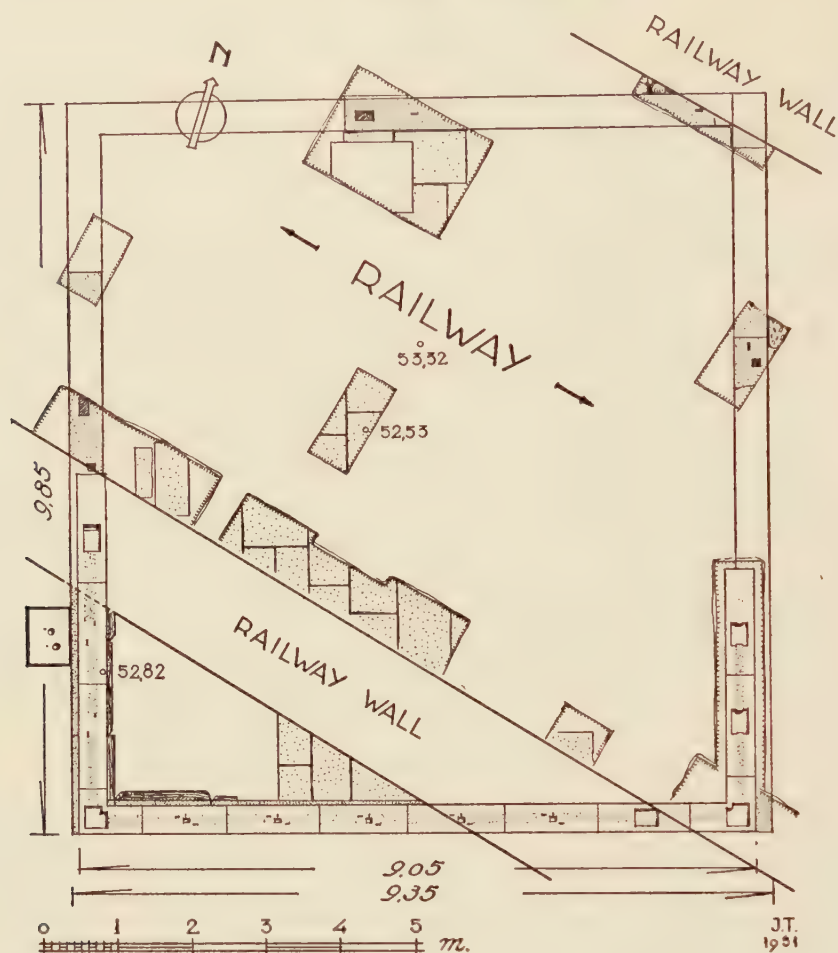


Fig. 1. Altar Peribolos: Plan of Actual State (The blocks of Period I and the floor slabs are stippled)

tradition that Adrastus here sought the help of the Athenians to secure decent burial for the Argives who had fallen before Thebes.<sup>5</sup> Diodoros Siculus (XIII, 22) observes that the Athenians were the first to establish an altar of Pity; Pausanias

<sup>3</sup> On the trustworthiness of Statius in his descriptions of Greek scenes cf. Frazer's comment on Pausanias I, 17, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Apollodoros, II, 8, 1; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1151; Zenobios, II, 61; Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodoros, III, 7, 1.



(I, 17, 1), who was naturally interested in the cult, was aware of no other sanctuary of Pity in Greece.<sup>6</sup> The first even quasi-historical reference to the altar occurs in a speech put by Diodoros (XIII, 22) into the mouth of a Syracusan participant in the debate on the fate of the Athenian prisoners taken in 413 B. C. References in the later Greek and Latin authors and in the scholia are numerous. Among the latest references is a passage in Libanios reminding the Emperor Julian that he had himself seen the Altar of Pity at Athens while studying there (A. D. 355).<sup>7</sup>

As to the site of the altar, Statius (*Thebais*, XII, l. 481) placed it in the middle of the city, Pausanias (I, 17, 1), more precisely, in the Agora. Since Pausanias mentioned the altar immediately after the statue of Solon which stood in front of the Stoa Poikile and the statue of Seleukos which was a little farther off, we may assume, in view of the writer's general practice, that the altar also stood in the vicinity. It is now abundantly clear from the sequence of Pausanias' record, taken in conjunction with the discovery of fragments apparently from the superstructure of the Stoa Poikile, that the Stoa bordered the north side of the square, and probably the western part of that side.<sup>8</sup> This brings us to the neighborhood of a monument which was discovered in the course of the current excavations (1934) and which has been identified by means of an inscribed statue base found *in situ* as the sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, founded, as we know from Thucydides (VI, 54, 6-7), by Peisistratos the younger in his archonship in or about 521/0 B. C.<sup>9</sup>

It was suggested long ago by Wilamowitz<sup>10</sup> that the Altars of Pity and of the Twelve Gods were identical, and this suggestion has been regarded favorably by the most recent student of the problem.<sup>11</sup> The arguments are briefly as follows. Pausanias made no reference to the Altar of the Twelve Gods as such, yet he is not likely to have neglected a monument of such venerable antiquity had it still been called by its original name in his day. Both altars are known from numerous literary references

<sup>6</sup> A small marble altar was found close by the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros inscribed Ἑλέου | βωμὸν | Ἱεροκλῆς | κατ' ὄναρ | Θ. (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1883, p. 150, no. 43; *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, i, 1282). Below the inscription are incised two branches, an obvious reference to the custom described by Schol. Aischines, II, 15, p. 286 (Schultz): ἱκετηρία δὲ οὕτω ἐγένετο· ῥάβδον θαλλῶ ἐλαίας στέψας καθῆστο κατέχων εἰς τὸν Ἑλέου βωμόν, μέχρις οὗτινος ἔτυχε τῶν δικαίων. The letter forms would suggest a date in the later second or third century, probably after the time of Pausanias' writing.

<sup>7</sup> *Oratio*, XV, 39 (Foerster). The literary references have been assembled by C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 436-440; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, II, London, 1898, pp. 143 f.; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*<sup>2</sup>, Munich, 1931, pp. 356 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 327-329.

<sup>9</sup> For the discovery cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 355-358 (Shear), for further exploration in 1946 *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 198 f. (Thompson) and for the definitive publication *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, 1949, pp. 82-103 (Crosby).

<sup>10</sup> *Aus Kydathen, Philologische Untersuchungen*, I, Berlin, 1880, p. 201, note 4.

<sup>11</sup> M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 102.

to have been the principal places of asylum in Athens; it is improbable that there were two such separate establishments within the same limited area. Statius' localization of the Altar of Pity *urbe media* is curiously reminiscent of the well attested use of the Altar of the Twelve Gods as a central milestone for the measurement of road distances. Philostratos wrote of the foundation of the Altar of Pity as of a thirteenth god.<sup>12</sup> The famous statue of Demosthenes by Polyeuktos is said to have stood near the Altar of the Twelve Gods and to have had a plane tree of no great size beside it;<sup>13</sup> on the supposition that the Altars of the Twelve Gods and of Pity occupied the same precinct, this plane tree may have formed part of the grove around the Altar of Pity as described by Statius.<sup>14</sup>

The identification of the sanctuary of Pity with that of the Twelve Gods receives additional support from an observation made during the excavation of 1946. To the south and to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods the stratification had been disturbed in antiquity by the digging of several irregular pits measuring about one metre in diameter and the same in depth.<sup>15</sup> These pits were found by the excavator full of loose earth clearly distinct from the hard packed gravel of the square. The potsherds from this earth indicated that the intrusion began as early as the fourth century B. C. The explanation would seem to be that the holes were opened for the planting of trees, presumably the olives and laurels of Statius' description.<sup>16</sup>

The probability thus becomes very strong that the sanctuary which had originally contained the Altar of the Twelve Gods and which is now known from its actual remains, was referred to by Statius and Pausanias as the Altar of Pity. Miss Crosby in her recent study has argued for the addition of the worship of Pity to that of the Twelve Gods and for the eventual predominance of Pity in the sanctuary, the Twelve Gods receiving compensation in the form of a mural done by Euphranor in the near-by Stoa of Zeus about the middle of the fourth century B. C.<sup>17</sup> It might be added that the altar in front of the Stoa of Zeus was greatly enlarged in the Hellenistic period, conceivably to accommodate the cult of the Twelve Gods.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Epist.* 39 (70): [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] τὸν Ἑλέου ἐστήσαντο βωμὸν ὡς τρισκαιδεκάτου Θεοῦ.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. Plutarch, *Vitae X Orat.*, p. 847<sup>A</sup>; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 31.

<sup>14</sup> Libanios in a school rhetorical exercise (*Declam.* XXII, ed. Foerster, vol. VI, p. 339) described Demosthenes as taking refuge at the Altar of Pity; was this perhaps suggested by the proximity of the statue to the Altar of the Twelve Gods = Altar of Pity?

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pl. 12, 1.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the pits for shrubs in the "Garden of Hephaistos": *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 396-425.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 103.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 10-12. Pausanias (I, 3, 2-3) mentioned three paintings in the Stoa of Zeus: (1) The Twelve Gods, (2) Theseus, Democracy and the People and (3) the Battle at Mantinea. Of the second he observed: "The painting signifies that it was Theseus who established political equality at Athens. There is, indeed, a popular tradition that Theseus handed over the conduct of affairs to the people, and that the government continued to be a democracy from his time down to the insurrection and tyranny of Peisistratos." Is it possible that paintings (1)

In view of the well attested tradition for the high antiquity of the Altar of Pity, we must suppose that either the original altar was transplanted or a new version of it was at some time set up within the peribolos originally designed for the Altar of

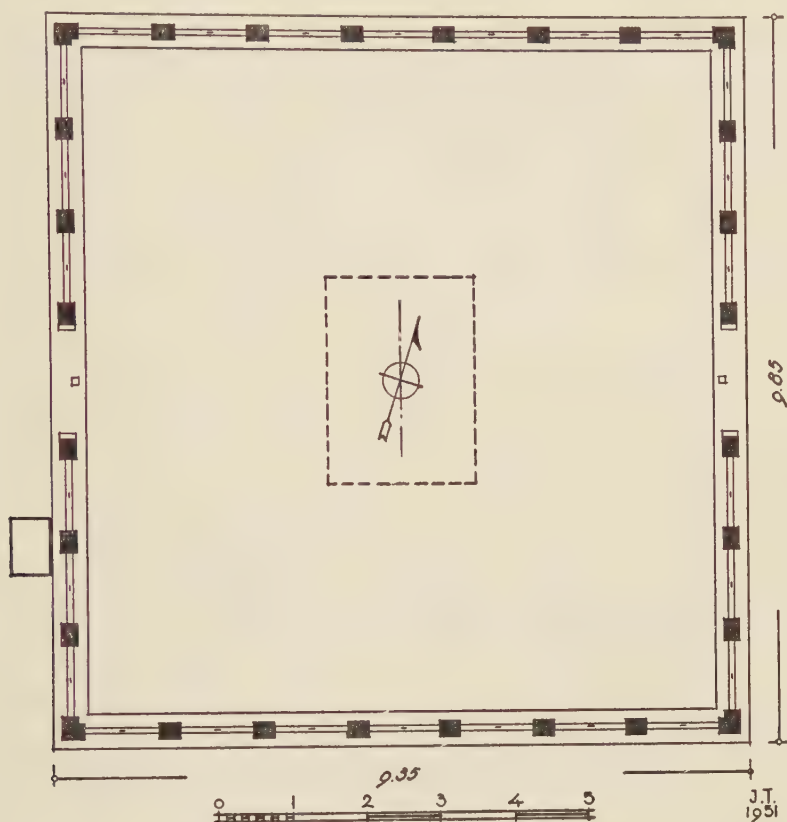


Fig. 2. Altar Peribolos, Period I: Restored Plan

the Twelve Gods. It is quite possible that for a time both the Altar of Pity and the Altar of the Twelve Gods stood together within the same enclosure; it seems probable, however, that by the time of Statius and of Pausanias the Altar of the Twelve Gods had been moved elsewhere leaving the sanctuary to Pity alone.

and (2) were conceived as a democratic counterpart to the foundation of the Altar of the Twelve Gods by the younger Peisistratos?

That the transplanting of altars was tolerated in Athens is sufficiently proven by the history of the great marble altar to the east of the Metroon which, though made in the fourth century B. C., reached its present position in the first century B. C., having previously stood, as it seems, on the Pnyx (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 140-148; XII, 1943, p. 300, note 38). In the case of the sanctuary of Ares, both temple and altar, built originally in the fifth century B. C., migrated to their present positions in the time of Augustus (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 47-52; XX, 1951, pp. 56 f.).



As to the date when the worship of Pity was introduced to this site, we are left largely to conjecture. The most likely occasion, however, would appear to be the time when the enclosure wall of the sanctuary was rebuilt. Miss Crosby has shown that the original post-and-slab parapet erected by the younger Peisistratos was in all probability demolished by the Persians in 480/79 B. C. and that it was replaced after a long interval by a completely new parapet of which only the sill remains. The little pottery to be associated with this rebuilding runs down at least to the neighborhood of 425 B. C. providing a *terminus post quem*. On the other hand, the close similarity between the surface treatment of the new sill and that of the Nike Temple bastion makes unlikely a date lower than the end of the fifth century. The available data would thus indicate that the new parapet was erected within the last quarter of the fifth century.<sup>19</sup>

#### RESTORATION OF THE PARAPET

Since the parapet is basic to our further enquiry it will be necessary to describe its remains in detail, even at the risk of repeating to some extent the statements made in the earlier study of the monument.

Of the original parapet erected by the younger Peisistratos there remains the greater part of a stone sill with sockets for the fastening of posts and with smaller cuttings midway between the posts which may be supposed to have held dowels for the support of thin, intermediate slabs (Pls. 14, 15; Figs. 1-2).<sup>20</sup> The overall dimensions as measured on the sill were 9.35 m. from east to west and 9.85 m. from north to south. There were eight posts on each of the four sides, placed 1.25 m. centre to centre, the intermediate slabs measuring *ca.* 0.97 m. in width, except only at the central intervals in the east and west sides where the cuttings indicate a clear interval between the posts of *ca.* 1.37 m. The middle of the east and west sides would be the logical places for entrances to the sanctuary, and a square sinking in the sill at the middle of the wide interval in the west side may indeed have served for a closure of some sort, though scarcely for regular doors which would be out of keeping with a place of asylum. Although the relevant block on the east side is missing, the analogy

<sup>19</sup> From several somewhat contradictory scholia on Aristophanes' *Plutus*, line 385, it would appear possible that in this line the poet had in mind a painting of the children of Herakles seeking the protection of the Athenians, a painting done by Pamphilos (or by Apollodoros) and exhibited "in the Stoa of the Athenians," i. e., presumably the Stoa Poikile. If we are right in our identification of the Sanctuary of Pity, it would be thoroughly appropriate to have in the near-by colonnade, and possibly in sight of the altar, such a representation of those who were variously regarded as its founders or as among its earliest suppliants. (Compare the relationship between the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the painting of the Twelve Gods by Euphranor in the near-by Stoa of Zeus). Either Pamphilos or Apollodoros might have done the painting between the time of the rehabilitation of our sanctuary and the date of the *Plutus* (388 B. C.). The evidence of the scholia is too tenuous to lean on more heavily. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 518 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 86-88, fig. 4.

of other sanctuaries would call for an entrance here, more especially since such an entrance would have afforded direct access from the Panathenaic Way which skirted the peribolos on the east side.<sup>21</sup> Our altar enclosure thus restored, modest in scale

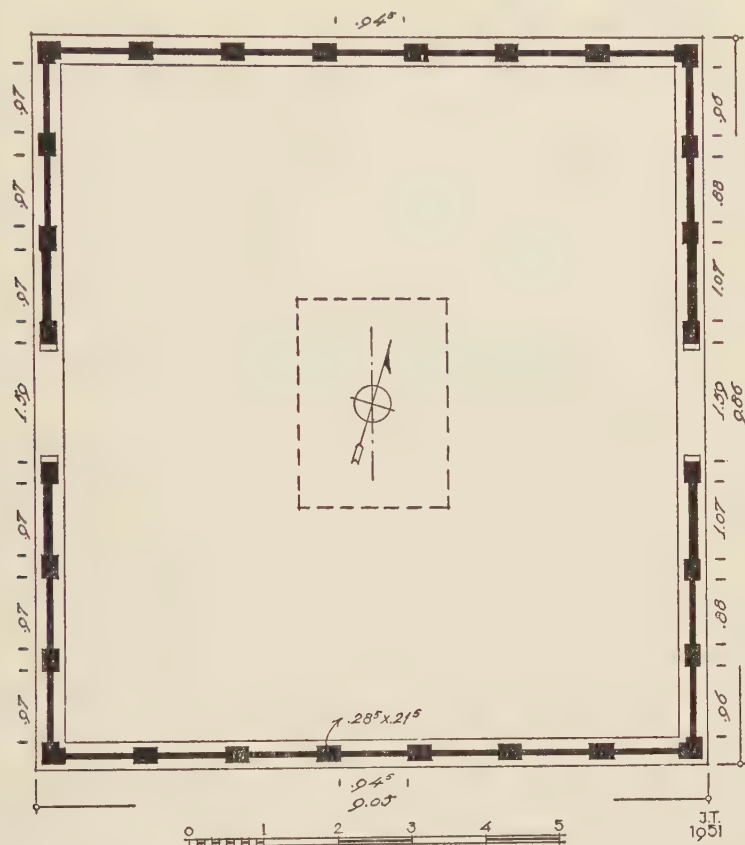


Fig. 3. Altar Peribolos, Period II: Restored Plan

and material and accessible from east and west, may be paralleled in the pre-Persian altar place of Apollo at Didyma, the circular scheme of which was perhaps suggested by the ash mound that constituted the altar proper (Fig. 4).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> In the earlier publication (*Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 89 f.) the parapet in both periods was restored with an entrance only on the west side; the considerations here adduced make much more probable the restoration of an entrance in both the east and the west side in both periods.

<sup>22</sup> Wiegand, "Siebenter vorläufige Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma," pp. 41-43 (*Berl. Abhandl.*, 1911); Schleif, *Jahrbuch*, XLIX, 1934, p. 148; Knackfuss *apud* Wiegand, *Didyma*, I, Berlin, 1941, Text pp. 136-139; Drawings, pls. 80, 84; C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis, 1949, pp. 208 f. The ash heap is attested by Pausanias (V, 13, 11). Only the sill and orthostates of the enclosing wall remain. There is no certain trace of sculptural decoration although it is conjectured that free-standing statues stood on a paved ring inside the wall.

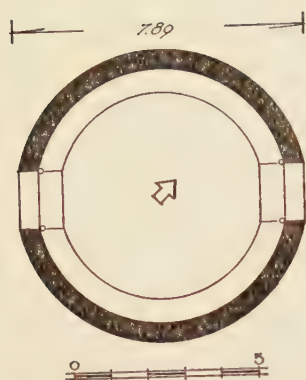


Fig. 4. Altar of Apollo at Didyma (After *Didyma* I, pl. 84)

Of the parapet as rebuilt in the second period of the sanctuary there remain the sill blocks for the entire south side, for the southern half of the west side and for the southern third of the east side (Fig. 1).<sup>23</sup> The evidence preserved on this much of the sill is enough to show that the second parapet was essentially similar to the first, consisting, like the first, of eight posts with intervening orthostates on each of the four sides and with an entrance in both the east and west side. The overall dimensions differ slightly from those of the first period. The east to west width in Period II may be measured directly as 9.05 m., compared with 9.35 m. in Period I. If the now missing north sill of Period II be restored symmetrical with the well preserved south sill, the north to south overall width becomes 9.86 m. for Period II

(Fig. 3) as compared with 9.85 m. for Period I (Fig. 2).<sup>24</sup>

Differences are to be noted in the manner of securing the posts and intervening slabs in the two periods. Whereas in Period I all the posts for which we have evidence were set in sockets and fastened each with two side dowels, in Period II only those posts that were liable to special strain were set in sockets, undowelled, while the others were set on the flat top of the sill and fixed each with two side dowels (Fig. 1).<sup>25</sup> The socketed posts, as recorded by the surviving sill, are those at the southwest and southeast corners of the peribolos, at the south side of the west entrance, in the second and third positions from the south on the east side and in the second position

<sup>23</sup> In June, 1951, additional investigation on the spot brought out some evidence not available at the time of the earlier study. Cf. Fig. 1 of *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 83, with Fig. 1 of the present study. By undercutting the south retaining wall of the railway trench it was possible to examine the bedding for the fourth post from the south on the west side, a detail which had been known previously only from the measured sketch made in 1891 when the railway was under construction. The southeast corner block of the sill was again exposed, and this time over its full extent. The bedding for the third post from the south on the east side was re-opened, and the bedding for the second post, which lies directly below one of the live rails, was cleared for the first time. We are greatly indebted to the Athens-Piraeus Electric Railway Company, and in particular to the Chief Engineer of the Company, Mr. Yannises, for facilitating the exploration in a most cordial manner.

<sup>24</sup> If, however, the north sill of Period II was drawn in toward the middle of the enclosure, as was done with the east sill, the north to south dimension must be reduced by *ca.* 0.15 m. Such a contraction would bring the inner edge of the north sill of Period II into contact with the north edge of the marble block found in the north part of the peribolos (*Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 92), a desirable conjunction. In our restoration, however, both in this and the earlier study we have preferred to suppose that the new north and south sills were set in the same relation to the earlier sills beneath. The possible error does not, fortunately, affect the further argument.

<sup>25</sup> The central dowels with pour channels in the second to sixth positions from the west on the south side probably date from a repair (Fig. 1).



from the east on the south side.<sup>26</sup> The need for greater stability at the outside corners and alongside the entrances is obvious; in the east side the architect may have feared the perils of traffic on the closely adjacent Panathenaic Way.

The socket for the post at the south side of the west entrance is flanked on the side toward the opening by an extension measuring 0.08 m. long, sunk to a depth of 0.06 m. as compared with 0.04 m. for the post bedding proper (Pl. 15b).<sup>27</sup> This may have held a jamb, perhaps of marble; it would be a very unusual arrangement for the socket of a door pivot.

The average depth of the sockets is 0.03 m. apart from that flanking the west entrance which is 0.04 m. deep. The posts when set in the sockets were leaded; a little of the lead remains in place in the socket beside the west entrance (0.003 m. thick). The posts that were set on top of the sills were secured each by a face dowel in either of the narrow edges.<sup>28</sup>

The posts measured in plan at their bases, as indicated by the sockets and weather stains, *ca.* 0.285 x 0.215 m. In the case of the second and third posts from the south on the east side, in which the narrow faces were grooved to receive the edges of the orthostates, the normal dimension of 0.285 m. was maintained for the central core of the post (Fig. 5).

The existence of orthostates between the posts is clearly attested first by the indication of grooves in the sides of some of the posts as shown by the sockets for the second and third posts from the south on the east side (Pl. 15c), secondly by the presence of a very shallow worked bed on top of the sill, and thirdly by weather stains left by the edges of the slabs.

The normal thickness of the orthostates was *ca.* 0.08 m. The slabs adjoining the entrances, however, would seem to have been appreciably thicker at the bottom. This is attested for the west side by the fact that the dressed bed, while aligning with that of the neighboring slab on the inner side, was widened toward the outside so that it could have accommodated a slab as much as 0.14 m. thick at its bottom (Fig. 6).

<sup>26</sup> The socket for the second post from the east on the south side is now concealed by the south retaining wall of the railway trench and is known only from the sketch of 1891. All the other sockets, having been examined recently, appear to be uniform in workmanship and to be original parts of Period II.

<sup>27</sup> The sketch of 1891 made no distinction between the deep and shallow parts of the cutting which were therefore represented by a single rectangle in the earlier study (*Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 83, fig. 1).

<sup>28</sup> In the south half of the west side of the parapet the outermost posts were apparently set first; then, as shown by the pryholes, the adjacent orthostates and the next posts were placed and, finally, the middle slab was thrust in between these last posts. A pryhole in the bottom of the socket for the southeast post must have been used against the edge of the easternmost orthostate in the south side, and a similar pryhole in the bottom of the third socket from the south on the east side would have served for the orthostate to the south. No pryholes have been observed on the south side.

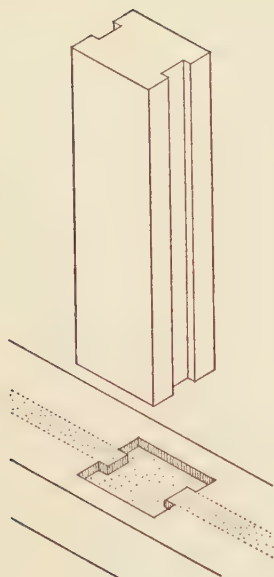


Fig. 5. Scheme of Second and Third Posts from South on East Side

In the corresponding space on the east side there is no such clearly defined bed, but the surface of the sill is remarkably fresh almost to the line of the outer faces of the posts, suggesting that here also the base of the slab was of abnormal thickness. That the upper part of the same slab, however, was of normal thickness is indicated by the provision for a groove of normal width in the side of the post as shown by the form of the socket.

The intervals between the posts, i. e. the width of the orthostates, measure uniformly 0.945 m. on the south side. The north side, where none of the sill remains, may be assumed to have had similar spacing. The three spaces in the south part of the west side are again precisely uniform with one another, measuring 0.97 m. each. We may assume that the corresponding three spaces to the north of the west entrance were symmetrical with those of the south; such an arrangement would leave a central space for the entrance with an open width of 1.59 m., possibly to be reduced by jambs 0.08 m. thick.

In the south half of the east side we encounter a striking irregularity. The southernmost space, to be sure, with an actual width of 0.96 m., would seem to have been intended to be of the same size as those in the west side. The next space to the north, however, measures only 0.88 m. The third space from the south cannot be measured directly inasmuch as the bedding for the post that bounded it on the north is now missing. If, however, we assume that the east entrance was of the same width as the west entrance (and it is difficult to see why it should have been otherwise) the width of the space to the south of it may be restored as of 1.07 m. It would now appear that the original intention of the architect was to have in the south section of the east wall three panels of uniform width corresponding with those on the west side. Some necessity arose, however, for giving greater width to the panel adjoining the east entrance. This additional width was gained by narrowing the neighboring panel. Although none of the sill of the north part of the east parapet of Period II remains, that section may be restored symmetrical with the south part.

Not a fragment of the superstructure above the sill has thus far come to light. It is clear that posts and orthostates were at some time carefully removed. This is especially evident in the case of the southeast corner post where a channel has been painstakingly chiselled along the east and south sides of the socket (Pl. 15d). The stratification showed that the stripping of the parapet occurred after the Herulian sack of A. D. 267, and we may assume that the altar, together with its parapet, was transplanted to a place of safety within the "Valerian Wall" (late third century)

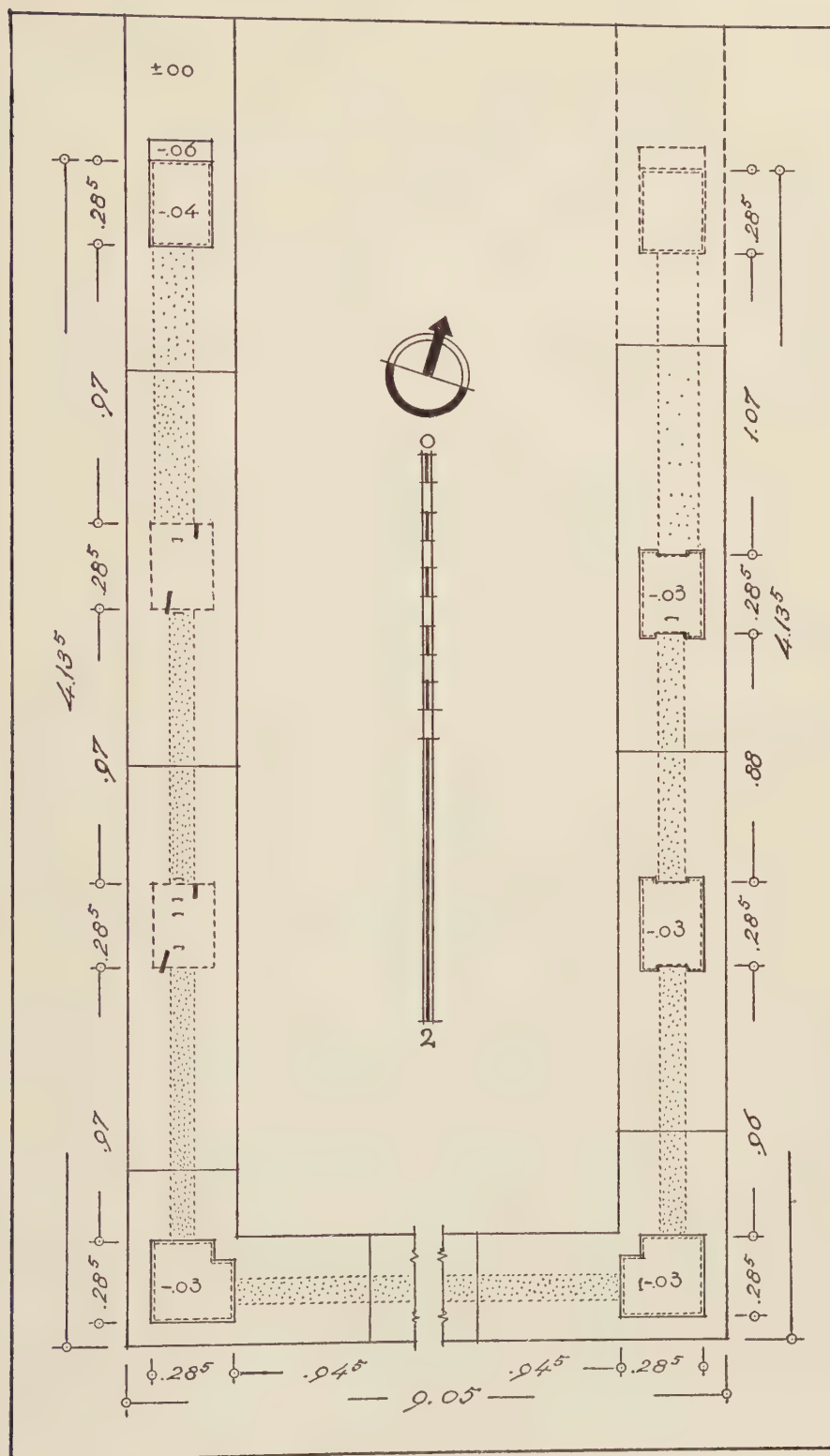


Fig. 6. Parapet Sill of Period II: South Halves of West and East Sides



where it was seen by Julian in A. D. 355. Lamentable as is the loss of the most direct evidence for the reconstruction of the parapet, its removal proves clearly that the parapet was accounted of value. This is emphasized by the contrast with the fate of the fence around the Eponymous Heroes, many fragments of which were found on the spot showing that no effort had been made to transplant an enclosure of little intrinsic interest (cf. below and pages ff.).

As for the material of the superstructure, it would appear probable that since poros was used for the sill it was used also for the posts and for the crowning member above the posts. The thinness of the orthostates, on the other hand, virtually excludes the use of poros for these members and implies marble. The marble grave stelai of the fifth and fourth centuries were commonly set in poros bases and a combination of marble and poros is well attested for the closely contemporary Stoa of Zeus in the Agora in which marble metopes were set between triglyphs of poros with architrave and cornice of marble.<sup>29</sup> In the Middle Stoa of the Agora (second century B. C.) marble metopes were entirely framed in poros. The difference in texture and color between the two materials produced an agreeable contrast.

For the design of the superstructure of our parapet we may draw some cautious inferences from the analogy of a near-by monument that has already been mentioned, viz. the fence around the statues of the Eponymous Heroes in the southwest corner of the Agora (Pl. 16).<sup>30</sup> The architectural style of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, combined with the literary references to it, suggests a date in the last quarter of the fifth century; it is therefore closely contemporary with the second period of our parapet and has so many points in common as to justify the assumption that the one monument influenced the design of the other, the Eponymous Heroes being perhaps by a few years the earlier.<sup>31</sup> The fence around the long statue base was supported, like our parapet, on a sill consisting of a single course of poros blocks; the posts and the capping stone above them were of the same material. The narrow

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> The monument has not as yet been completely excavated or studied. For the identification cf. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 129-132; for the details of construction cf. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933 pp. 137-139; for earlier comparison with the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods cf. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 91, note 21.

<sup>31</sup> The monument was used, *inter alia*, as a place for posting the preliminary drafts of the constitution as it was being revised in the last decade of the fifth century (Andokides, I, 83; cf. the other references to its use for this purpose as collected by Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, p. 388). In Aristophanes, *Peace*, line 1183 (421 B. C.) is a reference to a man who found his name posted for military service near a statue of Pandion (εἶτα προστὰς πρὸς τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Πανδίωνος εἶδεν αὐτὸν κάπορῶν θεῖ —); this statue was regarded by the Scholiast *ad. loc.* as one of the familiar group. For further possible evidence of this monument as early as 426/5 B. C. see in the next number of *Hesperia*, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1951," note 12. On the other hand, the presence of conglomerate blocks in the lower underpinning of the sill for the fence at its northwest corner would argue against a much earlier date.

faces of the posts were stippled inside a smooth border in exactly the same fashion as the vertical faces of our parapet sill. The fence posts as originally arranged stood, like most of the parapet posts, on the flat top of the sill and were secured by a face dowel set in each of the narrow sides; in subsequent repairs the posts were set down in sockets and leaded, as in the case of certain posts of the parapet. The interaxial spacing of the fence posts (1.27 m. on the flanks; 1.00 and 1.03 m. on the ends) is close to that of the parapet posts (1.255 m. normal on east and west; 1.230 m. on south and, presumably, north). The size of the fence posts at bottom (0.207 x 0.285 m.) is very close to that of the parapet posts (0.215 x 0.285 m.) and theoretically the two may have been intended to be the same.<sup>32</sup> In view of these many similarities between the two monuments in parts that are well preserved, we may venture to employ the analogy of the fence in reconstructing the missing superstructure of the parapet.

One of the most striking features of the fence of the Eponymous Heroes is the fact that the outer faces of its posts are divided each into two jambs by a wedge-shaped, depressed panel and, in logical consequence, the posts are slightly wider at the top than at the bottom (0.30 m.: 0.285 m.).<sup>33</sup> The architect evidently decided to treat the spaces between the posts as doorways, the jambs of which in contemporary practice normally inclined inward toward the top. We may with probability hypothesize a similar treatment in the parapet, where the spaces between the posts might have been regarded as closed openings or where the (presumably) marble slabs that filled the spaces might have been treated like so many stelai which in this period were normally narrower at the top than at the bottom.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The dimensions of the fence posts as given in *Hesperia* II, 1933, p. 138 (ca. 0.33 x 0.25 m.) were taken from dowel cuttings on the foundation; the revised dimensions given above are drawn from fragments of the posts that have come to light since the earlier study.

<sup>33</sup> This point is not brought out in the earlier study (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 138, fig. 22).

<sup>34</sup> A double herm of archaic date found at Sardis, now in Berlin, is shown by shallow channels in its sides to have served as a support for the thin orthostates of a parapet. Since the width of the herm diminishes downward from 0.31 to 0.22 m. in a height of 1.23 m. (head missing), the intermediate panels must have had a corresponding upward diminution (*Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, No. 883; L. Curtius, *Die antike Herme*, Munich Dissertation, 1903, pp. 18 f., figs. 12-14).

Inscribed stelai when set edge to edge were sometimes given a semblance of upward taper by a wedge-shaped sunken panel centred on the joint between two contiguous slabs. This is the case with the casualty list assigned by Raubitschek to the first year of the Peloponnesian War (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 25-27; Agora Inv. No. I 3181 a and b + *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944). The two joining fragments from the Agora have anathyrosis on the left side and the joint surface is bordered by a sunken panel which contracts in width from top to bottom, from 26 to 19 mm. in a height of 470 mm. (The two fragments make contact behind, not in front as shown in Raubitschek's photograph taken from squeezes). The sunken border is 3 mm. deep on the side remote from the joint surface but grows shallower as it approaches the joint; hence the floor of the panel would have had a ^-shaped profile identical with that on the posts of the enclosure around the Eponymous Heroes. A similar



Again, on the analogy of the fence, we may restore above the posts of our parapet a stone cap of simple profile projecting laterally a little beyond the faces of the posts.

The posts of the fence are 1.01 m. high. The spaces between the posts measure 0.985 m. wide at the bottom on the flanks, 0.715 and 0.745 m. at the ends. Hence in the fence the spaces are in general somewhat higher than wide, and a similar analogy may reasonably be expected in the parapet.

The evidence adduced from the traces on the parapet sill of the altar supplemented with analogies drawn from the fence of the Eponymous Heroes, makes reasonably certain the reconstruction of the superstructure of the parapet in its normal parts. But what of the intriguing anomalies that have been observed in connection with the openings flanking the entrance ways, viz. the extraordinary thickness of the bottom of these slabs and the extraordinary width of the panels on the east side? The simplest and most plausible explanation would seem to be that, whereas the normal orthostates of the parapet were plain, those flanking the entrances were sculptured on their outer faces, some exigency of design requiring the sculptured panels on the east side to be wider than those on the west (Pl. 18d).

In view of the popularity of the Altar of Pity as attested by the literary references, in view also of its prominent position and accessibility, there would appear to be a fair possibility of finding copies or echoes of the sculptured panels of its parapet among the products of later Greek art. In casting about for copies we should expect to find them in the form of thin slabs, slightly higher than wide, with a slight upward taper, with relief sculpture of only moderate projection (to keep within the thickness of the frame), in Attic style of the late fifth century and with themes appropriate to the Athenian conception of Pity. Copies, if of the same scale as the originals, should measure in the case of the west panels about 0.97 m. in width at the bottom, of the east panels about 1.07 m., or a trifle less to make allowance for the groove in the side of the post. The lower edge of the panels should measure not more than *ca.* 0.14 m. in thickness. The case for identification would of course be enormously strengthened if one could produce not isolated works but a compact series.

One such series, and one only, is available, viz. the group of four "Three-figure Reliefs" which have recently been the subject of an admirable comprehensive study by Heinz Götze (Pl. 17).<sup>35</sup> The subjects represented are Orpheus leading back

explanation will serve for the sunken borders on *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 942, 958 and 965, perhaps also 955, which were regarded by Brueckner (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, pp. 215-216), followed by Raubitschek (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 27), as a provision for a bordering frame. On these stelai also the sunken border tapers downward.

<sup>35</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 189-280. The relevant bibliography is conveniently assembled by Götze in this article. The same scholar has returned to the theme in a special study of the Hesperid panel in *Jahrbuch*, LXIII-LXIV, 1948-49, pp. 91-99. L. Curtius has taken exception to some of Götze's conclusions in his stimulating study of the Orpheus panel in *Interpretationen von*



Eurydike to the upper world, Hermes attending; two daughters of Pelias about to boil their father at the instigation of Medea; Theseus, Peirithoos and Herakles in the underworld; Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides.<sup>36</sup> Götze has to my mind convincingly shown that the four panels are so organically related to one another in both theme and composition as to prove that the original series was designed by a single master for a single monument though probably carved by two different sculptors.<sup>37</sup> He has made out a very strong case, moreover, for believing that the series as we have it is complete. That the prototypes were of Athenian design is abundantly clear from their pure Attic style; that the monument stood in Athens may be inferred from the regular use of Pentelic marble in the copies, from the close adaptation of the left-hand figure of the Hesperides panel on an Attic vase painted soon after 400 B. C.<sup>38</sup> and from numerous echoes of the panels on Attic gravestones of the late fifth and fourth centuries B. C.<sup>39</sup> The close correspondence among the copies, despite the fact that they were made by different hands at various times, may be taken to prove that the prototypes were readily accessible to the copyists; the same is true of the great three-figured relief from Eleusis, obviously designed to stand at ground level, which was copied with remarkable fidelity in the Roman period,<sup>40</sup> whereas such comparatively inaccessible reliefs as those of the Nike Temple Parapet, where scaffolding would have been required by the copyist, inspired only free adaptations.<sup>41</sup> Not

*sechs griechischen Bildwerken*, Bern, 1947, pp. 83-105. David M. Robinson has published a fragmentary fifth copy of the Orpheus panel now in his collection in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, II, Brussels, 1949, pp. 303-311. Miss Richter will publish a fragment from another copy of the Peliad relief now in the Metropolitan Museum in the *Festschrift* for Andreas Rumpf; in the meantime she has kindly provided me with a photograph and measurements of the fragment.

<sup>36</sup> The copies leave no question as to the original appearance of the Orpheus and the Peliads slabs; the same is not true of the other two slabs. On the existing copies the head of the seated Peirithoos is lacking; Götze has restored the head as turned toward Theseus, i. e. toward the speaker's right, which results in this slab being identical in respect of the direction of gaze with the Hesperides slab and consequently makes difficult any balanced juxtaposition of the panels. I have preferred the old restoration with the head reverted, as carried out in plaster on the Louvre and Torlonia copies; this restoration also appears to be more congruent with the set of torso and arms. On the Hesperides panel Götze has argued against the existence of the tree in the original; I have here followed Götze, although not with complete conviction, preferring to reserve judgment until I can examine the relevant marbles at first-hand.

<sup>37</sup> *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 239. Curtius (*op. cit.*, p. 89) has admitted the likelihood of the four reliefs coming from one and the same monument, but has preferred to regard them as the work of four different sculptors. Götze has defended his original thesis in *Jahrbuch*, LXIII-LXIV, 1948-49, p. 91, note 2.

<sup>38</sup> Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven, 1936, no. 166, pls. 162, 163, 173; Götze, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 228.

<sup>39</sup> Some, though by no means all, of these have been pointed out by H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 16 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Richter, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Curtius, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1934, p. 259, note 2.

only the accessibility but also the great popularity of the prototypes is attested by the number of copies: five of the Orpheus slab and three of each of the others, a situation without parallel among works of this general order.<sup>42</sup>

All the panels are marked by a slight upward taper which may be regarded in this period as an indication that they were conceived of primarily as stelai standing on or near ground level. The same is implied by the amount of free space above the heads of the figures; this is readily paralleled among contemporary grave stelai whereas on fifth century Attic reliefs intended for lofty positions, e. g., the friezes of the Hephaisteion, Parthenon and Nike Temple and the Nike Temple Parapet, the heads crowd the top of the field. Three of the slabs retain a moulding more or less complete across their tops. Best preserved in this respect is the Orpheus panel in the Louvre which is crowned by a simple ovolo with an apophyge below leading into the plane of the background (Fig. 7).<sup>43</sup> The Naples version of the Orpheus panel has only the apophyge; the Berlin copy of the Peliad slab shows a debased or re-worked form of the same moulding as the Louvre Orpheus slab. The ovolo, in the time of the prototypes of our slabs, would not have been employed as an independent crowning moulding; its presence at once implies the original existence of a proper crowning member such as may be seen on the grave stelai of the period.<sup>44</sup> Since the lateral edges of all the copies, insofar as they are preserved, are plain and show no return of the mouldings, we may infer that the sides, like the front, of the top, were concealed by a frame.<sup>45</sup>

In respect of width the four panels fall into two groups of two each, those with

<sup>42</sup> I regard all the known examples of the three-figure reliefs as copies. Götze (*Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 224 f.), without having seen the Metropolitan Museum fragment of the Hesperides panel, left open the possibility of its being an original; autopsy leaves little doubt that this is the work of a copyist, though an able one. Several scholars, most recently Carpenter (*M.A.A.R.*, XVIII, 1941, pp. 68 f.; also Götze, *op. cit.* pp. 204 f.), have argued for the originality of the Lateran Peliad relief. It is to be observed, however, that on this example the whole composition has been tilted to the spectator's left with distressing consequences for the equilibrium of all three human figures and the tripod. The Berlin example of the same series, although a more mechanical piece of work, shows the composition in a normal, vertical disposition. It may be conjectured that the maker of the Lateran panel determined to bring the top of the head of the right Peliad to the level of the top of Medea's pointed hat, a mechanical correspondence that is not likely to have been insisted upon by a fifth-century designer. More in the flavor of the fifth century is the balance between the high peak of Medea's hat and the spike on the cap of Orpheus, these two figures having formed a balanced pair according to our restoration to be presented below.

I am grateful to Professors Rhys Carpenter, Margarete Bieber, Frank E. Brown and Dr. Heinz Götze for the benefit of their observations on the Lateran relief.

<sup>43</sup> I am indebted to M. J. Charbonneaux for the drawing reproduced in Fig. 7.

<sup>44</sup> Compare, for example, the stele in the National Museum, Athens: Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 12, 1.

<sup>45</sup> This detail distinguishes our slabs from the great Eleusis relief on which the mouldings return around the sides, proving that it stood free.



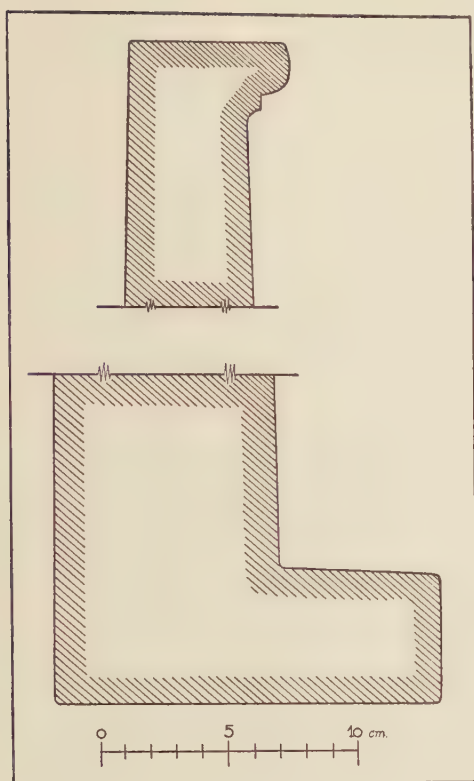


Fig. 7. Orpheus Panel in Louvre:  
Partial Section

left-hand figure is entirely modern (although undoubtedly close to the original in scale and placing), and the right edge has also been restored. The relief as now

a seated figure being slightly wider than the others.<sup>46</sup> Starting with the narrow slabs, and using Götze's figures, we find that of the two copies of the Orpheus panel which preserve their full width the Naples example measures at the bottom 0.99 m. and the Villa Albani 0.95 m., an average of 0.97 m. The figures for the two well preserved Peliad panels are Lateran 0.955 m. and Berlin 0.97 m.; an average of 0.962 m. None of the three known replicas of the Peirithoos panel is preserved to its full width. The Museo Torlonia version, however, preserves the lower parts of all three figures and as now made up measures 1.22 m. across the bottom. This figure includes a vertical strip of modern restoration on the left side and an abnormally wide margin of background on the right. Observing the very narrow margin on the preserved right side of the Paris version, we may safely deduct a considerable amount from 1.22 m. to arrive at the width of the prototype; a figure between 1.05 m. and 1.10 m. will probably be near the mark. In the Hesperid panel we are virtually reduced to the Villa Albani version in which the

<sup>46</sup> It may be objected that the dimensions of Greek originals cannot safely be inferred from Roman copies. In the present instance, however, the multiplicity of copies provides a useful control. The lists of dimensions given by Götze show, for example, a remarkable uniformity in the heights of individual figures as they are repeated on the various copies of the same prototype. In comparing the Louvre and the Museo Torlonia versions of the Peirithoos slab, Götze discovered a remarkable agreement between the two in overall dimensions and in the spatial relations of figure to figure, despite many discrepancies in the rendering of details (*Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 210-216). So close are the correspondences in general that we must suppose the copyists to have worked by pointing either directly from the originals or from plaster casts of the originals. The same procedure has been hypothesized for the New York copy of the great Eleusinian relief, since the missing parts of the copy could be filled out with plaster casts of the corresponding parts of the original (Richter, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 20 ff.). Comparable correspondence in dimensions has been observed among the several copies of the slabs of the Dancing Maenad Monument, another Athenian structure closely contemporary with ours which must have stood at ground level in some prominent place in the city (G. Caputo, *Lo Scultore del grande Bassorilievo con la Danza delle Menadi in Tolemaide di Cirenaica*, Rome, 1948, p. 15).



constituted measures 1.168 m. across the bottom but here again the elimination of the abnormally wide lateral margin will reduce the figure to the bracket 1.05 m. to 1.10 m.

The copyists have taken some liberties in fixing the taper of their panels. In four cases the sides are well enough preserved to permit measurement. The Naples Orpheus relief shows a diminution of 0.065 m. as compared with 0.025 m. in the Villa Albani version. The Lateran Peliad panel tapers by 0.023 m., the Berlin counterpart of the same by 0.075 m. The diminution of the originals probably lay between the extremes here represented. For the Peirithoos panel diminution is attested by the preserved lower right hand corner in the Louvre version; for the Hesperid panel no ancient edge is preserved.

In determining the height of his slab the copyist was permitted a certain degree of freedom by the existence of the comparatively broad band of background above the heads of the figures in the original panels. Thus the height of those copies which preserve the upper moulding measures 1.18-1.19 m. in the Naples Orpheus, 1.14 m. in the Louvre Orpheus and 1.16-1.17 m. in the Berlin Orpheus. It is perhaps fair to conjecture that the height of the originals was four feet of 0.295 m. = 1.18 m.<sup>47</sup>

The thickness of the background in those cases where measurements are available is as follows (quoting Götze): Naples Orpheus 0.075-0.08 m.; Louvre Orpheus *ca.* 0.08 m.; Lateran Peliads 0.09 m.; Berlin Peliads 0.09 m. above to 0.12 m. below; Louvre Peirithoos 0.08 m.; Berlin Peirithoos 0.08 m.; Metropolitan Museum Hesperids 0.05 m. Although it would be rash to suppose that the copyists were bound to retain the thickness of the originals, the preponderance of a thickness of *ca.* 0.08 m. in the copies is striking and perhaps significant. The maximum projection of the relief is *ca.* 0.05-0.06 m. The thickness of the slabs at the bottom, inclusive of background and the ledge on which the figures stand, varies from 0.12 to 0.14 m.; the Berlin Peliad relief being abnormal with a maximum thickness of 0.17 m.

Returning now to our parapet sill with the two pair of sculptured panels in mind, we see at once that the two broad slabs can be accommodated perfectly, and only, in the spaces adjacent to the east entrance; it follows that the companion pair must have occupied the corresponding positions on the west side (Fig. 8). Since, moreover, the obvious intention of the designer was to emphasize the entrance ways and to lead the eye toward them, we may be sure that the slabs were so distributed that in each case two out of the three heads on each panel were turned toward the opening. Hence the Peirithoos slab goes to the right of the east entrance and the Hesperid slab to its left, the Peliad slab to the right of the west entrance and the Orpheus slab to its left. It will be apparent that the congruence in technical details is complete, the

<sup>47</sup> For the use of a foot of 0.295 m. in the second period of the Peribolos cf. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, p. 91, note 20.



Fig. 8. East and West Sides of Parapet: Restored Elevation

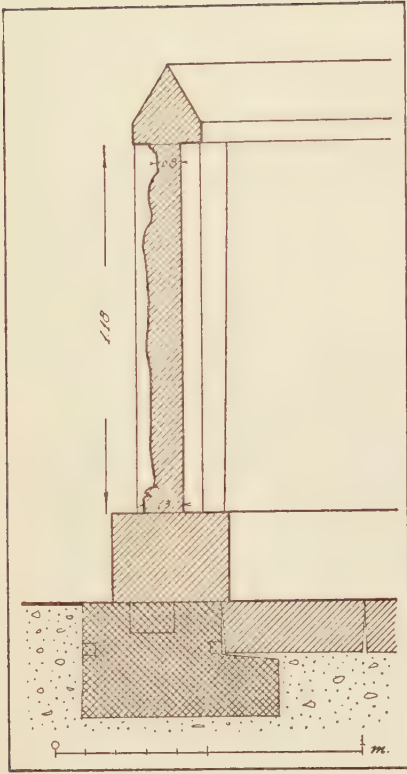


Fig. 9. Parapet of Period II:  
Restored Section

width and thickness of the bottoms of the slabs agreeing with the indications on the existing sill (Fig. 9), the height and upward taper and the need for enframement meeting the requirements of our hypothetical reconstruction based on the analogy of contemporary monuments. Most convincing of all is the fact that the greater width of the Peirithoos and Hesperid panels, occasioned by the use of a seated rather than standing central figure, perfectly accounts for the otherwise puzzling and disturbing enlargement of the spaces adjacent to the east entrance. It may be observed also that such a restoration will explain the curiously hybrid nature of the plaques which have points in common with both metopes and free-standing stelai. Finally, this placing puts the reliefs at a level at which the copyist could with the greatest facility have done his pointing or taken impressions for the making of plaster casts; within a stone's throw of our precinct stood Hermes Agoraios who is described in Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 33, as "covered with pitch from being cast every day by the sculptors."

It may seem at first glance surprising that only four out of the twenty-six panels of the parapet should have been sculptured. One will recall, however, that only eighteen out of the sixty-eight metopes of the Hephaisteion were carved and that the juxtaposition of decorated and plain panels is just as abrupt on the temple as in our parapet. The sculptured metopes of the Hephaisteion are confined to the east end of the building, ten on the east façade proper and four at the eastern extremity of both the north and the south flank; they thus adorn the three exposed sides of the east porch of the temple which constitutes its entrance. Our sculptured panels also would seem to have been placed with the object of emphasizing and adorning the entrances to the sanctuary.

The scheme here proposed for the placing of the sculptured slabs finds other correspondences in the Hephaisteion. That the eastern slabs were broader than the western should not startle anyone who has in mind the greater length of the eastern inner frieze of the Hephaisteion as compared with the western. The prominence given to Herakles and Theseus in the two broad panels of the east side of the parapet is again paralleled by the glorification of the same two heroes in the eastern metopes and pediment of the Hephaisteion. The Peliads and Medea, even Orpheus and



Eurydike were in Athenian eyes barbarians and as such were appropriately relegated to the west side just as the Lapiths and Centaurs were kept in the west frieze of the Hephaisteion. The double prominence given to the sculpture of the east side of the parapet by scale and theme was perhaps the more justified by the fact that this side faced directly on the Panathenaic Way, just as the temple faced on the market place.

It is also to be observed that the seated figures which dominate the eastern panels of the parapet find ready parallels in the east (but not in the west) friezes of the Hephaisteion, Parthenon and Temple of Nike Apteros. The presence of the seated figures, moreover, combined with the quiescence of the standing figures in the east panels, lends to the eastern pair something of the apparent tranquility which is repeatedly found in eastern pedimental groups; the feeling of movement and action is much more palpable in the western panels, as in western pediments.

A nice discrimination is to be observed in the distribution of the sexes. On entering the sanctuary from the east one had three males on his right, if from the west three females; to one's left in the east entrance were one male and two females, in the west two males and one female. The sum of the right-hand panels was therefore three males and three females, and likewise the sum of the left-hand panels. Such balancing of the sexes may be paralleled elsewhere in pediments and friezes of the period, notably in the east friezes of Hephaisteion and Parthenon.

One might, therefore, regard our two pair of panels as constituting a highly abbreviated version of the "normal" sculptural decoration of Attic temples of the fifth century, the curtailment being due no doubt to the small scale of our sanctuary and to the financial exigencies of the time.

#### THE THEMES OF THE PARAPET RELIEFS

It is time now to consider whether the themes of the four reliefs can be brought into relation with what we know of the Athenian conception of Pity. That conception was comparatively simple and close to our own: compassion inspired by the misfortunes common to human life, and philanthropy, especially toward strangers in distress. One aspect of the general conception is stressed repeatedly by the literary sources, viz. the pity inspired by a grievous situation that has come about through a reversal of fortune. This is illustrated by Statius' *vestes mutata sorte relictæ* (*Thebais*, XII, l. 490). Pausanias is explicit: "Pity, who of all the gods is most helpful in human life and in reversals of fortune."<sup>48</sup> A particularly illuminating reference occurs in one of the mock legal cases recorded in the *Controversiae* of the Elder Seneca.<sup>49</sup> An Olynthian taken captive by Philip II at the sack of the city in 348 B. C. was purchased by the famous Athenian painter Parrhasios. The artist placed

<sup>48</sup> I, 17, 1: Ἐλέου βωμός, ᾧ μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπων βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὅτι ὠφέλιμος.

<sup>49</sup> *Controversiae* X, 5, 34, pp. 502 ff., ed. A. Kiessling.

his newly acquired slave on the rack and used him as a model for Prometheus Bound. The slave died under the torture, but Parrhasios finished his picture and dedicated it in the sanctuary of Athena. Parrhasios is accused of treason as one who has betrayed the city's reputation for philanthropy. The accuser suggests that the painting might better have been used to adorn the Altar of Pity: *Si videtur tibi istis muneribus aram Misericordiae orna*.<sup>50</sup> The point of the story is clearly the reversal, or rather double reversal of fortune that brought the Olynthian into a piteous situation: dismayed as he must have been at first on falling into the hands of the embittered Macedonian king, the wretched man's hopes were raised high by the prospect of belonging to the household of a distinguished Athenian, but those hopes were dashed utterly by the grim use to which he was finally put. Although the case was purely imaginary, the story illustrates what was regarded by the ancients as appropriate decoration for the Altar of Pity.<sup>51</sup>

In the adornment of a monument of the fifth century B. C. the figures from real life would have been replaced, of course, by mythological characters. We were given a good example of what to expect when, a few years ago, Ernst Langlotz identified a sculptured metope from the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous which is our best parallel in Attica for a sanctuary of the fifth century devoted to the worship of a pure abstraction. The theme is the slaughter of the Niobids, clearly chosen as an example of the working of Nemesis.<sup>52</sup>

Let us return now to a brief review of the themes of the four sculptured slabs. Orpheus had been promised that he might recover his dead wife Eurydike provided he could find her in Hades and bring her back to the upper world without looking on her face. Having succeeded in segregating her from among the myriad ghosts, Orpheus had in triumph reached the threshold of the upper world, but here, unable longer to restrain his natural impulse, he glanced back and lost his beloved forever. The artist has chosen the moment when their glances met; Hermes Psychopompos, who is laying hold of Eurydike to lead her back, already knows the issue and so too did every Greek who viewed the marble. Here then is a poignant representation of a piteous situation that followed on a reversal of fortune.

Medea, by means of a trial demonstration, had convinced the daughters of Pelias that they might rejuvenate their father by cutting him up and boiling him. Our artist has chosen the moment before the awful climax. The one daughter brings out

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the story preserved by Plutarch (*Nikias*, 30) of how the innocent and unsuspecting messenger of the tidings of Syracuse was racked by the Athenians.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. the school theme of Libanios: *Demosthenis de Ara Misericordiae Oratio* (Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vol. VI, pp. 339-369). Demosthenes, having taken refuge at the Altar of Pity, was abandoned by the Athenians to Philip's emissaries. Kindly treated and released by Philip, Demosthenes advised his fellow citizens to abolish the Altar of Pity.

<sup>52</sup> Langlotz, *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, Citta del Vaticano, 1937, p. 225, pl. 21; H. Kähler, *Das griechische Metopenbild*, Munich, 1949, pp. 69, 88, pl. 94.

the tripod cauldron; the baleful witch holds ready her jar of magic herbs; but the deeply troubled attitude of the second daughter who bears the knife warns us that the boiling is to have not supernatural but only natural results and that the high hopes of the daughters are to end in bloody tragedy: another reversal of fortune with piteous consequences.

Peirithoos and Theseus, having failed in their attempt to carry off Persphone from Hades, were caught and chained to a rock. Their hopes were raised high by the appearance of their powerful friend, Herakles, but he succeeded in freeing only Theseus, not Peirithoos. The panel shows the three heroes at the pitiful moment of parting, two of them to return to the upper world, the third to remain for the rest of time bound to a cliff in Hades.

The fourth panel portrays a fateful moment in Herakles' final labor, the acquisition of the golden apples of the Hesperides. Having found out, after long journeying, the garden of the gods where the apples grew, Herakles succeeded in inducing the fair sisters to drug the serpent which guarded the tree and to pluck the apples for him. In the course of these negotiations, as we know from many vase paintings, the girls had fallen in love with the handsome young hero. Yet the moment came when the Hesperides, if they would have Herakles complete his mission, must turn over the apples and part with their loved one. The marble depicts the girls in the final anguish of the decision which was to reverse their fortune and to leave them in piteous desolation.<sup>53</sup> The attitude of the youthful hero is also sober; we may imagine that his triumph in achieving his task has already been clouded by the painful thought of parting.

As Götze has well observed, the four panels thus illustrate all the significant human relationships: parents and children, man and wife, companions, lovers.<sup>54</sup> And in each case the incident chosen illustrates a piteous situation induced by a reversal of fortune. All the victims are such as might well have come to seek comfort at the Altar of Pity, at whose thresholds they are indeed depicted. Here then is a marble record of the "distressed who are ever nigh her," to be compared with the record of Athena's adorants in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon.

<sup>53</sup> Götze (*Jahrbuch*, LXIII-LXIV, 1948-49, pp. 91-99) has argued that the figure to the left is not a second Hesperid but Hera in the act of receiving the apples from Herakles, an act which would signify Herakles' decision to complete his mission and hence to take leave of the Hesperides. Götze stresses the difference in the age, bearing and dress of the two female figures and insists that the attitude of the left-hand figure is appropriate not to giving but to receiving. Surely, however, the differences noted between the two figures are such as might well have been introduced to avoid monotony (as in the Peliad relief and in vase renderings of the Hesperides theme), while the hesitant attitude of the woman with the apples in the fold of her dress is adequately motivated by her reluctance to bring the parting nearer. I also prefer, *pace* Götze, to hold to the view that the female figure in the tenth metope on the east façade of the Hephaisteion is a Hesperid rather than Athena (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 245).

<sup>54</sup> *Jahrbuch*, LXIII-LXIV, 1948-49, p. 99.



## THE OCCASION FOR THE ERECTION OF THE PARAPET

It may be worth while to consider briefly the occasion for the refurbishing of the old sanctuary and the construction of the new parapet with its carved panels. The majority of the many scholars who have previously concerned themselves with the three-figure reliefs have been impressed by the evident kinship between these representations and contemporary tragedy, and most have been inclined to hypothesize some direct or indirect connection with the theatre, usually on the hypothesis that the panels formed part of one or more choregic monuments.<sup>55</sup> Yet the advocates of theatral associations have been compelled to admit their failure to establish a direct connection between any of the four reliefs and any known tragedy, nor has anyone succeeded on the technical side in finding a place for the slabs in the theatre or in fitting them into a choregic monument of known form.<sup>56</sup>

Some earlier scholars had considered the possibility of a sepulchral connection especially for the Orpheus relief, supposing that the panel might have been set in the wall of some famous tomb.<sup>57</sup> No adequate parallel, however, has been adduced from the period of the three-figure reliefs for the use of mythological scenes in tombs whether private or public.<sup>58</sup> Yet it is hard to shake off the feeling of some connection with death. This feeling is inspired partly by the prominence of Hades in two out of the four panels. It is strongly reinforced by the fact that the whole physical appearance of the reliefs and their composition fit into the natural line of development of Attic gravestones of the second half of the fifth century and that our reliefs in turn influenced the design of subsequent gravestones.<sup>59</sup> (The persisting and universal appeal

<sup>55</sup> For a summary of earlier opinions cf. Götze, *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 189-191, 247-251, and, more recent, Curtius, *Interpretationen von sechs griechischen Bildwerken*, pp. 83-105.

<sup>56</sup> Götze (*Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, p. 249) suggests as a possibility that the three-figure reliefs, like the great Eleusinian relief, may have stood individually in front of a wall. It must be noted, however, that the analogy with the Eleusinian relief is not perfect since on it the crowning mouldings are complete in themselves and return around the edges of the stele, whereas on our series, as implied at least by the copies, the upper part of the crown was cut as a separate member and the mouldings were confined to the front of the stele.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. for example P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, London, 1896, p. 181; D. M. Robinson, *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont*, II, p. 310.

<sup>58</sup> The exception which may be taken to prove the rule is the grave lekythos of Myrrhine (Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, II, No. 1146, pl. CCXLII; Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, p. 19, pl. 13) on which Hermes Psychopompos leads away the dead. Both the idea and the figure style are clearly derived from the Orpheus panel. The unique position of the lekythos has been emphasized by Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 180 and by A. Brueckner, *Ornament u. Form der attischen Grabstelen*, Strassburg, 1886, p. 84.

<sup>59</sup> Götze (*Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 273-280) has traced the earlier history of the three-figure relief in some detail, but has done little to relate the four panels of our series to the gravestones. This may be done easily from the plates of Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, and from Diepolder's comments especially on pp. 16 ff.

of the Orpheus panel in this connection may be illustrated by the evident part which it played in the design of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery, Pl. 18e).<sup>60</sup> It might be conjectured, therefore, that the parapet was designed to commemorate, directly or indirectly, some event of national importance that involved the state in tragedy and caused the death of many citizens. That the Athenians did not shrink from memorializing the grim as well as the glorious aspects of war is sufficiently attested by the Mourning Athena from the Acropolis who is perhaps best interpreted as the patron goddess of the city in sorrowful contemplation of a casualty list of fallen citizens (Pl. 18c). If such an hypothesis is to be entertained regarding the three-figure reliefs we shall have to find an occasion of major consequence, since no other public monument of fifth-century Athens compares with this in the cumulative effect of its solemn sentiment.

Before proceeding further with this line of reasoning we must consider more closely the date of our parapet. As we have seen above (p. 52), the evidence of the associated potsherds and the style of working of its blocks indicate for the sill of the new parapet a date in the last quarter of the fifth century. Recent students of the three-figure reliefs have tended to date them in the decade 420-410 B. C.<sup>61</sup> A date rather late in the decade is perhaps indicated by the close similarity in both figure style and composition between the panels and the *traditio* relief of 410/09 B. C. in the Louvre,<sup>62</sup> by the close kinship between the panels and the frieze of the Erechtheion which was being carved 409-06 B. C., and by the dependence which has been observed between our panels and the Nike Temple Parapet, datable with a high degree of probability within the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B. C.).<sup>63</sup>

A date late in the decade 420-410 B. C. brings us close to the time of the Sicilian disaster of 413 B. C., an event which Thucydides (VII, 87) regarded as the "greatest of all that had happened in the course of the War, indeed the greatest of all Hellenic events of which we have record—for the victors most splendid, for the vanquished

<sup>60</sup> Architect, Lorimer Rich; sculptor, Thomas Hudson Jones; completed, 1931. I am indebted to Colonel James F. Watt, QMC, Memorial Division, for information on the history of the Tomb and for the illustration. The Arlington monument shows how admirably our panel is suited for insertion in an architectural frame.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. especially the discussion by Götze in *Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 239-245: "nach 420;" E. Kjellberg, *Studien zu den attischen Reliefs des V. Jahrhunderts*, Uppsala, 1926, p. 141 (of the Orpheus relief): "etwa in das zweitletzte Jahrzehnt des V. Jahrhundert;" Curtius, *Interpretationen von sechs griechischen Bildwerken*, p. 83: "Jahrzehnt 420-410 v. Chr."

<sup>62</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 304; *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, Le Musée du Louvre, III, Paris, 1938, p. 168. The surviving figure on the treaty relief of Athens-Neapolis of 410/09 B. C. is identical in ponderation with Eurydike: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 108 +; *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 70; *B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 200-209, pl. 23.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Carpenter's observations on the Peliad panel in *M.A.A.R.*, XVIII, 1941, p. 62. Professor Carpenter informs me by letter that he continues to regard the Peliad panel as later than the Nike Temple Parapet but as still within the fifth century.



most disastrous.”<sup>63a</sup> The appalling reversal of fortune suffered by Athens in her Sicilian adventure is effectively brought out in Thucydides’ account by the contrast between his description of the brilliant departure (VII, 30-32) and his sombre final word: “land-force and fleet and everything perished and few out of many came back home” (VII, 87). The loss of life was very great; 2700 Athenian hoplites had participated in the expedition,<sup>64</sup> and of all these only stragglers returned. The recollection of this shocking loss of men inspired two poignant lines in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, written in the year following the disaster, lines which must have sent a shiver of horror through the theatre.<sup>65</sup> The tragedy of the business impressed Euripides who is reported to have composed an *epikedeion* on the fallen.<sup>66</sup>

One is tempted to look for veiled references to the Sicilian adventure in the themes of our panels. Was Eurydike, for instance, conceived, in somewhat the same spirit as Basileia in Aristophanes’ *Birds*, as the symbol of Athens’ earlier prosperity and power, so nearly recovered and then so irretrievably lost in front of Syracuse?

Should Medea be thought of as playing the role of Segesta in the Sicilian affair? The people of Segesta, as Thucydides more than once emphasized (VI, 9, 1; VI, 11, 7), were barbarians; as pledges of their good faith they had given the first Athenian envoys 60 talents of silver and assured them of ample additional wealth (VI, 8, 1); they impressed the second deputation by a cunning display of gold and silver vessels (VI, 46). So too did Medea, the alien woman *par excellence* of Greek myth, urge on the daughters of Pelias by a trial demonstration of her powers of rejuvenation. If allegory be admitted in the Peliad panel, the subject of the hoped-for transformation must, of course, be Athens. The metaphor of old age was placed by Thucydides (VI, 18, 6) in the mouth of Alkibiades as he advocated the Sicilian expedition in 415 B. C.: “the state, if she remain in peace, will, like anything else, wear herself out upon herself and her skill in all pursuits will grow old (ἐγγηράσκεισθαι).” It will be recalled, moreover, that Aristophanes in his *Knights* (424 B. C.) had represented the rejuvenation of Demos by the Medean formula.<sup>67</sup> If one will venture still further with the allegory, he may find in the representation of the two Peliads on the marble

<sup>63a</sup> This passage and those which follow are reprinted by permission of the publishers from the Loeb Classical Library, translated by C. F. Smith.

<sup>64</sup> Thucydides, VI, 43 and VII, 20.

<sup>65</sup> Line 524: ‘οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ;’ ‘μὰ Δι’ οὐ δῆτ’,’ εἰφ’ ἑτερός τις, and line 589: (Lysistrata) πρῶτιστον μὲν γε τεκοῦσαι | κάκπέμψασαι παῖδας ὀπλίτας. (Proboulos) σίγα, μὴ μνησικακῆσης.

<sup>66</sup> Plutarch, *Nikias*, 17. It will be recalled also that some of the Athenian prisoners secured their freedom by reciting verses of Euripides to their Sicilian masters (*ibid.*, 29).

<sup>67</sup> The theme of rejuvenation recurs with extraordinary frequency in contemporary drama, e. g. in no less than eight out of the eleven surviving plays of Aristophanes; in the lost *Geras* of the same comedian; in the *Bacchae* of Euripides (lines 184 ff.). Cf. B. E. Richardson, *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks*, Baltimore, 1933, pp. 67 f.; F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 87-93; W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, iv, Munich, 1946, p. 195.



panel a most vivid parallel to the contrast drawn by Thucydides (VI, 8-26) between the two schools of thought in the great debate on whether or not there should be an expedition to Sicily: the young, eager and bustling sister standing for the party of youth and action headed by Alkibiades, while the elder sister, whose knife marks her as the actual agent of the deed but whose expression betrays her foreboding, must recall the cautious and fearful Nikias into whose unwilling hands was thrust the magnificent armament that was to prove his country's ruin.

Dare one suspect in the representation of the inglorious ending of Perithoos' attempt to do violence to Persephone a reminder of Alkibiades' travesty of the Mysteries? Was the story intended to suggest Sicily where the rape of Persephone was commonly localized? May Persephone of the story have been expected vaguely to personify the island as Demeter personified Sicily on the Dionysios relief of 394/3 B. C.? <sup>68</sup> Is Herakles' role in the story to be paralleled by Demosthenes' arrival in Sicily with reinforcements whereby he brought high hopes of deliverance, hopes which were not justified by the event?

In Herakles' journey to the westernmost reaches of the world in search of the golden apples of eternal life it is very easy to read a parable on the Athenians' expedition to Sicily, "the longest voyage from home yet attempted," <sup>69</sup> particularly when we read that the chief motive with the multitude was "the hope not only to get money for the present but also to acquire additional dominion which would always be an inexhaustible source of pay." <sup>70</sup>

These are intriguing speculations, but it must be borne in mind that not one of the suggested references to the historical event is susceptible of proof. On the other hand, the choice of themes and the prevailing atmosphere of the reliefs indicate clearly that they were designed in the shadow of some great disaster, which can scarcely be other than Syracuse, just as the reliefs that had been carved a few years earlier to adorn the parapet of another Athenian sanctuary, that of Nike Apteros, reflect the glow of triumph that came of Pylos and Sphakteria. <sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 18; J. N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, pl. 205, 2; R. Binneboesel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Leipzig, 1932; R. Schöne, *Griechischen Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen*, Leipzig, 1872, pl. 7, 49; H. K. Süsserot, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt am Main, 1938, pl. 2, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Thucydides VI, 31, 6. Cf. also 21, 2; 30, 2; 68, 2; 86, 3.

<sup>70</sup> Thucydides VI, 24, 3. Cf. also 90, 4.

<sup>71</sup> The date of the victory was 425 B. C.; the date of the temple, according to Dinsmoor, *ca.* 427-424 B. C. (*The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London, 1950, p. 185). The design of the parapet was presumably conceived within those years, even if not executed until the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B. C.). It is also true, of course, that the themes of the parapet, Nikai making sacrifices and setting up trophies, have a general propriety for the cult; it is to be noted, too, that Persian weapons occur on some of the trophies, recalling the triumph that was uppermost in the minds of the Athenians when the temple was first projected in or about 449 B. C.

If one turn to contemporary drama, the case for supposing that our monument echoes the shock of the Sicilian disaster is at least as plausible as the generally accepted view that the *Birds* of Aristophanes allegorized the expansive mood and fantastic expectations which dominated the Athenian scene on the eve of the expedition.<sup>72</sup> A still closer analogy may be drawn between our panels and the *Trojan Women* of Euripides (415 B. C.) which so closely followed the Melian massacre and which so evidently expressed the reaction of a sensitive lover of Athens to the outrage committed by his country. In the carved marbles as in the play the artist's commentary is couched in mythological terms, but in each case the mythological characters are so far humanized and the feeling is so poignant as to leave no doubt that the author was inspired by a very profound and a very fresh experience.

Of significance also is the similarity in the treatment of Herakles and Theseus as between our reliefs and the *Herakles* of Euripides. At the close of the play Herakles, aghast at the results of his mad slaughtering and desperately in need of an asylum, is led off to Athens by Theseus who recalls with gratitude his own deliverance from the underworld by Herakles. It is true that the two heroes had been jointly and splendidly honored a generation earlier by the Athenians in the Doric frieze of the Temple of Hephaistos, but nowhere else, apart from Euripides' play, is the association of the two so prominently and so tenderly illustrated. In the Peirithoos panel we have before us the delivery of Theseus from Hades; in the companion panel Herakles appears as if among the suppliants at this altar, the acknowledged place of asylum in Athens, and a place closely connected by Athenian tradition with the family of Herakles. It is hard to avoid the feeling that the choice of themes in our parapet was somewhat influenced by Euripides' *Herakles*, something which would be entirely possible if we accept for the play the most plausible date, i. e. within the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B. C.).<sup>73</sup>

We should not, however, regard the four parapet panels as direct illustrations of or in any substantial way dependent on contemporary plays; we shall do better to think of them as an independent tetralogy in marble comprising, as did at least one of Euripides' tetralogies, three canonical tragedies and a fourth which was a blend of tragedy and comedy.<sup>74</sup> In their deeply human quality, in their preoccupation with psychological problems, in their predilection for romantic love and melodramatic situations, the altar reliefs find their best parallels in the mature plays of Euripides.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. B. B. Rogers' introduction to his edition of the *Birds*, London, 1906, pp. xii-xix.

<sup>73</sup> On the vexed problem of the date cf. W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, III, i, Munich, 1940, p. 437.

<sup>74</sup> Götze had arrived at much the same conclusion in the second of his articles on the reliefs: *Jahrbuch*, LXIII-LXIV, 1948-49, p. 99. Cf. also G. Rodenwaldt, *Das Relief bei den Griechen*, Berlin, 1923, p. 57.

## DECORATED TEMENOS WALLS

Our parapet belongs to a period in which decorated screens were much in vogue among Athenian designers. That of which we know most, though we possess the least, enclosed three sides of the rectangular area in front of the statue of Zeus in his temple at Olympia. According to Pausanias (V, 11, 4) it was a work of Panainos, the brother of Phidias, who is also reported to have participated in the painting of the Stoa Poikile. The surviving remains indicate that the barrier consisted of stuccoed poros orthostates set between the columns.<sup>75</sup> Each of the nine panels, as Pausanias reports, was filled by a scene of two mythological figures. In addition to the structural similarity, it is worth noting the large common element in subject matter as between the Olympia screen and our parapet. In both works Herakles was prominent, appearing at Athens in two out of four panels, at Olympia in three out of nine; both monuments, moreover, included representations of the Hesperides and of the Theseus-Perithoos story. The more compact Athenian series was marked, however, by a uniformity of motif which was curiously lacking at Olympia.

The Olympia parapet, being indoors, was naturally painted; the parapet of Nike Apteros, erected a few years later in Athens to protect and adorn the top of the goddess' lofty bastion, was carved in high relief the better to withstand the weather and to profit from the sunlight. Executed apparently during the optimistic years of the Peace of Nikias (421-415 B.C.), this parapet shows the free use of marble in large masses, socle, die and crown being cut in one block, in striking contrast with the frugal construction of our screen. The Nike frieze is ostensibly continuous, unbroken by posts or triglyphs, yet a glance at the restored scheme will reveal at once that each slab was designed as a panel and that the normal unit comprised two divinities (Athena or Nike) separated by a bull, an altar or a trophy.<sup>76</sup> One might therefore regard this design as intermediate between the normal two-figure scheme familiar in the metopes of earlier Attic buildings, as also in Panainos' painted screen, and the more involved three-figure composition of our panels.

Two other monuments of the latter part of the fifth century may be mentioned in this connection, although both are in a highly problematic category. First, the high reliefs associated with the Altar of Ares in the Athenian Agora, similar in scale, in height of relief and in quality to the Nike Temple Parapet, although probably a few years earlier in date. Reduced as they now are to two fragmentary female torsos and half a dozen exquisite but battered heads, these sculptures have not yet been certainly

<sup>75</sup> The results of Dörpfeld's re-examination, as well as the citation of earlier discussions, are to be found in W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Olympia*, I, Berlin, 1935, pp. 247-256.

<sup>76</sup> R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, fig. 14, plan I.



placed in relation to the altar.<sup>77</sup> Second, the Dancing Maenad Monument, now represented by ancient copies: a circular structure somewhat over two metres in diameter with isolated figures of maenads carved in low relief on its outer face.<sup>78</sup> The structure is too high to have served itself as an altar and its proportions are very unlikely for a statue base of the late fifth century (the most popular current hypothesis). One might therefore consider the possibility of the orthostates having formed a hollow drum interrupted by a narrow entrance in such a way as to constitute a screen around a small altar; two such circular altar screens, with plain rather than sculptured walls, were erected by an Athenian family on Delos *ca.* 400 B. C.<sup>79</sup>

Only a few predecessors are known for this late fifth century crop of ornate screens. In the first place it may be observed that the original Peisistratid parapet around the Altar of the Twelve Gods was probably carved with figures of the Twelve Gods in relief.<sup>80</sup> This consideration may have determined the use of six panels on either entrance side, making twelve in all. It is tempting, moreover, to suppose that the author of our parapet had the earlier work in mind in laying out his sculptural decoration, for it too contains a total of twelve figures, six of either sex, a balance which may surely be hypothecated for any formal representation of the Twelve Gods. Although possible echoes of such earlier reliefs have been noted in both sculpture and painting, no certainty has yet been achieved.

Another and better attested early example of a sculptured altar screen is that of the sanctuary of Ajax in Aegina, known to us from Pausanias' account (II, 29, 6): "In the most prominent part of the city is the so-called sanctuary of Ajax, a square peribolos of marble. Alongside the entrance are reliefs representing the ambassadors once sent to Ajax by the Greeks. . . . Within the enclosure are olive trees planted long ago and an altar which does not project far from the ground. It is said in secret that this altar might be the tomb of Ajax."<sup>81</sup> The Aiakeion thus had in common

<sup>77</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 57 f. In the season of 1951 three more female heads were found around the ruins of the altar and a second torso was recognized among the finds of earlier seasons.

<sup>78</sup> Franz Winter, "Über ein Vorbild neu-attischer Reliefs," *Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm*, L, 1890, pp. 97-124, pl. II, left; Gisela M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 10-20; Giacomo Caputo, *Lo scultore del grande bassorilievo con la danza delle menadi in Tolemaide di Cirenaica*; Oscar Broneer, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>79</sup> Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 167-176, figs. 1-7, pl. V; Yavis, *Greek Altars*, pp. 200-202. A fragment from a circular parapet of this type was found in the northeast corner of the Athenian Agora in 1951.

<sup>80</sup> This hypothesis, which antedates the excavation of the site, was favorably regarded by Miss Crosby: *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 96, 103.

<sup>81</sup> Ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ Αἰάκειον καλούμενον, περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου. ἐπειργασμένοι δὲ εἰσι κατὰ τὴν ἔσοδον οἱ παρὰ Αἰακὸν ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σταλέντες. . . . τοῦ περιβόλου δὲ ἐντὸς ἐλαῖαι πεφύκασιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ βωμός ἐστιν οὐ πολὺ ἀνέχων ἐκ τῆς γῆς· ὥς δὲ καὶ μνῆμα οὗτος ὁ βωμός εἰη Αἰακοῦ, λεγόμενόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ.

I owe the reference to Miss Barbara Philippaki. Cf. Hitzig-Blümner, *Pausaniae Graeciae*

with our peribolos the square outline, the altar within, the trees and the marble reliefs by the entrance; it differed in having but a single entrance. That the chief glory of the Aeginetan monument was its sculptured parapet is evident from Pindar's reference to it as "the well fenced grove of the Aiakidai."<sup>82</sup>

The practice of adorning a gateway with relief sculpture on either side of the opening has been regarded as of eastern origin<sup>83</sup> and possible antecedents are indeed to be found especially in the gateways and palaces of the great Hittite sites.<sup>84</sup> But, apart from such isolated phenomena as the Sphinx Tomb of Xanthos,<sup>85</sup> intermediate links are lacking in Asia Minor.<sup>86</sup>

It is to the island of Thasos that we must turn for the finest series of openings flanked by reliefs. No less than three of the gateways in the city wall are known to have been so adorned.<sup>87</sup> A similar disposition of figures is known on two other Thasian monuments: a small, fragmentary and isolated marble relief on which two female votaries approach a doorway or niche occupied by a goddess<sup>88</sup> and the well

*Descriptio, ad loc.* Welter (*Aigina*, Berlin, 1938, p. 52) places the Aiakeion on a terrace at the southeast corner of the Temple of Aphrodite and associates it with the remains of a propylon. This identification, however, would not seem certain; the scale of the propylon is more appropriate to the peribolos of the great temple. Curtius (*Peloponnesus*, I, p. 334) interpreted Pausanias' ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τῆς πόλεως as *medio in foro*. Welter (*loc. cit.*) attributes to the Aiakeion a fragmentary late archaic relief now in the Aegina Museum.

<sup>82</sup> *Ol.* XIII, 109: Αἰακιδᾶν τ' εὐερκὲς ἄλσος. Cf. *Nem.* V, 53: προθύρουσιν δ' Αἰακοῦ | ἀνθέων ποιέοντα φέρε. *Ol.* XIII dates from 464 B. C., *Nem.* V from the 80's of the fifth century. Welter (*loc. cit.*) dates the construction of the Aiakeion to ca. 490 B. C.

<sup>83</sup> G. Mendel, *B.C.H.*, XXIV, 1900, p. 567, note 5; F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Vienna, 1950, p. 10.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin, 1942, fig. 474 (Boghazköy); figs. 874-888 (Sakçagözü); fig. 893 (Zincerli).

<sup>85</sup> F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum*, I, i, Prehellenic and Early Greek, London, 1928, pp. 132 f., pls. XXVI f.

<sup>86</sup> The freestanding statues that flank the openings in the tympanum of the fourth-century Temple of Artemis at Ephesos as portrayed on the coins have been regarded as late examples of the practice (B. L. Trell, *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 107, 1945, pp. 24 f.).

<sup>87</sup> (1) A satyr bearing a kantharos, on a jamb (Picard, *C.R.A.I.*, 1912, pp. 203-205, fig. 4; 1913, pp. 360-363, fig. 1);

(2) A seated divinity accompanied by a winged messenger, on a jamb (Mendel, *B.C.H.*, XXIV, 1900, pp. 560-569, pls. XIV, XV; Picard, *C.R.A.I.*, 1912, pp. 196-200, fig. 2; *Rev. Arch.*, XX, 1912, pp. 43-76);

(3) Herakles and Dionysos with attendants set on opposite sides of a gate passage (Studniczka, *Jahreshefte*, VI, 1903, pp. 180-186; Deonna, *Rev. Arch.*, XVI, 1908, pp. 25-39; Picard, *C.R.A.I.*, 1912, pp. 200 f.).

At Alyzia in Acarnania a gate in a fortification wall is flanked to one side on its inner face by a relief at ground level showing Herakles, of the Farnese type, alone in a rectangular panel, to be thought of, no doubt, like the corresponding figures on the gates of Thasos, as a guardian of the city (L. Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, II, Paris, 1856, p. 413, pl. XI).

<sup>88</sup> Picard, *Mon. Piot*, XX, 1933, pp. 39-69; *Manuel d'archéologie grecque, La Sculpture*, II, i, Paris, 1939, p. 88, fig. 40.



known group of three marble reliefs found on Thasos in 1864 and now in the Louvre (Pl. 18, a and b).<sup>89</sup>

On the complete slab a gateway, or mouth of a niche, is flanked on the left by Apollo and a goddess (?), on the right by three nymphs. The two smaller slabs have been restored as flanking a similar opening: Hermes and a female companion to the right, three Graces to the left. The two compositions come from the "Prytaneion" and are believed to have been set in the facing walls of a passage.<sup>90</sup> Ordinances governing the sacrifices to the various divinities are inscribed on the lintel of the niche and on the plinth below Hermes. The style of the sculpture, supported by the letter forms, suggests a date *ca.* 490-480 B. C. The strong admixture of Attic flavor has been frequently and no doubt rightly emphasized. It is tempting to suppose that in composition as well as in style the island work owes something to an Attic prototype, i. e. to the hypothetical sculpture on the original parapet of our sanctuary. On the other hand, the exquisite care with which the Thasian artist avoided dry symmetry while achieving an easy balance, his adroit handling of the spatial problem, the studied variety in the minutiae of stance, dress and coiffure all look forward to the still more refined subtleties of our second parapet.<sup>91</sup>

In the period immediately subsequent to the construction of our parapet the best parallels for its scheme of decoration are to be found in Lycia whither, it has been conjectured, some of the Athenian artists who must have despaired of a livelihood in Athens after Aigospotamoi emigrated in search of commissions. One thinks first of the Heroon of Gjölbaschi-Trysa, where the doorway in the wall that enclosed the family burial plot was flanked on either side on its inner face by a dancing figure carved on the jamb.<sup>92</sup> Still more relevant for comparison with the sculptural decoration of our parapet are two rock-cut tombs in Limyra, another Lycian site. In both cases the doorway of the tomb is flanked to either side by figures carved in relief in

<sup>89</sup> Studniczka, *Jahreshefte*, VI, 1903, pp. 159-179, figs. 99-101 (photographs, drawings and technical details); Picard, *Manuel, La Sculpture*, II, i, pp. 88-93; Charbonneaux, *La Sculpture grecque archaïque*, p. 62, pl. 77; *Encyclopédie photographique d'Art, Le Musée du Louvre*, III, Paris, 1938, p. 148.

<sup>90</sup> Picard, *C.R.A.I.*, 1913, pp. 376 f.

<sup>91</sup> The temple and altar of Zeus Agoraios in the Agora of Thasos (probably fourth century B. C.) were enclosed on the north and west, and presumably also on the south, by means of a fence of stone posts and wooden rails. On the east, between the beddings for posts, are beddings for orthostates. Were the orthostates sculptured? Cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXIX, 1950, pp. 333-335.

An example in North Greece of relief sculpture used in a different way to flank an entrance to a walled precinct is the frieze of dancing girls from the Propylon on the Central Terrace at Samothrace (late fourth century B. C.): Lehmann, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 16-18, and above pp. 25-28, Fig. 2. With this has been compared the contemporary frieze of Erotes apparently from the Sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis: Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 143-147.

<sup>92</sup> O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Vienna, 1889, pls. IV, VI; F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, p. 10, pl. I.



the scarped rock. In one a man with his three sons looks across to wife and daughter; in the other a solitary man, surely the deceased, bids farewell to wife and child from whom he is separated by the mouth of the tomb (Pl. 18 f.).<sup>93</sup> The motif of the grave separating the living from the dead is thoroughly familiar, of course, from the Attic white-ground lekythoi, and the family groups on the Lycian tombs are rendered in the style of Attic grave stelai of the late fifth and early fourth century. The memory of our parapet may well have led to the combination of these elements in the tomb façades of distant Lycia.

Comparative material is scanty for the later fourth and the third centuries,<sup>94</sup> but the great altars of the second century (Pergamon, Priene, Magnesia, Kos), in which the enclosure wall is given monumental treatment, all show a startling advance beyond our modest establishment in the extensive use of free-standing as well as relief sculpture and of columns. In these monuments, moreover, the altar proper, surrounded by its screen, stood on a lofty podium which was decorated on its outer face with sculpture, and the place of sacrifice was accessible only from the west side. It is perhaps of some significance that at Priene the sculpture around the podium is not, as at Pergamon and as intended at Magnesia, a continuous frieze but a series of panels, one of which is restored to either side of the main entrance in a way reminiscent of our parapet. The construction of this altar is dated to the middle of the second century B. C. at which time there was set up in the temple a new cult statue, an adaptation at one-third scale of the Athena Parthenos of Phidias.<sup>95</sup>

In view of the prevalence of the "Pergamene type" of altar in the later Hellenistic period it is startling to observe that the Ara Pacis Augustae, the first monumental altar of which we have knowledge in Rome, shows an abrupt break with the Hellenistic tradition and a reversion to the older type represented by our Athenian sanctuary. The Ara Pacis is modest in scale and simple in its basic design: the altar proper is surrounded on all four sides by a marble parapet pierced by entrance ways of equal width to east and west (Fig. 10).<sup>96</sup>

The resemblance between the Roman monument and the Athenian is obvious in the scale and in the plan. Equally striking is the correspondence in the sculptural decoration. In the Ara Pacis, as in the Altar of Pity, all the sculpture is in relief of

<sup>93</sup> Petersen and v. Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis*, 1889, pl. XV; Bossert, *Altanatolien*, figs. 240, 245; Eichler, *op. cit.*, p. 10, fig. 3.

<sup>94</sup> An altar court unearthed on Samothrace in 1951 may help to fill the gap.

<sup>95</sup> A. von Gerkan, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXXIX, 1924, pp. 15-35; M. Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, Berlin, 1934, pp. 36-38.

<sup>96</sup> Platner-Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, s. v. Ara Pacis Augustae. On the results of the most recent excavations (1937-1938) cf. Raleigh Radford, *J.R.S.*, XXIX, 1939, pp. 48 f. The earlier publications are now superseded by those based on the definitive exploration and reconstruction of the altar: G. Moretti, *L'Ara Pacis Augustae* (Itinerari dei musei e monumenti d'Italia No. 67) Roma, 1938; *idem*, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Rome, 1948.

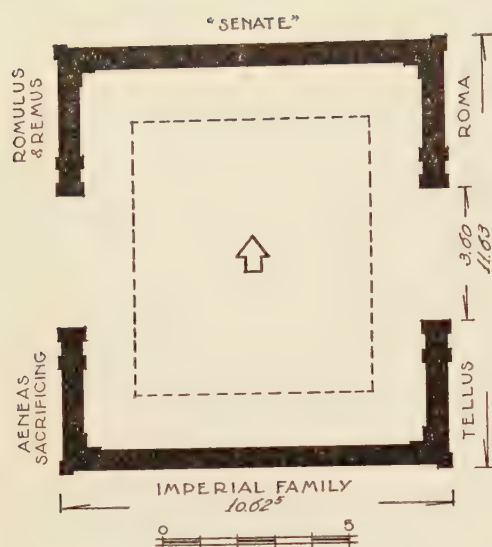


Fig. 10. Ara Pacis: Restored Plan

medium height and there is a noticeable absence of the free-standing statues and the isolated figures in high relief that are so characteristic of the altars of "Pergamene type." On the Ara the figured reliefs comprise one medium and one small frieze on the altar proper, continuous friezes of large scale on the upper part of the outer face of the parapet running the full length of both the north and south flank, and a rectangular panel of the same scale set at the same height to either side of both the east and the west entrance. These four groups of sculpture appear to be independent of each other and each to have its own significance.<sup>97</sup> The small frieze on the altar proper illustrates the ritual for the annual sacrifice as specified in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*; the medium frieze on the altar

has been interpreted as a representative of the ceremony by which the altar was dedicated on January 30th, 9 B. C.; the great processional friezes on the north and south sides record the ceremony of consecration on July 4th, 13 B. C. These first three groups of sculpture thus serve, so to speak, practical purposes and they have in common a realistic, historical flavor.

It is quite other with the four great panels that flank the entrances: on the east side, to the left Tellus seated between two *Aurae*; to the right Roma likewise seated between subsidiary figures; on the west side, to the left the twins and the wolf with Mars standing; to the right Aeneas standing, accompanied by Achates (?) and a camillus, making sacrifice on the discovery of the sow. Here we have been transported from the world of fact to the realm of myth and allegory: commencing on the west with scenes from the fabulous beginnings of Rome, culminating on the east in the personification of Rome in all the majesty which she had achieved in the Augustan era, and in the figure of Tellus as a symbol of the prosperity that was assured by the newly established peace. The myth and allegory, therefore, are very significantly related to the cult of the *Pax Augusta*, although there is no trace of a specific representation of the divinity herself.

As to the inspiration behind this sculpture, it has been commonly and no doubt rightly maintained that the historical friezes were suggested by the Panathenaic frieze

<sup>97</sup> I find more ingenious than convincing Moretti's attempt (*Ara Pacis Augustae*, p. 310) to establish a continuity of theme through the two panels and the long lateral frieze of both the north and south side of the parapet.

of the Parthenon.<sup>98</sup> For the great panels one might draw an analogy with the pediments of the Parthenon, but such an analogy would be both incomplete and inexact. Yet the panels are so reminiscent of the fifth century in their figure types, in their sculptural style and in the grandness of their conception that one would gladly find for them also a fifth-century prototype. Such is now available in the sculptured parapet of the Athenian altar. The mechanical correspondences are obvious in the distribution of the panels around the two entrances to the sanctuary and, more specifically, in the allocation of the two quiescent panels, each dominated by a central seated figure, to the east side and of the more active scenes filled with upright figures to the west side. In both sanctuaries, moreover, the nature of the divinity is implicit in the mythological-allegorical scenes. And the two divinities, as it turns out, have much in common. Statius (*Thebais*, XII, 482) apostrophizes the deity of the Athenian sanctuary as "mitis Clementia;" Ovid (*Fasti*, I, 712) addresses the goddess of the Ara Pacis as "Pax mitis."

The Ara Pacis shared the Campus Martius with the temple and altar of the god of war. It rose on the right side of the Via Flaminia, the "great north road" by which Augustus must have returned to Rome after his pacification of Gaul and Spain which was the occasion for the consecration of the Ara Pacis. The Altar of Pity stood on the right side of the Panathenaic Way by which suppliants from abroad, from Argos or Thebes or Plataia, for instance, must have approached. And from the Augustan period onward the transplanting of the Temple of Ares into the Agora had made of the old square a virtual "Campus Martius" so that here too we have a curious collocation, a sanctuary of Pity in combination with a temple and altar of the god of war.

These many correspondences need not be fortuitous. In the years around 15 B. C. the aspect of the Athenian Agora was radically changed by the building activities of Augustus and his family. An Odeion was erected in the middle of the square by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus.<sup>99</sup> As part of the same program the fifth-century temple of Ares, together with its altar, was dismantled and moved from its original station, to be re-erected in the northwest quadrant of the Agora,<sup>100</sup> a stone's throw from the Altar of Pity. There is reason to believe that Augustus and/or his adopted son Gaius Caesar was associated with Ares in the rededication of the temple.<sup>101</sup> It is altogether probable that Roman architects from the capital had participated in this

<sup>98</sup> Cf. especially E. Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, Vienna, 1902, pp. 165-169.

<sup>99</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 89.

<sup>100</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 49-52; XX, 1951, pp. 56-58.

<sup>101</sup> Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 49-52. Cf. the association of Livia with Nemesis at Rhamnous as indicated by an inscription on the architrave of the temple (Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 397-400) and the common priesthood of Hestia, Livia and Julia as recorded on one of the thrones of the Theatre of Dionysos (*I.G.*, II-III<sup>2</sup>, 5096).



building program, particularly in determining the site and the design of the Odeion.<sup>102</sup> Such specialists are more likely than not to have been among the leading authorities of their time, and hence may well have been called upon to design also the Ara Pacis, "la prima grande espressione dell' arte romana" (Colini), the reliefs of which "represent the highest achievement of Roman decorative art that is known to us" (Platner-Ashby). What more natural than that they should have been influenced in carrying out the new commission by their still fresh impressions of Athens, or that they should have taken back with them to assist in the execution Athenian artists steeped in the traditions of their own city?<sup>103</sup>

Is it perhaps possible that the man who showed so much sensitivity in adapting the artistic forms of the Altar of Pity to the needs of the Ara Pacis should have been aware also of a certain historical propriety? The consecration of the Ara Pacis on July 4, 13 B. C. marked the conclusion of a protracted military campaign in the far west: "The Senate voted to commemorate my return by the consecration of the Ara Pacis when in the consulship of Ti. Nero and P. Quinctilius I came back to Rome from Spain and Gaul, things having gone well in those provinces."<sup>104</sup> We have seen reason to believe that the Altar of Pity likewise commemorated the outcome of a great military effort in the distant west, an issue no less momentous in its consequences which had been settled, also in the heat of summer, exactly 400 years earlier.<sup>105</sup>

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON

<sup>102</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 90-98.

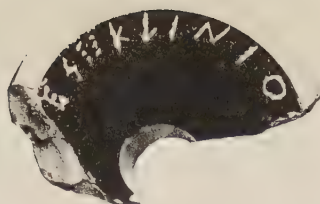
<sup>103</sup> This hypothesis of a direct and immediate influence from the side of Athens would seem more plausible than either Petersen's view that the square plan of the Ara Pacis enclosure was basically Italic (*Ara Pacis Augustae*, Vienna, 1902, pp. 140-142), or Moretti's suggestion that the design of the Ara Pacis was an outcome of the tide of Greek influence that had set in as early as the second century B. C. (*Ara Pacis Augustae*, pp. 192-196. On the participation of Greek artists in the execution of the work cf. Moretti, *op. cit.*, p. 298). It also relieves us of the necessity for resorting to Pasqui's ingenious hypothesis that the Ara Pacis as we know it was a reproduction in marble of a temporary wooden structure erected for the ceremony of consecration in 13 B. C. (*Studi Romani*, 1913, pp. 283-304). The panelling on the lower part of the inner face of the parapet of the Ara, which has been most commonly regarded as an imitation of wood-work, may well have been suggested by the post-and-slab construction of the Altar of Pity.

<sup>104</sup> *Monumentum Ancyranum*, ii, 39-41 (Lat.).

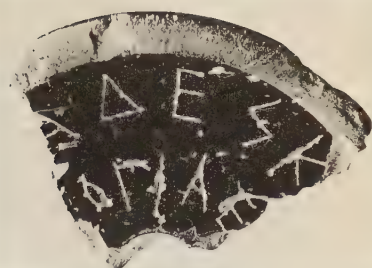
<sup>105</sup> The eye of any cultured Roman of the period must have been caught especially by the Orpheus slab of our parapet, for Virgil in his fourth Georgic, published in 29 B. C., had produced the only other representation of the myth that can compare with ours in beauty of expression and in depth of feeling.



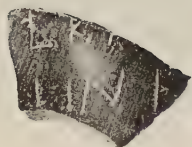
No. 1



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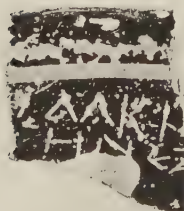


No. 6

Nos. 1-6 Ostraka of Alkibiades the Elder



No. 8



No. 9 inside



No. 9 outside

Nos. 8-9 Ostraka of Alkibiades the Younger

EUGENE VANDERPOOL: THE OSTRACISM OF THE ELDER ALKIBIADES





a. The rear face of block B



b. The inscribed face of blocks A and B

JOHN H. KENT: THE VICTORY MONUMENT OF TIMOLEON AT CORINTH





a. View of Excavation. Center: "New Temple." Foreground, left: Central Terrace



b. Central Terrace seen from Northwest



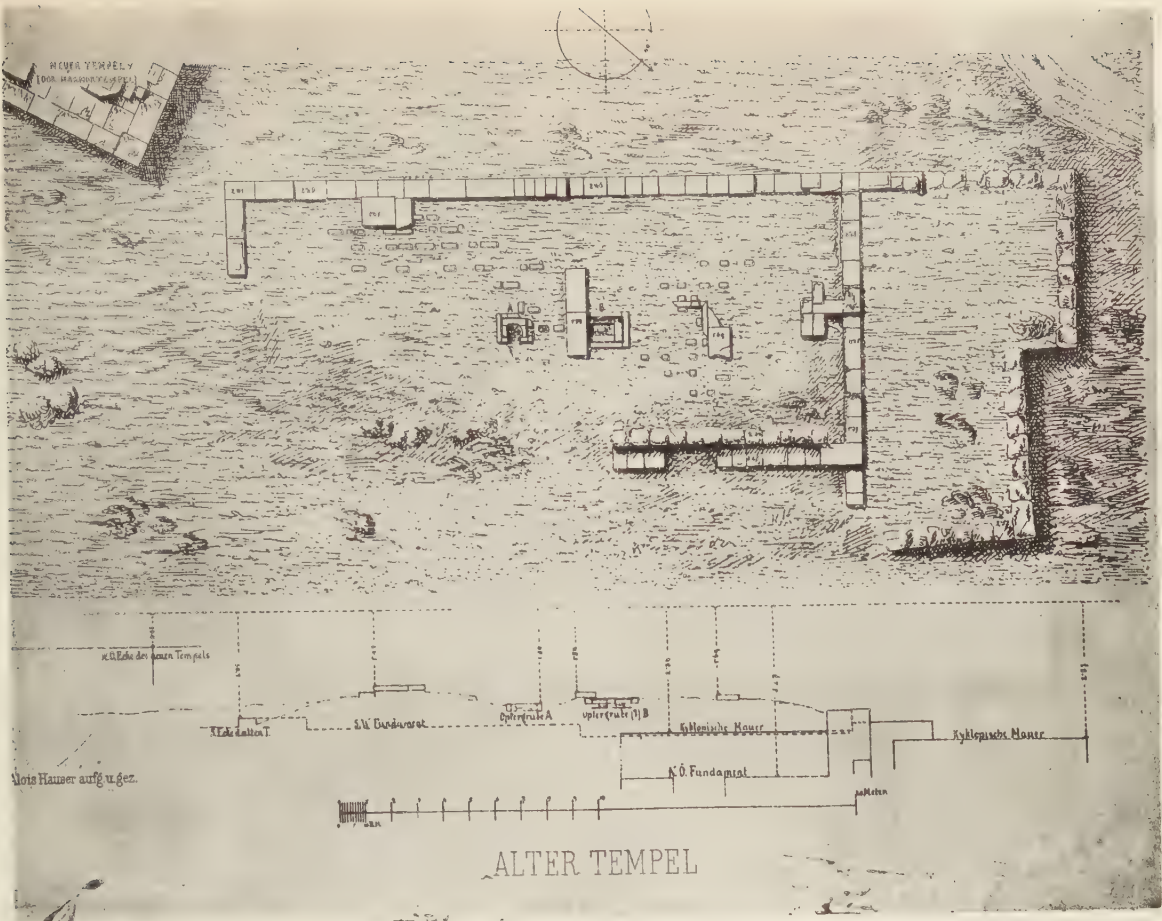


a. Central Terrace. Southwestern side seen from South

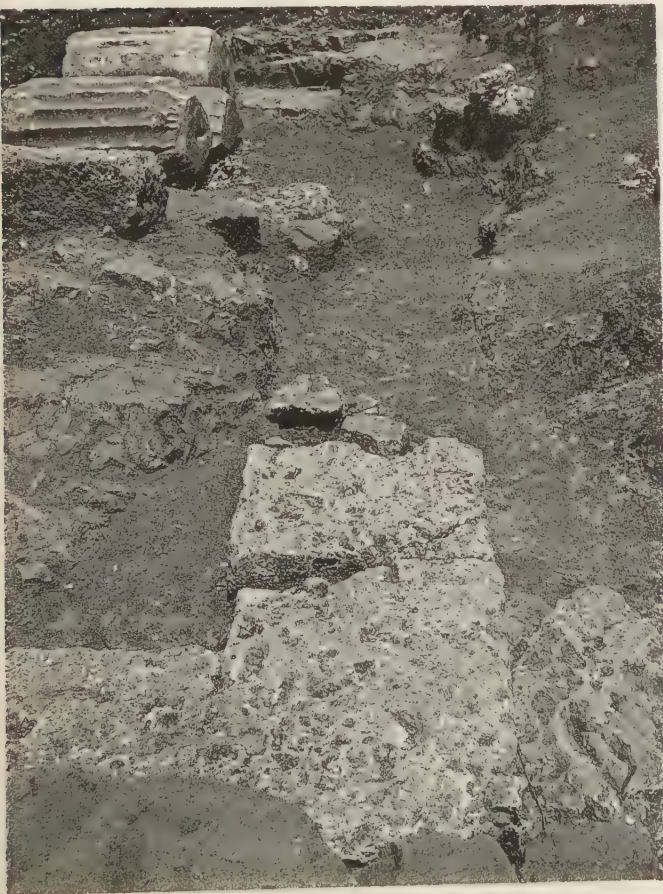


b. Central Terrace Precinct. Northwestern Foundation





a. Central Terrace. Plan and Section of Austrian Excavation



b. Central Terrace Precinct. South Corner. In background rock cutting for Eastern Corner



c. Central Terrace. North Corner of Terrace Wall seen from Southwest





a. Central Terrace Precinct. Northwestern Foundation and inner Foundations seen from South



b. Foundation of Propylon of Central Terrace Precinct seen from East





a. Central Terrace. Northwestern earlier Foundation with Entrance, seen from Southeast



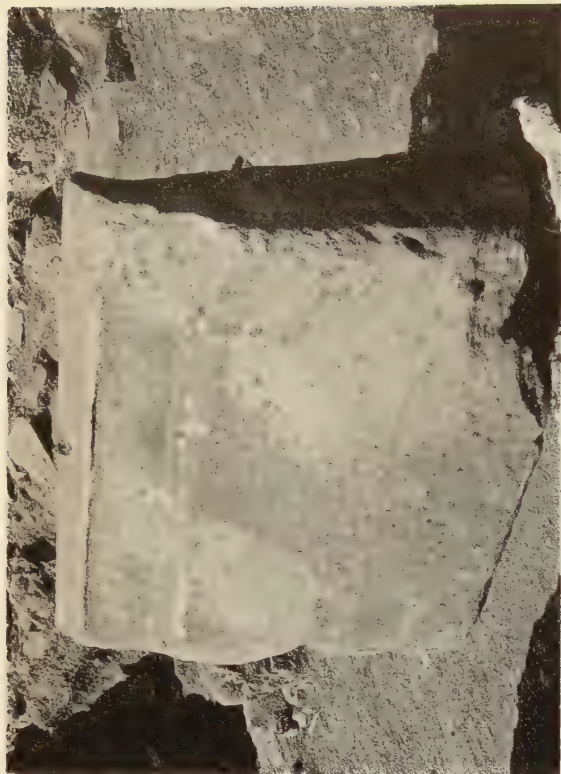
b. Archaic Rock Altar Northeast from Central Terrace, seen from North

KARL LEHMANN: SAMOTHRACE, FIFTH PRELIMINARY REPORT





a. Frieze Block with traces of bronze decoration from Central Terrace Propylon



b. Cornice Block from Central Terrace Propylon with cutting for bronze waterspout

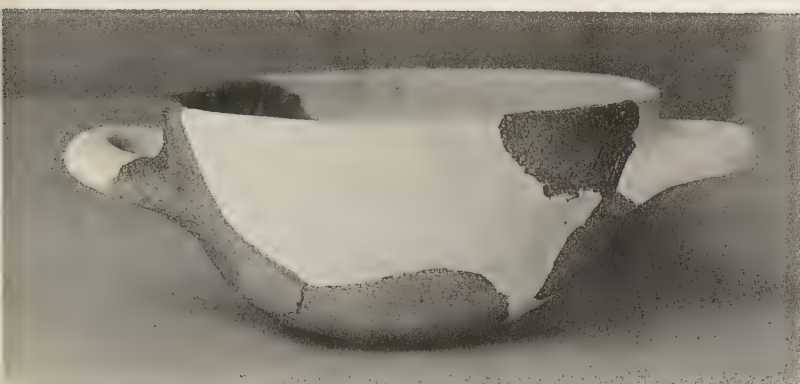


c. Fragment of archaic Vase with relief decoration



d. Sacred Hearth beneath Central Terrace Precinct





a.-d. Handmade Vases from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



e. and f. Sub-Geometric Kantharoi from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct

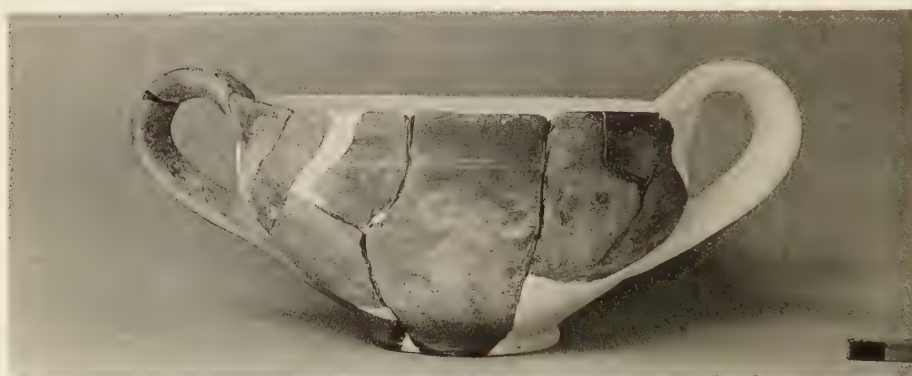




a. Sub-Geometric Kantharos from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



b. Sub-Geometric Bowl from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



c. Sub-Geometric Bowl from Sacrificial Deposit beneath Central Terrace Precinct



d. Foundation Block with lead pouring for sustaining a mast near Northwestern Corner of "New Temple"



e. Fragments of a marble sima found near "New Temple"





a. Roman Water Channel near Altar (left background) in area in front of "New Temple"



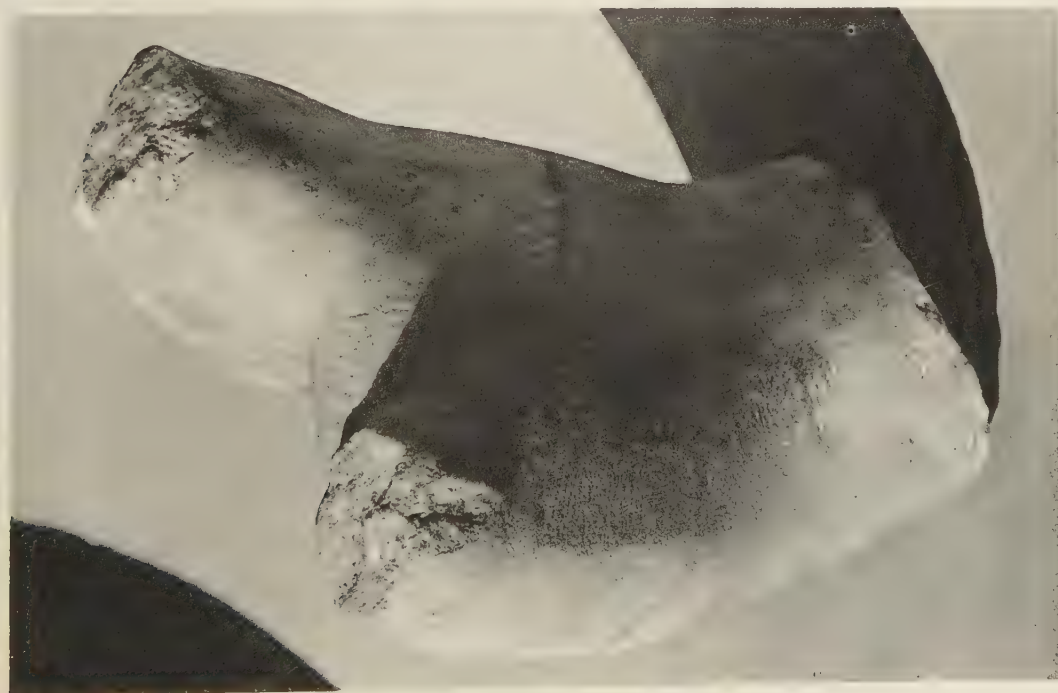
b. Roman concrete wall at Western corner of Central Terrace and (background) parallel wall on Western river bank





Right hand of the Nike of Samothrace, found in Samothrace

JEAN CHARBONNEAUX: LA MAIN DROITE DE LA VICTOIRE DE SAMOTHRACE



a. Right hand of the Nike



b. and c. Cast of the right hand of the Nike with thumb and finger from Vienna added

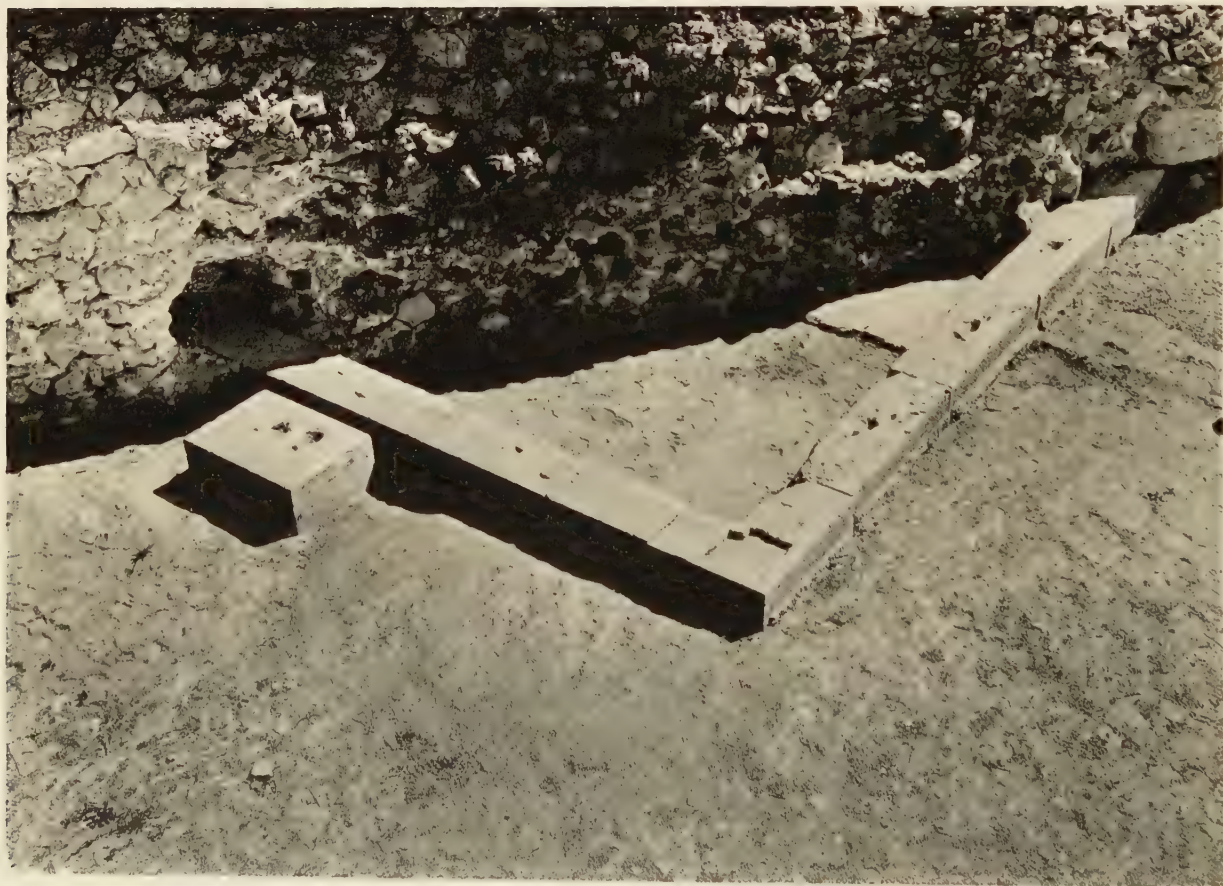


JEAN CHARBONNEAUX: LA MAIN DROITE DE LA VICTOIRE DE SAMOTHRACE



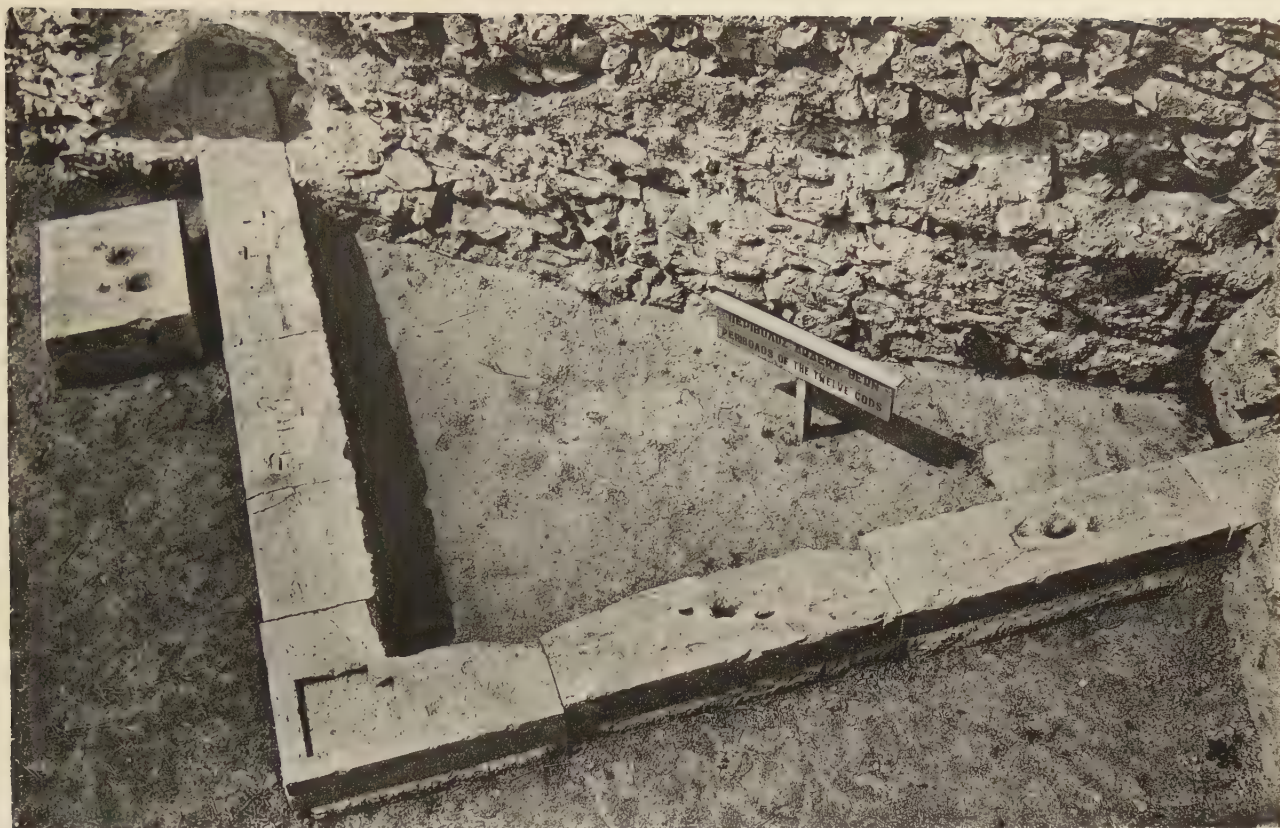


a. Site of Altar from the Northeast (1951)  
(The southwest corner of the peribolos appears in the lower right)

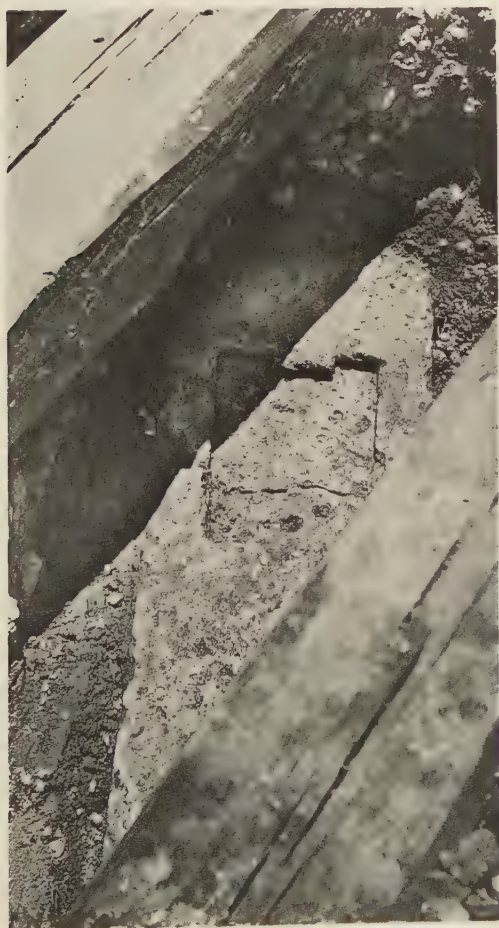


b. Parapet Sill of Period II: Southwest Corner from the Southwest  
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ALTAR OF PITY





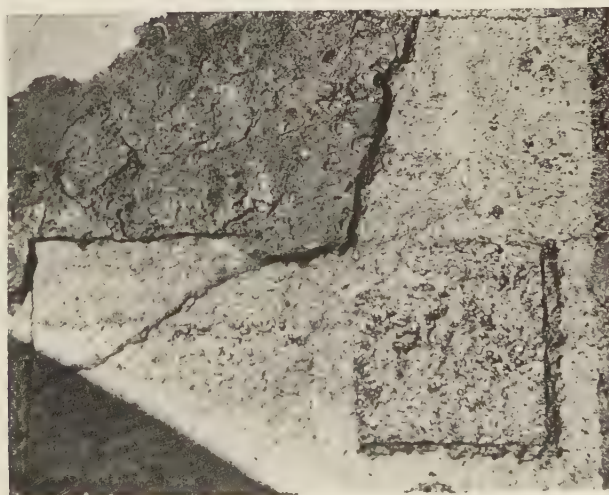
a. Parapet Sill at Southwest Corner, from the South



c. Post Socket third from South on East Side

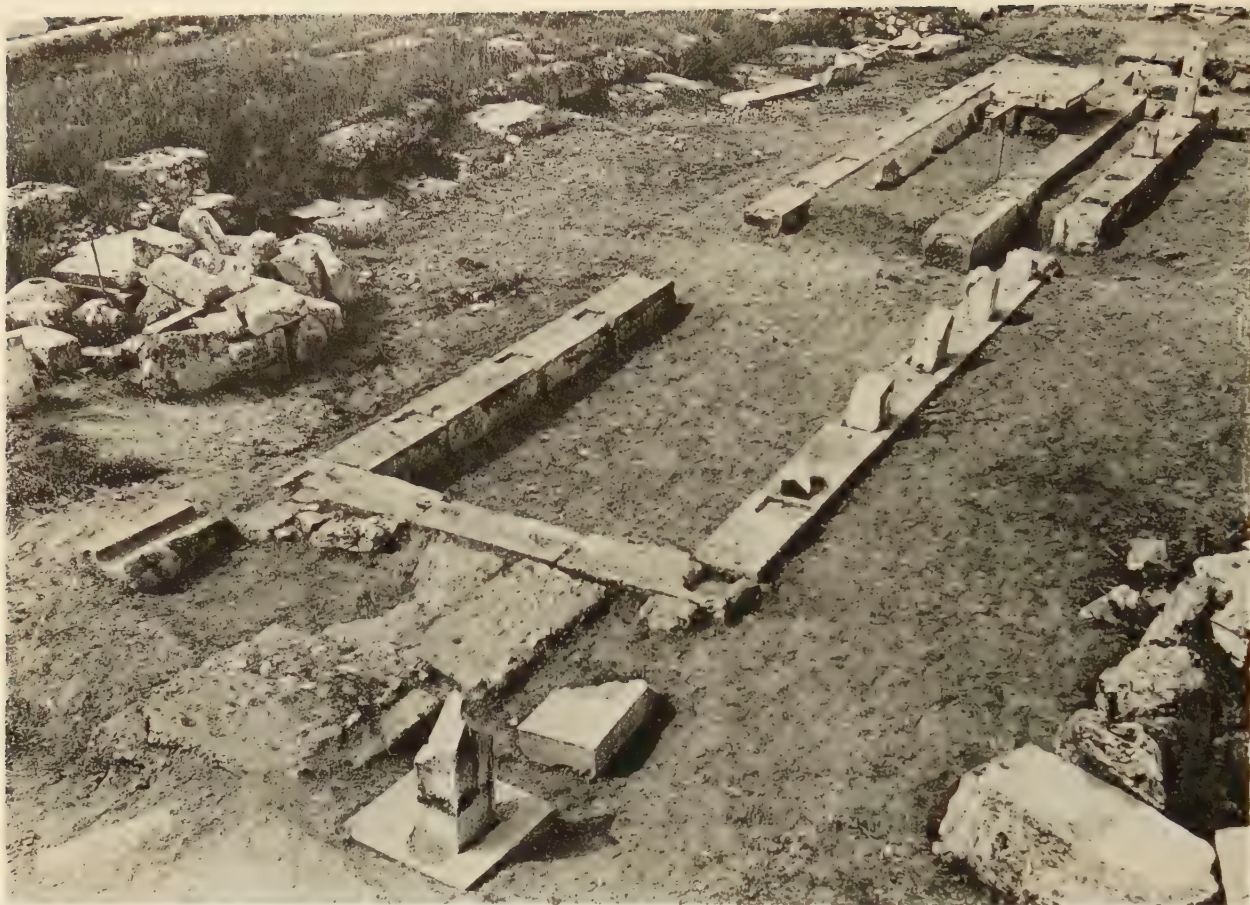


b. Post Socket at South Side of West Entrance



d. Post Socket at Southeast Corner





a. Eponymous Heroes, from the Southeast



b. Eponymous Heroes: Detail of West Fence, restored  
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ALTAR OF PITY

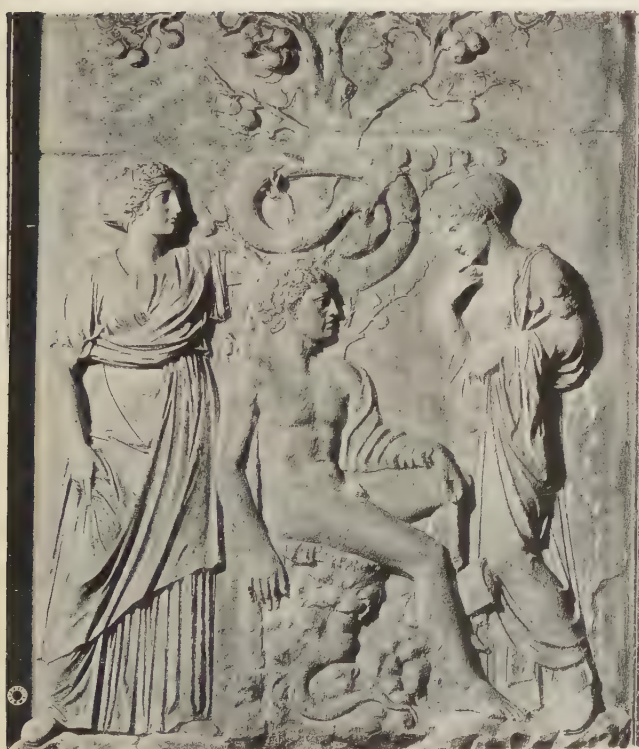




a. Orpheus Panel in Naples  
(Photograph Anderson No. 23246)



b. Peliads Panel in Lateran  
(Photograph Anderson No. 24220)



c. Hesperides Panel in Villa Albani  
(Photograph Anderson No. 1890)



d. Peirithoos Panel in Louvre and Museo Torlonia  
(*Röm. Mitt.*, LIII, 1938, pl. 34, 2)

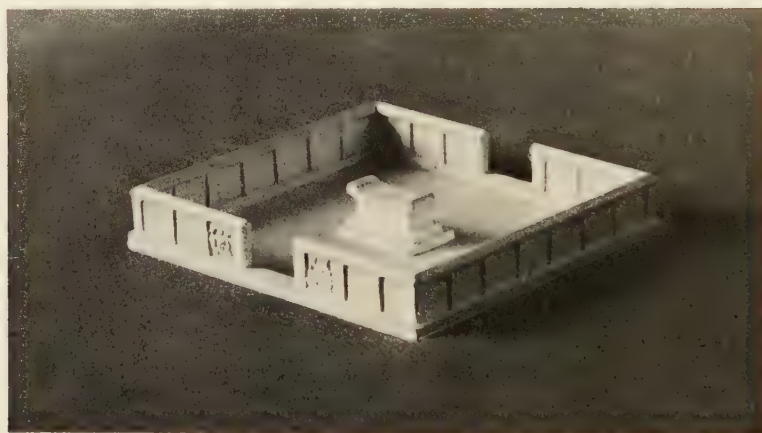




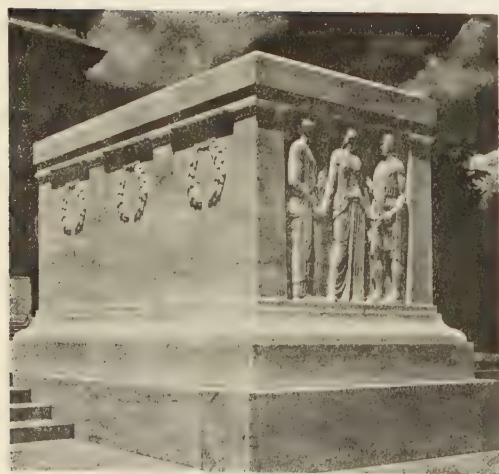
a. and b. Reliefs from Thasos in Louvre  
(*Encyclopédie photographique, Louvre III*, p. 148)



c. Mourning Athena.  
National Museum, Athens



d. Altar of Pity, Model



e. Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington



f. Tomb at Laryma, Lycia  
(Bossert, *Altanatolien*, fig. 245)

## EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1951

(PLATES 19-31)

THROUGH the months of April to July, 1951, the sixteenth season of excavation was carried out in the Agora of Athens by the American School of Classical Studies. Field work was concentrated in the market square proper and was directed to the systematic clearance down to the early Roman level of large areas in the west central, north central and southeastern parts. Several new topographical discoveries were made, among them the existence of a temple of the early Roman period in the southwest quadrant of the square. New information was gained regarding previously known monuments such as the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, the Temple and Altar of Ares, the Middle Stoa. Conservation and reconstruction of a modest nature were carried out on the Temple of Ares, the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes and the Great Marble Altar to the east of the Metroon. A number of well furnished chamber tombs and individual graves dating from the sixteenth to the tenth century B.C. were explored beneath the northern part of the market square. Not least important, the year's work resulted in greater improvement to the general appearance and accessibility of the Agora than that of any single previous season (Pl. 19a).

Once more it is a pleasure to acknowledge the courtesies and help received from the authorities of the Greek Archaeological Service, especially from its Director, Professor A. Orlandos, from the Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, Mr. N. Kotzias, from the Ephor, Mr. John Threpsiades, and from the Director and Assistant Director of the National Museum, Mr. and Mrs. Chr. Karouzos.

The undertaking remains fortunate in the continuity of its staff. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool has once more divided his time between the academic curriculum of the School, the supervision of field work and the prosecution of his own studies of Agora material. Mr. John Travlos devoted practically the whole of his time to the architectural needs of the Agora Excavations. As staff photographer Miss Alison Frantz has met the current needs of field work, has produced large blocks of photographs for studies being prepared by members of the staff, has filled an increasing number of orders from outside scholars, has turned out many kodachrome lantern slides and has made a beginning in the use of the motion picture camera. Miss Lucy Talcott, in charge of museum records and workrooms has continued to keep the growing mass of material readily accessible and immediately useful to the Agora staff, to visiting scholars and to scholars at a distance; in all this she has been ably assisted by Miss Barbara Philippaki. Miss Margaret Crosby, in addition to supervising excavation along the north side of the Temple of Ares, has completed the sorting and recording



of a vast amount of documentary pottery from the areas excavated by the late Arthur Parsons, and has thus salvaged a very great deal of evidence. Miss Virginia Grace has worked steadily on the study of wine jars in the Agora and elsewhere, especially on Delos where she is collaborating with scholars of the French School in processing the large mass of material excavated over many years by the sister school; Miss Grace reports that her book on the jars of Knidos, the first volume in a projected corpus organized by places of origin, is now well advanced. Miss Marion Welker devoted part of her time, on a voluntary basis, to drawing and painting for publication. Mr. Gerald F. Sullivan, while holding a Fulbright scholarship, supervised excavation for a second season in the north central part of the market square.

As many of the new members of the School as could be accommodated were invited this season, as before, to participate in the work of the Agora, an arrangement which advances the undertaking and assures first-hand acquaintance with archaeological methods for no small proportion of the rising generation of classical scholars.

Miss Elizabeth Lyding, Thomas Day Seymour Fellow of the School, working under the direction of Miss Virginia Grace, has studied the wine jars bearing Latin stamps found in the Agora excavations in conjunction with comparative material from Corinth, Delos and elsewhere. Miss Rebecca C. Wood, Ella Riegel Fellow from Bryn Mawr and Mr. Edwin L. Brown, a Fulbright Scholar, supervised areas of excavation. Miss Emily D. Townsend, a Fulbright Scholar, saw to the clearing of several ancient wells and of a Mycenaean chamber tomb, to the rich furnishings from which she has devoted a special study. Miss Claireve Grandjouan, a member of the School from Bryn Mawr, was likewise responsible for the clearing of a number of wells; she also produced a very useful tool for the study of the terracotta figurines from the Agora in the shape of a type index. Miss Ruth E. Fiesel, a Fulbright Scholar, and Mr. James C. Rubright, David M. Robinson Fellow of the School, assisted for shorter periods in the recording of material indoors.

In addition to the four pre-doctoral Fulbright Scholars mentioned above, several senior scholars holding Fulbright Research Grants again elected to devote their time to Agora material. In the summer of 1951 Professor Richard H. Howland returned to complete his study of the terracotta lamps of the Greek period. Professor Oscar W. Reinmuth, continuing his comprehensive study of the ephebic inscriptions and the place of the ephebic institution in Athenian education, spent much of his time in the Agora. Professor Henry S. Robinson in the year 1951-52 is preparing a comprehensive study of the pottery of all categories from the Roman period, a field in which the abundant finds from the Agora will permit of a major contribution. Dr. Norman Herz, a trained geologist, is straddling two disciplines in undertaking a study of the building materials used in Athens; he has made the Agora his base of operations, has contributed much to a more scientific understanding of many Agora buildings and has made his specific knowledge freely available to a wide community. Professor W.

Kendrick Pritchett, who has received a supplementary Fulbright grant in addition to a Guggenheim Fellowship, is wringing a wealth of new information from the shattered marble records of the sale of the goods confiscated from Alkibiades and his accomplices in 415 B.C.

Once more the field and technical work were carried out by the experienced Greek staff under the zestful direction of the Chief Foreman, Mr. Sophokles Lekkas.

The successful continuation of the enterprise is due in large measure to the ever ready cooperation of Professor John L. Caskey, Director of the School, to the skill and experience of the School's business staff, and to the wholehearted support of the governing bodies of the School in the United States. Both Mr. Ward M. Canaday, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Professor Charles H. Morgan, Chairman of the Managing Committee, visited Athens in the summer of 1951 largely to acquaint themselves with the progress of the work.

Once more the undertaking is enormously indebted to those friends whose financial contributions are rapidly bringing the completion of the job within view. May they derive some satisfaction from the knowledge that their help is not only leading to a better understanding of the past, but is also providing in the heart of the capital of Greece a clear indication of American interest in the present and future welfare of the country.

#### STOA OF ATTALOS — AGORA MUSEUM

The first lot of building stone for the reconstruction of the ancient structure was delivered at the site in the autumn of 1951: limestone from Peiraeus, identical with that used by Attalos, to be employed in the retaining wall of the Stoa terrace. This material has been paid for with Marshall Plan money received from Economic Cooperation Administration through the Greek Ministry of Education.

In anticipation of the start of work on the reconstruction, a number of ancient wells previously discovered in the area of the Stoa were cleared in the course of the season: one of the late Geometric Period behind the north part of the building, one of the fifth century B.C. near the middle of the building, one of the second century B.C. beneath its south part, and one of the latest Roman period near the northwest corner of its terrace. Of particular interest from the well of the fifth century is its terracotta curb which was recovered in fragments from the shaft (Pl. 21c); it proves to be a good example of a type of well head recently studied by Miss Mabel Lang.<sup>1</sup> In the well of the second century working chips from the Stoa itself were found together with pottery of the period of use, showing that the well had been employed during the construction of the Stoa, a significant circumstance for the dating of the pottery.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 114-127.



A large proportion of the total sum of money needed for the reconstruction of the Stoa is already in hand and the work of rebuilding will commence as soon as the remainder is assured.

#### THE SOUTHEAST EXIT FROM THE AGORA

Under the direction of Mr. Edwin Brown a remnant of modern road (Areopagus Street) was removed in the area between the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos and southward (Pl. 19b). Below some 5 metres of accumulation of the Turkish, Byzantine and late Roman periods lay the continuation of the Panathenaic Way, its surface deeply scarified by the torrents that descended in consequence of the blocking of the main drains after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Both before and after the sack the line of the Panathenaic Way had been followed through this bottle neck by an amazing number of small terracotta water conduits, some round, others rectangular in section, most of them coming from the south, a few from the east, over a score in all.

Southward of the southeast corner of the Middle Stoa have appeared the foundations of a narrow structure that undoubtedly linked the Middle Stoa with the South Stoa; only its articulated east front has been indicated on the plan (Fig. 1). Its primary function, no doubt, was to screen the east end of the commercial market place; it must also have contained a stairway to make good the drop in level between the Panathenaic Way and the area between the Middle and South Stoa.

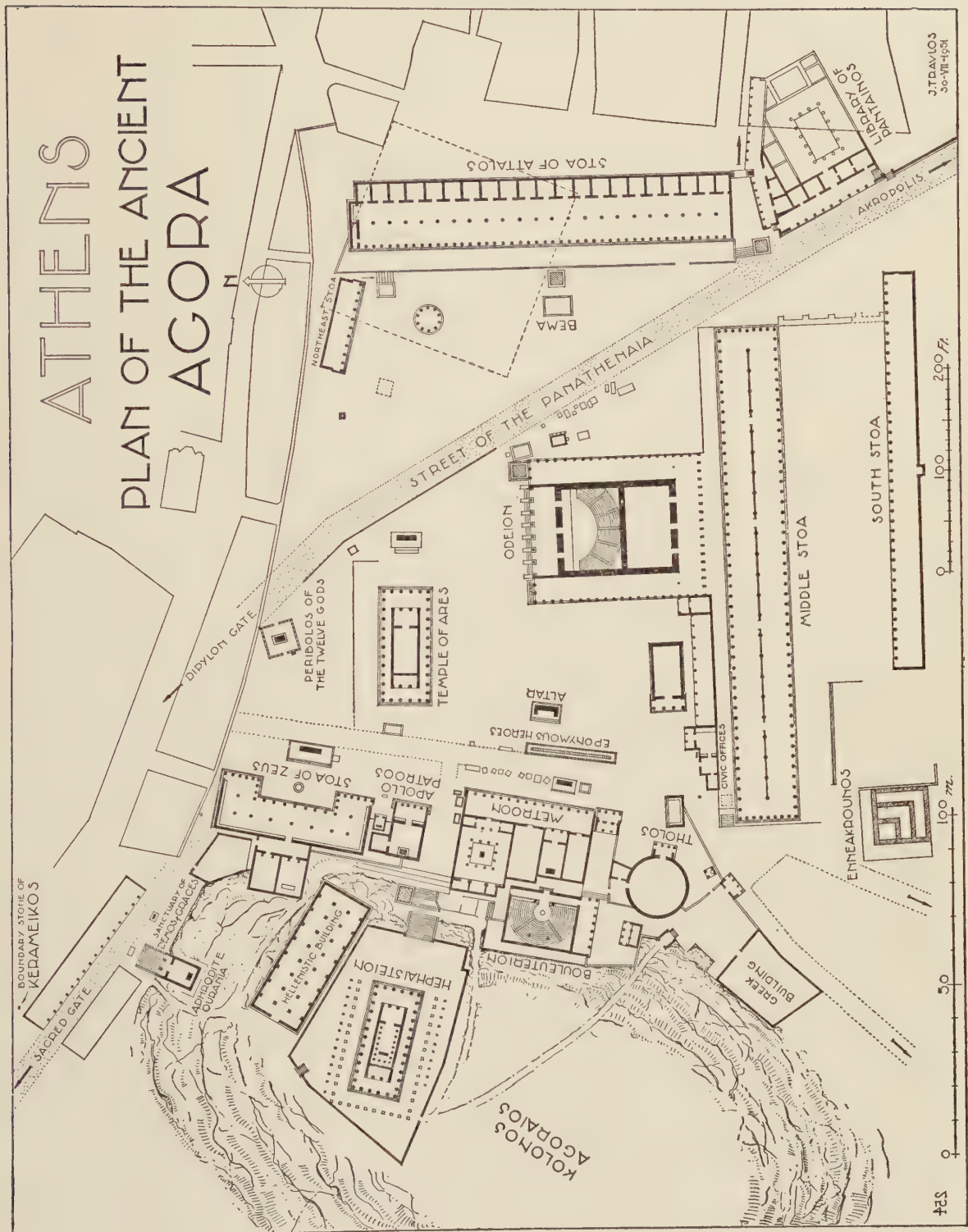
At the west edge of the Panathenaic Way appeared a shallow well that yielded an interesting group of late Geometric pottery.

It is intended in the season of 1952 to continue the clearance of this area southward in the hope of exposing at last the east end of the South Stoa.

#### MIDDLE STOA

The general program of the season touched both extremities of this enormous building, one of the very largest in Athens, measuring as it does close on 150 metres in length. The general scheme of the building has long been familiar from the published plans: a huge shed-like structure surrounded on all four sides by a colonnade and divided longitudinally by an inner row of columns which supported both the roof and a thin screen wall (Fig. 1). One half of the building faced northward across the principal plaza and was undoubtedly a fashionable promenade; the south half bounded the north side of the lesser square or commercial market place which was closed on its other side by the single colonnade of the South Stoa; this half of the building, therefore, presumably served as a market hall. In its double scheme and dual function the Middle Stoa finds its best parallel in the Stoa of Philip on Delos as it was enlarged at some time in the early part of the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup> It is tempting,

<sup>2</sup> R. Vallois, *Délos*, VII: *Les Portiques au Sud du Hieron*, Paris, 1923; *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, Paris, 1944, pp. 66-68, 164 f.



1. Restored Plan of the Agora



indeed, to believe that one of these buildings was patterned on the other. Their precise relationship can scarcely be discovered, however, until the dates of both are more securely established. The evidence at present available for the Athenian building (pottery, amphora handles, coins, etc. from its construction filling) suggests that it was under construction in the late 60's of the second century. The Stoa of Attalos II, built probably in the 50's as the second major unit in the remodelling of the old square, clearly took its orientation, its precise placing, and its floor level from the Middle Stoa.

Before the War the east end of the Middle Stoa had been established with the stumps of three of its unfluted Doric columns of poros still standing in place. During the season under review this end was cleared throughout its length under the direction of Mr. Edwin Brown. Over the southern half of the width of the building the three steps are well preserved: simple but good construction in soft brown poros (Pl. 19b).

The western end of the Stoa had likewise been partially exposed in earlier seasons. In 1951, however, Miss Rebecca Wood, in the course of a general tidying-up of this area, exposed more thoroughly the western extremity of the Stoa terrace. She soon discovered that the terrace had not originally extended to the very end of the building but had stopped short by 5.50 m. (Fig. 1, Pl. 20a, A). This setback was intended, no doubt, to reduce interference with traffic using the southwest exit from the square; the same consideration resulted in the curiously jogged plan of the Civic Offices in the first century B.C. and, still later, determined the placing of the Southwest Temple (see below, p. 90).

The western end of the Stoa terrace in its original form was occupied over a length of 6.65 m. by a massive foundation which bonds with the structure of the Stoa itself and so appears to be contemporary (Pl. 20a, B). The obvious function of this foundation was to support a monument which must have enjoyed one of the most effective locations in all Athens, rising as it did high up and in clear view of all who approached from the north on this principal thoroughfare along the west side of the square.

Such a monument immediately suggests a donor for the Stoa. In view of the parallels of the Hellenistic period elsewhere in Athens, in Delos and in Delphi, the donor can scarcely have been other than a foreign monarch. He must, moreover, have commanded considerable resources in the 60's of the second century in order to embark on such an undertaking. The fact that the Middle Stoa was only the first element in a carefully coordinated design, the second unit of which was immediately afterwards provided by Attalos II of Pergamon, would argue that the donor was on friendly terms not only with Athens but also with the Attalids. That the building was erected by the Pergamenes themselves is made altogether unlikely by the striking difference between it and the Stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos in respect of materials and technique.

Two princes at once come to mind as potential donors: Antiochos IV Epiphanes, King of Syria 175-164 B.C., and Ariarathes V, King of Cappadocia 162-130 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Both men were deeply interested in Hellenic culture; both had lived in Athens, and both had given other and well attested evidence of their regard for Athens. Both, moreover, were on the most intimate possible terms with the kings of Pergamon throughout their respective reigns. Of the two, Ariarathes would seem to be the more likely candidate. The chronological conditions imposed by the available evidence for the date of the stoa are rather better met by his reign than by that of Antiochos. Furthermore it was with Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.), the older brother of Attalos (159-138 B.C.), that Antiochos was most closely associated, whereas Ariarathes and Attalos had sat together in Athens at the feet of the philosopher Karneades, whom they had subsequently honored by the joint dedication of a bronze statue; Attalos had long loved and eventually married Stratonike, the sister of Ariarathes and the two men as reigning monarchs had repeatedly assisted one another in bitter struggles with their neighbors. Under these circumstances it is very easy to conceive that Ariarathes was induced to start the program of remodelling the square by erecting the Middle Stoa (perhaps also the South Stoa) soon after his accession and that the next major unit was provided by Attalos early in his reign. The greater height of the Stoa of Attalos (two storeys as compared with one in the Middle Stoa) and Attalos' use of a showy marble façade on the side toward the square in striking contrast with the limestone of the Middle Stoa, might be regarded as nothing more than evidence of friendly rivalry. We should have to assume, moreover, that between the start of work on the Middle Stoa and the start of work on Attalos' stoa, Eumenes II began the great stoa which bears his name on the south side of the Acropolis, for it is scarcely conceivable, in view of the known rivalry in such matters in this period, that a marble stoa like that of Eumenes would have been followed by a stoa of limestone. This sequence would allow the Pergamene architect and construction foremen who had undoubtedly been sent over by Eumenes, to continue, perhaps without a break, on his brother's project; this, in fact, is precisely what one might infer from the striking technical similarities between the stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos.

Further speculation is scarcely justified until the Middle Stoa has been more thoroughly explored and studied. For the present we can regard it as highly probable that the building is one more illustration of the typically Hellenistic attempt to balance international payments, a very visible export from some eastern monarch in return for his invisible imports of Attic culture. And we may ponder the intriguing hypothesis that the author of the building was Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, fellow student, brother-in-law and ally of Attalos II of Pergamon.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a convenient summary and evaluation of the relations between these two princes and Athens, cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 300-311.

<sup>4</sup> An additional link between Athens and Ariarathes has been provided by a Panathenaic



The open angle at the west end of the Stoa terrace was subsequently filled with a stairway that led up to the terrace from the west; much of the rough stone underpinning for the stair remains (Pl. 20a, C). This construction would seem to imply the previous dismantling of the great monument described above. The stair is probably later in date than the Civic Offices and most likely contemporary with the propylon to the south of the Tholos which has been dated in the Augustan period.<sup>5</sup> We may surmise that the object was to convert the Stoa terrace into an elevated east-to-west thoroughway across the square, the need for which would have been felt especially after the construction of the Odeion of Agrippa *ca.* 15 B.C. The plan (Fig. 1) will show how easily one could have reached the terrace on entering the square either from the west through the propylon to the south of the Tholos or from the east past the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. A somewhat similar convenience was effected by the construction of a stairway near the north end of the Stoa of Attalos in the early Roman period.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE SOUTHWEST TEMPLE

Earlier campaigns (1933, 1934) had brought to light traces of constructions of the early Roman period in the angle to the north of the Middle Stoa and to the west of the Odeion. These became intelligible only in 1951 with the removal, under Miss Wood's supervision, of fragmentary Byzantine foundations and masses of late accumulation. The structural remains, although extremely tenuous, justify the restoration of a temple-like building with a western porch, flanked to the south by a narrow colonnade set at the foot of the terrace of the Middle Stoa (Pl. 20b, D; Fig. 1).

The temple foundations were made of heavy conglomerate blocks above a packing of broken stone set in crumbly lime mortar. Blocks remain in place only at the southwest corner of the building, but cuttings and scattered traces of distinctive masonry permit the restoration of a plan with overall dimensions of *ca.* 11 x 21 metres. No elements of the superstructure have yet been identified with certainty; the restoration of four columns in the porch is inferred from the general dimensions and proportions. Such a plan, as also the proportions of our building, may be paralleled among temples of early imperial date in and around the Corinthian Agora.

The stoa to the south of the temple was of equally economical construction. Its stylobate was supported by a single row of conglomerate blocks laid as stretchers above a packing of field stone. Nothing now remains above the conglomerate. A column spacing of *ca.* 3.30 metres is indicated, however, by the greater depth of the stone packing at regular intervals. The width of the stoa was just under 6 metres, its

amphora recently found near the Olympieion; on this appears the name of a King Ariarathes, in all likelihood Ariarathes V, as *agonothetes*: M. T. Mitsos and S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, 'Αρχ. Εφ., 1948-1949 (1951), pp. 5-32.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, *The Tholos*, pp. 114-121.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 55.

length *ca.* 33.30 metres. Between the stoa and the Odeion was interposed a closed room which would seem to have been entered not from the stoa but through a vestibule opening northward. It will be apparent from the plan that an approximate symmetry was intended between this room with its porch and the principal room of the Civic Offices, as also between the stoa with the rooms to east and west of it and the temple. Backed up against the terrace of the larger building, our stoa must have looked like a very late, and very poor descendant of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi.

As to the relative sequence of all this construction there can be little question: Middle Stoa, Civic Offices, Odeion, temple, stoa to the south of the temple. The absolute date of the Middle Stoa, as noted above, is the second quarter of the second century B.C. The Civic Offices have been assigned to the time of recovery after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C., and the Odeion was built about 15 B.C.<sup>7</sup> For the new temple and stoa the evidence is extremely exiguous because the levels in this area have been violently altered and disturbed in late times. The construction of the temple, and more particularly the nature of the mortar in its foundations, would suggest, however, the early Roman period.

To whom was the temple dedicated? The sudden and comparatively late appearance of so large a shrine (its cella was more capacious than that of any other temple in and around the Agora) is perhaps most easily explained on the hypothesis that it was intended to house some imperial cult. The fact that the temple was placed in close proximity to the old civic buildings, contiguous to and facing on the precinct of the Tholos, suggests the possibility that the cult was in some way associated with the civic institutions.<sup>8</sup> In this connection it may be permissible to recall that in 1936 a marble base with setting marks for a bronze statue was found, though not *in situ*, near the northwest corner of the temple. The inscription on the front of the base records its dedication by the Council of the Areopagus to *Ιουλία Σεβαστὴ Βουλαία Τιβερίου μήτηρ*, i. e. Livia of the Boule; its date has been fixed between A.D. 14 and 37.<sup>9</sup> If this association is indeed significant, we should have the family of Augustus represented in the southwest quadrant of the square as it would appear to have been also in the Temple of Ares, newly transplanted to the northwest quadrant,<sup>10</sup> and in the Odeion of Agrippa in the middle.

#### THE EPONYMOUS HEROES AND THE ALTAR OF ZEUS AGORAIOS

Two other monuments that had been first exposed in the earliest years of the excavation also profited from Miss Wood's attention in the summer of 1951: the

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 153 (Civic offices); XIX, 1950, p. 140 (Odeion).

<sup>8</sup> Vitruvius (IV, 5), in discussing the orientation of a temple, gave it as a rule that the building should face *west*; if, however, the temple adjoined a river or a roadway, it should face on the same.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 464, no. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 49-52.



Monument of the Eponymous Heroes and the great marble altar to the east of the Metroon.<sup>11</sup>

It will be recalled that the long pedestal which supported the statues of the heroes was also used for the display of public notices and for the preliminary publication of official documents such as laws in the process of revision. These notices were protected from the fingers of the public by means of a fence consisting of stone sill, posts and cap with rails of wood. In order to make the arrangement more intelligible to the visitor, two bays of the fence have been reconstituted on the west side of the enclosure out of surviving fragments supplemented with reinforced concrete; this has been illustrated in an earlier fascicule of the current volume (cf. above, pp. 58-60, pl. 16). The intriguing monument requires still more thorough exploration and study.<sup>12</sup>

The great marble altar to the east of the Metroon was found in 1931 stripped to its lowest foundation except for the step blocks on its west side, the sheer bulk of which had discouraged late Vandals, and for one enormous orthostate from the altar proper which had been swung around through an angle of 90° to be incorporated in the foundations of a Byzantine house (Pl. 21a). In order to make these remains more readily intelligible, the podium has been reconstructed of ancient building blocks and on its top have been set at their proper level both the huge orthostate which was found near by and a companion piece which was recovered in scores of fragments from the curbing of a late well in the porch of the Metroon (Pl. 21b). One can now begin to appreciate the scale and the scheme of what must be regarded even in its present sad state as the best preserved of the monumental altars of ancient Athens.<sup>13</sup>

It was demonstrated long ago by Richard Stillwell that, although the architectural style of the altar pointed to the latter part of the fourth century B.C., the structure had been transferred from elsewhere to its present site at a much later date.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently it was observed that the dimensions of the altar corresponded perfectly with a rock-

<sup>11</sup> For the preliminary publication of these two monuments, cf. R. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-148.

<sup>12</sup> B. D. Meritt has drawn my attention to a possible reference to the Eponymous Heroes in an inscription of 426/5 B.C. published in *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 52 with discussion in III, p. 16. Interim accounts showing the state of each ally's contributions were inscribed on wooden tablets and posted πρόσθε[ν τῷ βέματος, according to the restoration proposed in *A.T.L.*, but perhaps better πρόσθε[ν τῶν ἡρώων on analogy with the common fourth-century formula, πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων. This would be the earliest known reference to the monument, the next being Aristophanes, *Peace*, lines 1183 f., of 421 B.C. or possibly the *Knights*, lines 977-80, of 424 B.C.

<sup>13</sup> For practical reasons the two orthostates have not been replaced in their original order. The two blocks set end to end would seem to have formed the back on the east side of the altar proper, the more completely preserved one toward the north, the other toward the south. Along the east, north and south sides the orthostates were set in ca. 0.50 m. from the edge of the podium; on the west a wider platform was reserved for the priest.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 147 ff.

cut bedding on the Pnyx made for the altar associated with the third period of the assembly place, to be dated in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.).<sup>15</sup> There can be little doubt that our altar did originally serve the needs of the Assembly when it met on the Pnyx and that, when the Assembly abandoned the Pnyx in favor of the more comfortable Theatre of Dionysos, the altar was moved to the Agora. The most precise evidence for the date of its removal is given by the letters cut by the masons for their own convenience in re-assembling the blocks. The general appearance of these roughly cut letters and the occurrence among them of one alpha with a broken and one with a curved bar would point to a time toward the middle of the first century B.C. so that we are perhaps justified in assigning this operation to the series of minor activities such as the construction of the Civic Offices and the porch of the Tholos that occurred in this part of the square as the city began to recover from Sulla's ravages.

One would gladly know to what divinity the altar was sacred. The fact that it lies on the axis of the group of buildings comprising the Metroon and Bouleuterion, coupled with its probable connection with the Pnyx, points to some civic association. The divinity to whom sacrifices were made in the meetings of the Assembly on the Pnyx is nowhere directly named, but from passages in Aristophanes' *Knights* (lines 409 f., 425, 499 f.) we may infer with probability that it was Zeus Agoraios. This inference is strengthened by the fact that Plutarch (*an seni respublica gerenda sit*, 10) couples together Zeus Agoraios, Zeus Boulaïos and Zeus Polieus as the sources respectively of oratory, good counsel and protection. Since Zeus Boulaïos was established in the Bouleuterion (Antiphon, VI, 45) and Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis (Pausanias, I, 24, 4), it is a fair assumption that Zeus Agoraios was properly at home in the Assembly Place. The transference of our altar from Pnyx to Agora would explain the otherwise enigmatic comment of the scholiast that "Zeus Agoraios is set up in the Agora and in the Assembly Place."<sup>16</sup>

#### TEMPLE OF ARES AND ENVIRONS

Readers of Professor Dinsmoor's study of the Temple of Ares<sup>17</sup> will recall that the foundations were preserved only toward the eastern end of the building and that the remainder of the plan was recovered from a deep cutting in the bedrock. Since this vast pit inevitably gathered water in the rainy season and hence was a menace both to the appearance and to the health of the locality, it has been re-filled. Prior to re-filling, however, the area was carefully explored, drawn and photographed. From the foundation packing at one point was recovered a large terracotta bowl of distinctive shape and fabric which happily confirms the Augustan date indicated by the masons'

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300, note 38.

<sup>16</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 410: Ἀγοραῖος Ζεὺς ἵδρυται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.



marks on the marble blocks of the superstructure as the time when the fifth-century temple was transferred to this site. And deep beneath the Augustan foundations appeared burials of the Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods, of which more below.

In the process of conservation, the outline of the temple was completed by means of a wall of re-used ancient blocks devoid of special significance; the basin within this wall was then filled with field stone from the excavation and surfaced with crushed rock. On this surface will be laid in order the marble blocks from the superstructure that were found in the area. The position, orientation and size of the temple are now apparent at a glance and the area can be easily maintained (Pls. 19a, 22a).

From the late foundations stripped away in the environs of the temple were recovered a number of additional marbles from its superstructure that will make the restoration more precise. These will not be published until the possibility of further additions is tested by the clearance of the area to the south of the temple, probably in 1952.

In last year's report a male head and a female torso (Pl. 22b [d]), both in high relief, were associated with the Altar of Ares.<sup>18</sup> It is now possible to add to this group two female heads and three female torsos which have come to light in the neighborhood of the altar and which are uniform in material, scale, style, quality of workmanship and height of relief (Pls. 22b [b, c, e], 23).<sup>19</sup> The original height of the figures may be calculated as between 0.85 and 0.90 m., very close, that is, to the figures of the Nike Temple Parapet. The salience of the relief is also very similar to that of

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 57 f., pl. 29 b, c and 30 a.

<sup>19</sup> Inv. S 1538: veiled head (Pl. 23 a). Preserved height 0.132 m. Garment drawn over back of head. Right ear pierced for ring. Worked in the round, but shown by the rough finish of its back to have been turned slightly towards its proper left.

Inv. S 1494: head with luxuriant hair bound by spiral turns of a ribbon (Pl. 23 b). Preserved height 0.133 m. Worked in the round but in such a way as to show that head was turned toward proper right. Left ear pierced for ring.

Inv. S 676: torso from shoulders to point below waist (Pl. 22 b[e]). Preserved height 0.447 m. On the left shoulder rests the right hand of a neighboring figure. Clad in sleeved chiton with cord belt and short overfall; himation over left arm. A remnant of the background indicates that the figure was turned slightly toward its proper right.

Inv. S 820: torso from shoulder to point below waist (Pl. 22b[b]). Preserved height 0.473 m. Clad in Doric chiton with girdle and long overfall; the end of an himation appears from behind over the right shoulder. The line of breakage shows that the figure was set almost in profile against the background. Marked weathering.

Inv. S 679: torso from waist to knee (Pl. 22 b[c]). Preserved height 0.498 m. Clad in Ionic chiton and himation. The figure looked out full front from the background. The background, rough picked behind, is here preserved to its full thickness of 0.06 m.

The attribution of the three torsos was proposed by Mr. Gerald Sullivan. The association of the five new pieces, as also of the male head (S 1459) and female torso (S 1072) mentioned in last year's report, may be regarded as certain. Other heads sufficiently close in scale and style to merit consideration as possible candidates for the same company are S 320, 367, 1078, 1451, all female.

the Nike Parapet: the torsos were worked almost in the round but are firmly attached to the background, whereas the heads were cut completely or almost free. The composition was evidently a series of quietly standing figures, for the most part openly spaced but comprising at least one two-figure group, in the manner of the Parthenon, Rhamnous and Hephaisteion pedestals or of the east frieze of the Nike Temple.

Within narrow general limits a great deal of variety was achieved among the individual figures of the frieze: the angle at which the torsos were set against the plane of the background varies from full front to full profile; the chitons of some are thick and heavy, of others light and filmy; some have sleeves and some have not; there are flat girdles and round girdles; long and short overfalls or no overfall whatever; the two surviving female heads have strikingly different coiffures. But all are equally uncommunicative, for not a single attribute or other clue is yet available to permit identification.

A date in the 30's of the fifth century was proposed last year for the first two pieces. This date will easily fit the newcomers. The drapery shows an appreciable refinement on the stage represented by the Panathenaic frieze, yet there is no suggestion of the diaphanous quality of the Erechtheum or Nike Parapet sculptures nor of the wind-blown effect that is scarcely absent even from the quiet figures of the Parapet. We appear to be in the period of the Parthenon pediments though in quite a different key.

Little more evidence is available this year than last for the exact determination of the relationship of the sculpture to the altar. The one piece of technical evidence is provided by the preserved thickness of the background behind the fragment from the lower part of a torso (S 679): 0.06 m. This is too little for a metope, too little also for the whole thickness of a parapet; and the rough treatment of the back proves that it was not exposed. It would appear, however, that this piece was exceptional, for the manner in which the other figures have broken from their backgrounds indicates that they were carved on much heavier blocks.

It may be worthwhile to recall in this connection the figure of a wingless Nike, now in the National Museum at Athens, which was found in 1891 in the cutting of the railway trench at a point some 30 to 40 metres north of the west end of the Temple of Ares.<sup>20</sup> This piece has in common with the torso of our Plate 22b (e) the chiton with girdle and short overfold, a somewhat rare mode, and it shares with the torso of Plate 22b (d) heavy folds distributed in a restless pattern. Since the statue found in the railway cutting is evidently an akroterion, appropriate in scale and date to the Temple of Ares, one might consider its association with the temple.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, figs. 725, 726; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 241, note 30.

<sup>21</sup> The attribution to the Hephaisteion made by Studniczka and favored by Richter (*op. cit.*, p. 280, n. 183) is now rendered improbable by the discovery of a more likely candidate of utterly different style in the "Hesperides" of *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 235, F. The drawing on the



The further clearing of this season has brought to light provision for a terrace varying in width from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 metres along the north flank and around the northeast corner of the temple (Pl. 22a). The retaining wall is built of re-used blocks supported in places on a packing of small field stones. Although only about one metre in height, the terrace made good the northward slope of the land; here, too, may have stood some of the numerous statues described by Pausanias as "around the temple," and from here some hundreds of citizens might have enjoyed a good view of the Panathenaic Procession as it swept up the Dromos. A number of rough bedding blocks set down in the firm earth filling between the temple front and altar indicate that this area was paved, presumably with marble slabs.

A number of monument bases have appeared in the immediate environs of the temple, all of them thoroughly pillaged. Three of them, all large, lie to the south of the building: one overriding the southeast corner must be later than the temple, one near its southwest corner and one near its middle will be of the fourth century or Hellenistic period. Between the northeast corner of the temple terrace and the Panathenaic Way stands the one surviving corner of a foundation that may be restored from the imprint of the missing blocks as *ca.* 2.40 m. square (Pl. 22a, E). It appears to have consisted of three steps cut from well worked blocks of hard, cream-colored poros. Material, workmanship and levels would suggest a date in the late sixth or first half of the fifth century. Since this monument would seem to have been the cause of a bend in the Panathenaic Way, it must have been not only of considerable antiquity but also of importance. Closely similar in dimensions, construction and material to another base on the other side of the Panathenaic Way (cf. below, p. 102), this base probably served a similar purpose which was most likely the support of a large herm. Subsequently, but scarcely later than the fourth century, the base was extended westward.

A few metres to the north of the Altar of Ares and bordering on the Panathenaic Way, a marble block that would seem originally to have been a small altar was firmly bedded in the earth, its top flush with the early Roman level of the area (Pls. 21d; 22a, F). A massive iron ring was fastened to the top of the block by means of an eye-pin leaded into the marble.<sup>22</sup> Such rings have been reported occasionally in connection with altars where they were used for fastening the sacrificial beasts,<sup>23</sup> and

red-figured calyx crater in Würzburg, in which both Bulle and Dinsmoor have recognized the Temple of Ares, appears to call for Nike akroteria ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1937, pp. 473-482; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 48, fig. 18). The discovery, in the spring of 1952 just to the east of the temple, of the left knee which joins the statue perfectly, offers strong confirmation of the connection of the Nike with the temple.

<sup>22</sup> The heavily rusted ring has been removed to the Museum for safe-keeping.

<sup>23</sup> In the pavement along the west side of the Altar of Artemis at Magnesia are traces of 11 such iron rings: A. von Gerkan, *Der Altar des Artemis Tempels in M. a. M.*, Berlin, 1929, p. 4, fig. 2. An eschara in the Agora of Thasos has an iron ring at its edge: *Fasti Archaeologici*, III, 1948, p. 158, para. 1530, fig. 35 (P. Amandry).

the procedure is clearly illustrated by a marble relief found in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon.<sup>24</sup> Tempting as it is to connect our hitching block with the Altar of Ares, the association is dubious in view of the distance of the block from the altar and the fact that it is aligned with the road rather than with that altar. Some smaller altar may have stood in closer proximity to the block.

Another considerable stretch of the Panathenaic Way has been exposed to the northeast of the Temple of Ares (Pl. 22a). Here, as throughout its course in the market square proper, the roadway had been maintained by successive applications of gravel. Along its southwest side the thoroughfare was precisely defined by a stone water channel with settling basins placed either in its line or immediately alongside; a minimum width of 12 metres of firm trodden gravel has been established but the northeastern edge of the roadway was in fact probably vague.

The course of the drain that issued from the orchestra of the Odeion was traced northward between the east terrace and altar of Ares to the Panathenaic Way (Pl. 22a, C). Among the cover slabs of the drain in the stretch opposite the northeast corner of the temple terrace were noted three fragmentary marble sima blocks, two raking and one horizontal, all undoubtedly deriving from one and the same late archaic building. To the same series must be assigned another fragment of horizontal sima found previously in a disturbed context in this same area (Inv. A 758), a fragment of raking sima picked up behind the Stoa of Attalos and so perhaps from the "Valerian Wall" (Inv. A 390), another fragment of raking sima from a late wall in the southwest part of the Agora (Inv. A 1835) and three tubular spouts from the packing beneath the floor of the Annex of the Stoa of Zeus (Inv. A 769). The best preserved fragment of the raking sima (Inv. A 1892) is illustrated in Pl. 24a and of the horizontal sima (Inv. A 758) in Pl. 24b; their profiles and dimensions will be apparent from Fig. 2. All are carefully worked of coarse-grained island marble. The heavy weathering to which they have been exposed has removed all trace of the painted patterns that must have adorned their faces.

These fragments are of considerable interest on more than one account. They belong to a very small series of cavetto simas in marble rather than terracotta which have been assigned to the latter part of the sixth century.<sup>25</sup> In view of their number, they would seem to derive from a building of that period standing in or near the Agora.<sup>26</sup> The fragments found in the Odeion drain and beneath the Annex of the Stoa of Zeus were available for re-use in the Augustan period.<sup>27</sup> It would be surprising

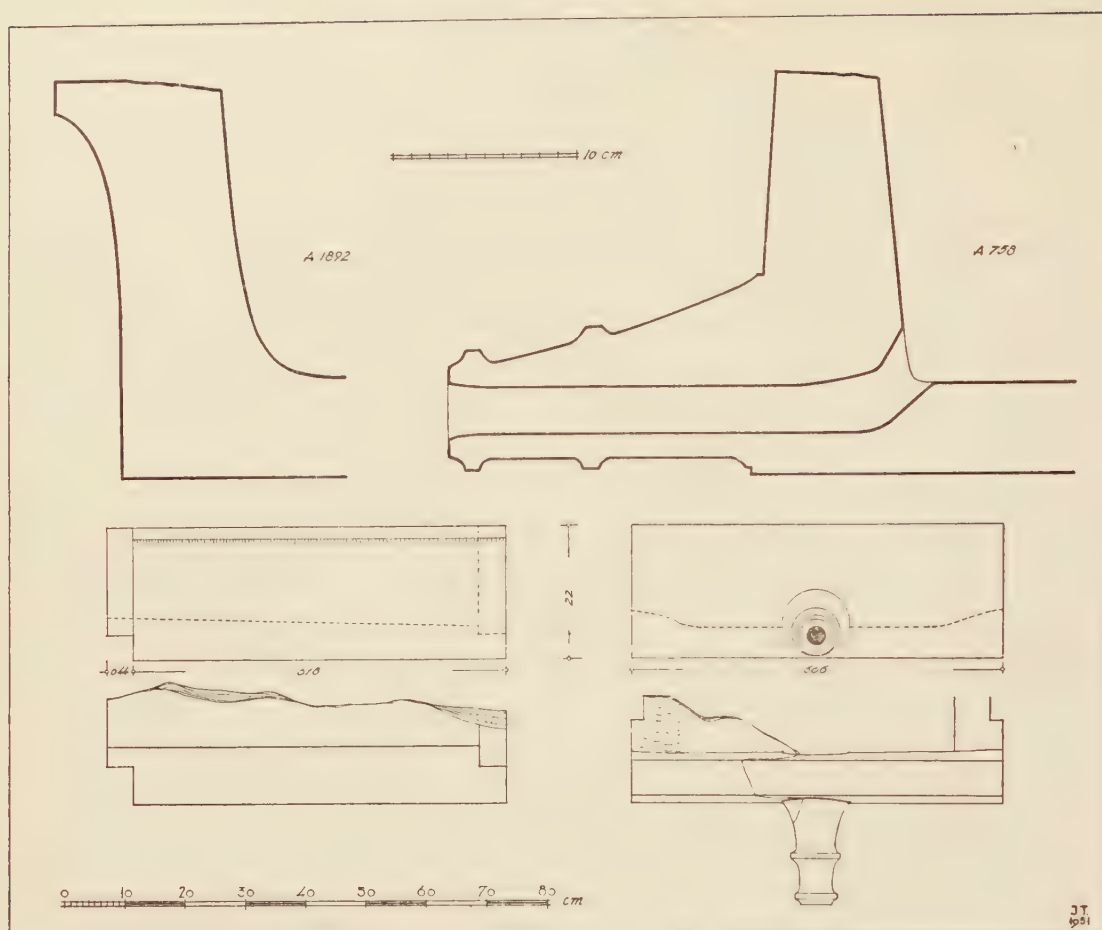
<sup>24</sup> H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 511, pl. XXIX a.

<sup>25</sup> L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 131 f., pl. LXII, 15-17; the Agora fragment Inv. A 390 appears as pl. LXII, 17.

<sup>26</sup> With regard to scale it may be noted that the sima of the Hephaisteion, as also of the Temple of Ares, measures 0.224-0.2245 m. high as compared with the 0.22 m. of our fragments (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 32-36; Supplement V, pp. 110-116).

<sup>27</sup> For the date of the Stoa Annex cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 64.





2. Archaic Marble Simas (Cf. Pl. 24, a and b)

if a building of the late sixth century had survived the Persian sack to be dismantled in whole or in part during or shortly before the time of Augustus, yet this must be admitted as a probability, for the weathering on our fragments is much heavier than that on other marble simas from the Perserschutt on the Acropolis. Since no building in the part of the Agora thus far explored would seem to meet all the requirements, we may conjecture that the fragments come from some structure of the late archaic period on the northern border of the square. The exploration to the east and north of the Temple of Ares was supervised by Mr. Gerald Sullivan and Miss Margaret Crosby from whose observations I have profited in writing the above summary.

#### SANCTUARY OF THE TWELVE GODS AND OF PITY

Supplementary exploration in the summer of 1951 led to the clarification of certain points in both the structure and the history of the sanctuary; the results have been reported in an earlier fascicule of the current volume (cf. above, pp. 47-82).

## THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SQUARE

In view of the likelihood of construction beginning on the Stoa of Attalos-Agora Museum project, it has seemed well to complete the exploration of the area in front of the Stoa. During the summer of 1951 the northern part of this region, i. e. the angle between the Stoa of Attalos and the Northeast Stoa and the area westward toward the Panathenaic Way and southward toward the "Bema," was worked over under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool from whose preliminary report this brief resumé is extracted. Everywhere exploration was carried down to the level of early Roman times and over a considerable part of the area to bedrock.

Structural remains of the Byzantine period were scanty in this region, in striking contrast with the thickly built residential district to the west. In the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, however, the area had been occupied by private houses separated by an aqueduct from the great gymnasium that flourished in this period above the ruins of Agrippa's Odeion.<sup>28</sup> The plan of one of these houses could be recovered from its floors and lower walls: a modest six-room structure which flanked the ancient roadway bordering the north edge of the square. These late buildings, after being studied and recorded, were removed.

The season's work has shed some light on the previously obscure question of the layout of the area in the centuries prior to the regularization of this part of the market place through the construction of the Stoa of Attalos. In particular we can now visualize how two of the market structures that preceded the Stoa of Attalos were related to the major thoroughfares.

First a word about the square market building the remains of which underlie the north half of the Stoa. As reported previously, this structure was designed as a colonnaded court with solid outer walls and an inner colonnade surrounding an open area about 39 metres square.<sup>29</sup> The additional ceramic evidence gathered this season makes it very probable that the work was initiated by Lykourgos during the years when he controlled the finances of Athens: 338-326 B.C. It has now transpired, however, that the building was never completed, at any rate in its western part. Whereas at the northeast corner of its court one may still see in place a stylobate block with the setting marks for a column base, the foundations for the outer wall on the west side, south half, were never carried even to ground level, and the empty trench above the blocks that were laid was found full of earth and rubbish of the third quarter of the fourth century. In the middle of the west side, moreover, there is a complete gap of over 17 metres in the line of the wall where not even the lowest foundations were ever laid. We may suppose with some confidence that the intention was to have the principal entrance of the building at this point with an ornamental gateway facing northwest-

<sup>28</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 327.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 320 ff., plan in fig. 1.



ward across the plaza or, more correctly, set in such a way as to admit a thoroughfare that must have branched from the Panathenaic Way near the point where the northeast corner of the Temple of Ares was later to rise. In the season of 1950 an opening of much more modest proportions (2.00 m. wide) was established at the middle of the east wall of the building. Hence one might conceive of the square market building as a widening, with monumental treatment, of an important thoroughfare which continued its course on both sides of the structure. We may assume that the program of construction was interrupted, like Lykourgos' magnificent undertaking on the Pnyx<sup>30</sup> by the troubling circumstances of the last quarter of the fourth century. Nearly three centuries later the plans would seem to have been taken out of their pigeon-hole to serve as the basis for the design of the Market of Caesar and Augustus which has essentially the same scheme of colonnaded court with a monumental entrance in the west side and a smaller entrance in the east.

Of an earlier and more informal arrangement for market purposes which has been previously reported as lying beneath the square colonnaded building and the Stoa of Attalos,<sup>31</sup> the westward continuation was pursued this season. Although the western limit was not clearly established there is some indication that the western as well as the eastern limits of the earlier enclosure coincided fairly closely with those of the square building. In the earlier structure, however, we have as yet found no roofed area. The arrangement consisted of a gravelled enclosure open to the sky bounded on the south by a wall that ran due east and west, and on the north by a second wall with a northwest-southeast orientation almost identical with that of the later building. At the eastern extremity where these two walls converged a broad stairway of two or three steps communicated directly with the same roadway that later served the square structure. No wall has yet appeared on the west side, but we may be sure that the principal entrance was from this side in the earlier as in the later design. One narrow entrance is established in the north side (near the fifth inner pier of the Stoa of Attalos counted from the north) and others may have existed. A water channel interrupted at intervals by substantial stone basins bordered the area at the foot of the south enclosure wall. The date of the enclosure, as indicated by a good deal of ceramic evidence, is the end of the fifth or the very beginning of the fourth century.

Numerous but exiguous lengths of light wall consisting of rubble stone socle with sun-dried brick above have appeared beneath the north end of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos, south of the Northeast Stoa and still farther toward the west (Pl. 25b). These are the remains of private houses or shops or, more probably, combinations of house and shop that closely bordered the large enclosure and the roadway that

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 300 f., 333 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 324 f., plan in fig. 1, p. 321.

approached it from the northwest. No structural remains of earlier date have yet been found in this area, although habitation is attested by wells of the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries.

The general development of marketing facilities would seem to emerge as follows. Down to the end of the fifth century marketing presumably took place in and around the open area that was bounded on the west by the administrative buildings, on the north by the Stoa Poikile and on the south by the old fountain house, or rather by the east-to-west stepped terrace wall of which a length is now visible to the northeast of the fountain house. There was as yet no clearly defined eastern limit to this area nor any substantial buildings on the east side comparable with those on the west side. With the erection of the Stoa of Zeus, perhaps also the New Bouleuterion, in the latter part of the fifth century it must have appeared desirable to regularize the eastern side and to segregate marketing activities from the political, judicial, dramatic, religious and other less mundane proceedings that took place in the principal plaza. The solution adopted was the early enclosure, a makeshift piece of construction reminiscent of the equally shoddy remodelling of the Assembly Place on the Pnyx which was carried out by the Thirty Tyrants of 404/3 B.C.<sup>32</sup> This arrangement was tolerated for about three quarters of a century, after which time the improvement in the city's financial position under Lykourgos and the practical spirit of Lykourgos himself led to a remarkable series of improvements in the public utilities: the theatre, stadium, marine arsenal and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx. It was obviously this same spirit that conceived the conversion of the simple old market enclosure into a more commodious, convenient and beautiful market building, a transformation that is exactly paralleled by the change from the Second to the Third Period of the Assembly Place on the Pnyx.<sup>33</sup> Both the new market building in the Agora and the great complex of buildings on the Pnyx, falling late, it seems, in the Lykourgan program, were caught by the early frost of the war scare and left unfinished. The third century saw practically no construction in Athens.<sup>34</sup> Early in the second century, however, even the eastern part of the square market building was demolished to be replaced by a modest row of two-roomed shops that ran east and west just south of the Square building.<sup>35</sup> Work on this structure was interrupted by the decision to carry out a general remodelling of the whole Agora. Provision was first made for a new commercial market place by the construction of the Middle and South Stoas; immediately thereafter the unfinished shops were razed to make way for the Stoa of Attalos which was to comprise a large

<sup>32</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 113-138.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 139-192. For the dating cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 297-301.

<sup>34</sup> It is significant that Herakleides the Critic, giving his impressions of Athens as it was at the end of the third century B.C., mentions the Parthenon, Theatre, Odeion, Olympieion and gymnasia but has not a word to say of the Agora. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 261-263.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 320.



number of handsome shops and a magnificent promenade. These facilities satisfied the needs of the city for a century and then the cycle was resumed, so to speak, by the erection, with the help of Julius Caesar and Augustus, of a closed and colonnaded commercial market place to the east of the old Agora.

Brief mention may be made of several lesser monuments in the northeast corner of the square. The oldest of these is a square stepped base of poros that lies some 10 metres to the west of the Northeast Stoa (Pl. 24c, Fig. 1). It consists of three steps of which the lowest is also euthynteria and foundation. A weathered trace on the top of the monument as we now have it marks the position of a missing block 0.82 m. square which was presumably the plinth of the monument proper. At the northwest corner of the middle step is the leaded stump of a small marble stele, 0.13 m. x 0.20 m. in section, which had been broken off in antiquity and subsequently much worn by traffic. The material, workmanship and dated parallels in the Dipylon cemetery would suggest a date in the fifth century, more likely in its first half. Pairs of mason's marks (A B Γ Δ) flanking the joints of the middle step betray a transplanting of the monument. The letter forms and the adjacent levels would indicate for the re-setting a date in the early Roman period; the shift may have been occasioned by the erection of the Northeast Stoa or the transplanting of the Temple of Ares. The enormous amount of wear, which gives the base a very venerable appearance, shows clearly that it had always stood in a much frequented place. Its scheme and dimensions would be appropriate to a monumental herm and it is perhaps significant that the marble stump still in place at the corner of its middle step has a cross section more suitable to a herm than to an inscribed stele. As noted above (p. 96) this base would seem to be of the same category as that at the northeast corner of the terrace of the Temple of Ares, and it may well be that they carried two of the numerous herms which are known from ancient authors to have stood in the northern part of the square.

To the southwest of the Northeast Stoa the deep exploration revealed a cutting in bedrock for a monument base *ca.* 4.80 m. square overall (Fig. 1). Only two conglomerate blocks remain in place. The position and orientation of the base suggest that it was intended to face on the roadway that led up to the square market building, than which it should therefore be later. From the pottery in the plundered foundation pit it would appear that the monument was moved at some time in the second century B.C., perhaps to be shifted eastward and set against the admirable background provided by the terrace wall of the Stoa of Attalos.

Some interesting new facts were established concerning the small monopteros (Vitruvius' term for a round temple with columns but no cella wall) which was discovered in 1936 in front of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>86</sup> The foundations consist of a single ring of poros blocks with an outside diameter of 8.10 m. Many

<sup>86</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 354-356.

fragments of the columns have now been recognized; they are unfluted and made of serpentine marble, pale green in color mottled with patches of dark green and white. The attribution is confirmed by the occurrence of working chips of the same material in the construction filling of the structure. Some fragments of bases and Composite capitals, richly carved of Pentelic marble, were found in the area and may derive from these columns. Three curved cornice blocks from the building remained on the spot, obviously because they had been regarded by late pillagers as of little value for re-use (Pl. 25a). The tops of these blocks slope gently down toward the middle of the building; they retain traces of mortar, and their inner faces are cut as segments of a sphere, all of which suggest that the building had been roofed with a dome. This is now amply confirmed by the discovery alongside the building of a mass of masonry with bricks laid in horizontal courses, its inner face conforming to the segment of a sphere. A deep continuous groove cut in the tops of the cornice blocks near their outer edge was obviously intended for the reception of a vertical member to mask the base of the dome. A thin slab of the same serpentine marble as that used in the columns was found near the building and appears to come from this place. We have to do, therefore, with a colorful little building and one of the few genuinely domed buildings of the Roman period known in Greece. A date in the Antonine period as suggested by the florid style of the carved ornament is supported by ceramic evidence.

A curved marble member found in a late deposit immediately to the north of the monopteros may have some significant connection with it (Pl. 24d, Fig. 3). The piece comes from the top of a circular parapet and is crowned by a cornice cut in one piece with the wall. Weathering on top of the block indicates that nothing rested on it. One end is finished with anathyrosis and has a cutting for a hook clamp in its top, the other end is finished to be visible and has no clamp cutting, from which it appears that this block flanked an opening in the side of the drum. The inner face of the block is rather roughly picked. The inner diameter of the drum may be restored as 1.584 m., the outer diameter as 1.90 m. The use of a protective cornice may be taken to imply the existence of relief sculpture on the outside of the drum in its lower part after the fashion of the Base of the Muses from Halikarnassos now in the British Museum.<sup>87</sup> The workmanship and the profiles of the mouldings would suggest a date in the second century B.C.

On the analogy of two similar but better preserved monuments on Delos, our fragment may be supposed to have formed part of a screen around a small altar.<sup>88</sup> It is tempting to regard the monument as a link between the late archaic circular base with cuttings for a parapet found in 1950 beneath the north end of the terrace of the Stoa

<sup>87</sup> *B.M. Catalogue of Sculpture*, II, p. 135, no. 1106; Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 363, 1-4.

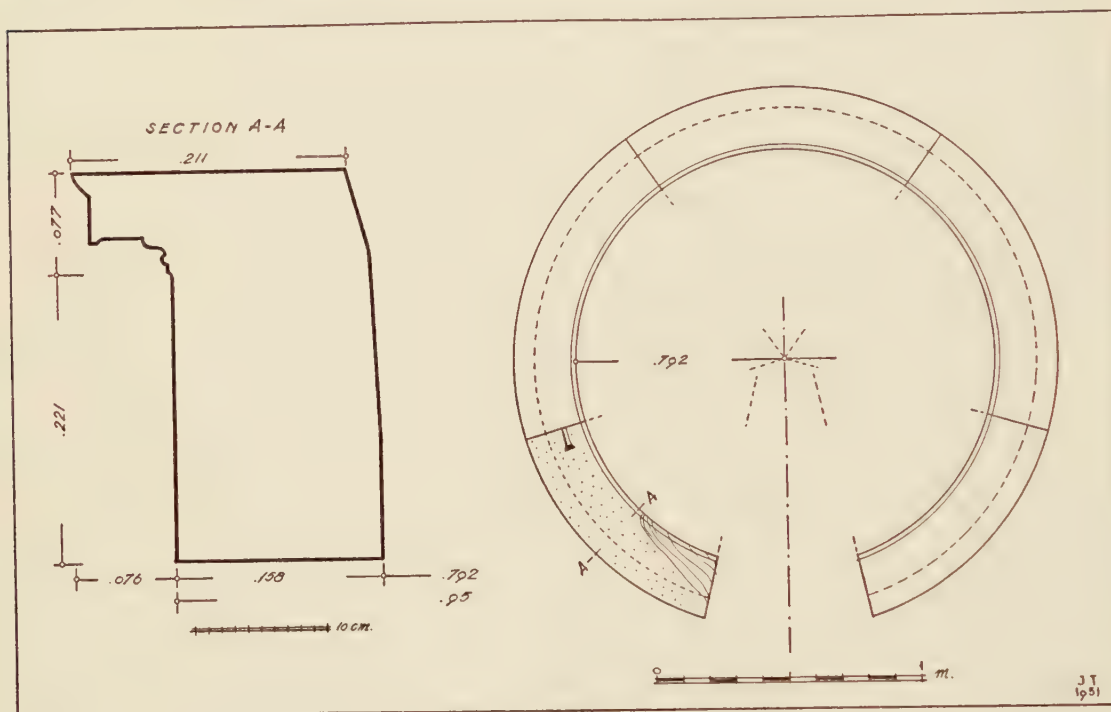
<sup>88</sup> *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 166-179.



of Attalos<sup>39</sup> and the Antonine monopteros in front of the Stoa. But beyond this point all is speculation.

### EARLY BURIALS

The deep exploration of the past season brought to light a number of burials of the Late Helladic and Protogeometric periods beneath the northern part of the market square. To the Late Helladic period belong three chamber tombs, four pit graves and two sepulchral deposits laid in small pits; to the Submycenaean period, one pit grave, and to the Protogeometric period three pit graves, one urn burial and one cremation burial.



3. Round Marble Curb (Cf. Pl. 24 d)

These are not the first early burials to be found in the level area that later became the market square. Previous campaigns had revealed a well burial as early at least as the Middle Helladic period in front of the Metroon,<sup>40</sup> and Late Helladic pit graves to the south of the Temple of Ares, to the south of the Odeion,<sup>41</sup> beneath and behind the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>42</sup> Plotting these on a map at once makes it probable that the

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 49, pl. 24 b.

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 20-21.

<sup>41</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 21-23.

<sup>42</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 325 f.

whole area is underlaid by a large prehistoric cemetery and that more burials are likely to be encountered as the deeper levels are explored in the intervening areas. All this is in addition to the scattered graves and family burial plots of the Late Helladic, Protogeometric and Geometric periods that have been cleared on the hillslopes adjacent to the market square. Apart from attesting the great extent of the early burial grounds at Athens, the new finds are important in that they come from a cemetery which was in continuous use over a very long period, i. e. from early in Late Helladic II to the late Protogeometric period, say the fifteenth to the tenth century B.C., and also because they include the earliest groups of Late Helladic material yet found in Athens.

Since additional graves are likely to be discovered in the course of the next few years, no comprehensive presentation will be made at this stage. The following samples, however, will give some indication of the variety and chronological range of the new finds.<sup>43</sup>

Since the chamber tombs were cut in the very soft argillaceous bedrock in a practically level area, the chambers were necessarily small and were approached through steep dromoi. The best preserved of the three, which lay to the west of the Northeast Stoa, is illustrated in Plate 25b, A and Figure 4. The chamber proper had been used primarily for the burial of adults, the niches for children.<sup>44</sup> The two earliest occupants of the chamber had been swept to the back of the room to make way for a second pair whose skeletons were found in order at the sides of the chamber, lying on their backs with knees drawn up. Subsequently the roof of the chamber collapsed and the body of a child was laid in from above rather than through the door; its skeleton rested 0.60 m. above the floor. In the right-hand niche lay the remains of two children, in the other a single child's skeleton. The doors both of the main chamber and of the niches had been closed with rough rubble walls after the final use.

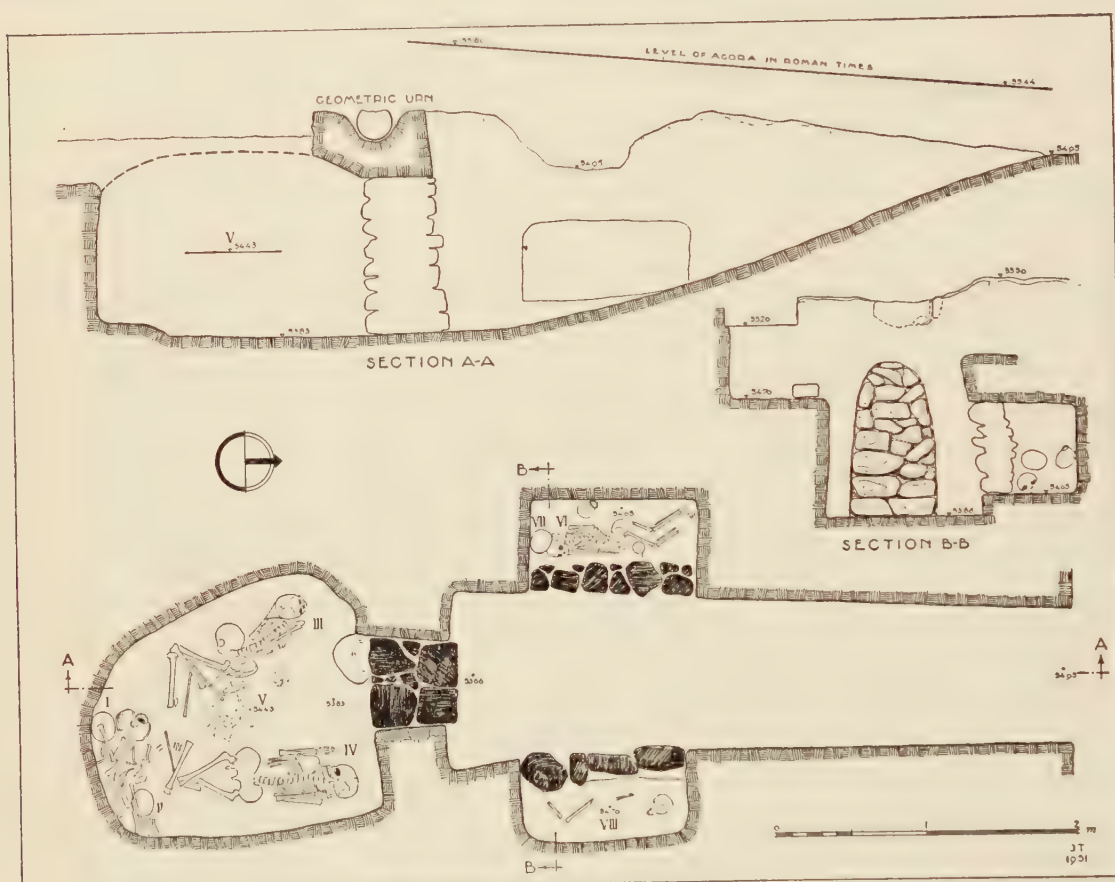
The offerings comprised seven terracotta vases (Pl. 25c), a bronze knife, a gold bead, a paste bead and two stone whorls. The circumstances of burial would indicate that the tomb was in use over a comparatively short period and this is confirmed by the style of the vases which form a fairly compact series within Late Helladic III A and B.

<sup>43</sup> We are greatly indebted to Professor Carl Blegen for giving us the benefit of his wide experience in the excavation of the tombs and for many helpful comments on the material. Most of the dates given below have been suggested by him on the basis of a preliminary study.

<sup>44</sup> Niches in the walls of dromoi, but on one side only, have been reported at Markopoulo in Attica (Stais, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1895, cols. 215 f.), Nauplia (Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 162), Mycenae (Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 128 f.), the Argive Heraeum (Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 234 f.) and Asine (Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm, 1938, p. 172). Nilsson, while admitting that these niches were sometimes intended for interment, has also maintained that they were at times used in the funeral cult (*Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd ed., Lund, 1950, pp. 587-589). Ours is a clear case of interment, the intention being no doubt to keep down the dimensions of the principal chamber by providing these smaller supplementary repositories.



A second chamber tomb which lay a little to the northwest of the first had been very much disturbed at various times in antiquity, but chiefly in the middle of the fifth century by the digging of a well (Pl. 25b, B). The chamber was little more than a cubby-hole at the bottom of the steep dromos. On its floor lay a few bones, a spouted jar of bronze, a small terracotta jug and a steatite whorl (Pl. 26b). The bronze bowl is of particular interest as being one of the very few bronze vessels of



4. Late Helladic Chamber Tomb near the Northeast Corner of the Agora

the period known from Athens, although the existence of the shape in bronze had been inferred from not a few imitations in clay.<sup>45</sup> The scale is miniature: 0.046 m. high, 0.096 m. in diameter at the rim, and it is interesting to observe that a good proportion of the adaptations in clay are likewise very small. The vessel is carefully and sturdily made; the rim is massive; the ends of the wishbone handles are set through the walls and well rivetted on the inside. It has been suggested that this type of bowl, at any

<sup>45</sup> F. H. Stubbings, *B.S.A.*, XL, 1947, pp. 40-42.

rate as found in tombs, had serve some ritual purpose and it would, indeed, seem more practical for the pouring of libations than for any familiar domestic use.<sup>46</sup> The shapes of both the bronze bowl and of the terracotta jug point to a date well on in Late Helladic III B or even in C.

The discovery of the third chamber tomb resulted from the rebuilding of the north foundation of the Temple of Ares. The workmen of the Augustan period had cut away most of the upper part of both chamber and dromos but had stopped short of the burials proper. At least 13 and possibly as many as 17 interments had been made over a period, as indicated by the vases, of more than two centuries. The furnishings of the tomb comprised 24 complete and three fragmentary vases, a bronze dagger, five arrowheads of bronze and four of obsidian, a small ivory comb and miscellaneous beads. The three vases illustrated in Pl. 26a will indicate the range from the earliest to the latest. The two-handled goblet, with its sharply profiled lip and high swung ribbon handles, must stand very close to such metal prototypes as the silver vessels from Dendra.<sup>47</sup> Its exterior is cream colored, its interior a deep, chocolate brown. Its date is undoubtedly Late Helladic II. The pitcher with broad shoulders and trough spout also shows the refinement induced by the potter's emulation of the metal worker. This is an admirable example of one of the most pleasing shapes current in Late Helladic II and III A, and the fresh naturalism of the octopus design would argue for a date early within this span.<sup>48</sup> The third vase, the bell-shaped bowl, is likewise decorated with marine motives: two fish and a water bird swimming forever around the inside of the rim. But here the drawing is crude and lifeless, matching the heavy, coarse fabric on which it is done. The shape too implies a late date, for it occurs in the Mycenae Granary Class and in the Late Helladic fountain house on the North Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>49</sup> We have therefore descended to Late Helladic III C, and are probably within the twelfth century.<sup>50</sup>

The earliest and most richly furnished of the individual graves was a small pit (0.50 m. x 1.35 m. x 0.75 m. deep) containing the skeleton of a child, presumably a girl; it lay just west of the chamber tomb with the niches. The small grave was packed with objects: a comb and a pin of ivory, a necklace of paste beads and gold pendant, a handful of sea shells and the ten vases illustrated in Pl. 26c. These vases have such close affinities with those from Shaft Grave I at Mycenae and from Grave III in the Prehistoric Cemetery below the Lion Gate<sup>51</sup> as to suggest for the burial a date no

<sup>46</sup> H. Kenner, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 127-130.

<sup>47</sup> A. W. Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra*, Lund, 1942, p. 136, fig. 117 (above).

<sup>48</sup> On the shape cf. F. H. Stubbings, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f., fig. 20 B.

<sup>49</sup> O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 371 f.; Stubbings, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>50</sup> Miss Emily D. Townsend who supervised the excavation of this tomb is preparing a special study of it.

<sup>51</sup> A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae*, Princeton, 1949, pl. 70 a.



later than Late Helladic III A. The lily bowl, the shape of which is derived directly from metal bowls with flat rims and vertical handles, may well claim a place among the most attractive vases of the Late Helladic period yet found in Attika.

Plate 27a will illustrate a typical example of the simple pit grave of an individual. The grave measures 0.50 m. x 1.60 m. x 0.65 m. deep. Two rough slabs of stone tilted on edge over the body may have formed part of a covering. Between the head and the end of the pit lay the offerings: a three-handled jar with net pattern on its shoulder, a handsome pitcher and a small bronze knife. For the vases (Pl. 27b) a date has been suggested in Late Helladic III A or B.

Another individual pit burial south of the Northeast Stoa was more carefully prepared. A ledge in the sides of the pit just above the level of the body supported a covering of close-set stone slabs. On the chest of the well preserved skeleton of an adult lay the solitary offering: an iron pin. Close similarity in construction between this grave and better furnished graves outside the Dipylon indicate a date in the Submycenaean period.<sup>52</sup> The dearth of offerings may well be symptomatic of a general decline in prosperity.

A typical grave group of the late Protogeometric period from a child's inhumation to the west of the Northeast Stoa is shown in Plate 27c. The cups on conical feet and pitcher are thoroughly standard products of their period. Nor is the handmade bowl with elaborate incised decoration unusual. More striking and without close parallel is the tall pyxis with lid in the form of a mastos equipped with pairs of vertically pierced lugs for cords. Like so many offerings in the graves of children of this period the vases are small.

#### SCULPTURE AND TERRACOTTAS

Two out of a number of marble sculptures found this season merit special notice.

The first is a much battered fragment of island marble picked up on a marble pile to the north of the Civic Offices (Pl. 28b).<sup>53</sup> The thumb of a left hand is readily discernible. A second glance will discover the mid part of the muzzle of a dog nuzzling his master's hand, the well of the ear at the bottom of the fragment, the eye at mid height. This fragment recalls the lower part of a grave stele recovered in 1947 from the curbing of a late well in the area of the Civic Offices (Pl. 28a).<sup>54</sup> The marble of the two pieces proves to be identical; so too does the surface finish, the sensitive modelling, the angular, large-jointed members. We have, therefore, the two feet and one hand of the man, the tail and the muzzle of his hound. The picture of Pollux and his dog from Exekias' amphora in the Vatican will assist the eye in

<sup>52</sup> I owe the parallels to Mrs. E. L. Smithson.

<sup>53</sup> Inv. S 1276 b. Maximum dimension 0.16 m.

<sup>54</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 373-377.

recovering the composition. We can only hope that some lucky chance may eventually bring us more of what must be accounted one of the noblest Athenian gravestones from the third quarter of the sixth century.

The second marble comes from a Byzantine house foundation between the Altar of Zeus Agoraios and the Odeion (Pl. 28c, d).<sup>55</sup> A girl sits on a boulder; she may have rested her left hand or some attribute on the now broken top of the knob of marble at her side. She wears a very diaphanous chiton and a mantle over her legs. The type is one commonly used for Muses as, for instance, on the Mantinea Base and on the Apotheosis of Homer relief from Priene now in the British Museum, to name only the most familiar.

The rear view will show that the figure was at first worked completely in the round but was then dressed off slightly behind, a procedure which implies that the statue was placed on a shelf of limited width and backed against a wall. The comparatively unweathered state of the marble indicates that it was protected above. These conditions would be met best in a pediment.

Close sculptural parallels for the style of our piece would be hard to find; but the broad hips and narrow waist, the soft flesh and the artist's evident delight in contrasting areas of highly transparent drapery with heavy masses are characteristics to be found in combination on the bronze mirror reliefs and on the Kertsch vases of the third quarter of the fourth century.

The only pedimented building suitable in scale and date within significant proximity to the place where our marble was found is the Temple of Apollo Patroos, some 60 metres to the northwest.<sup>56</sup> Since Apollo is represented as kitharoidos in the cult statue from this building,<sup>57</sup> he would presumably have found the muses congenial company in one of the pediments. It is perhaps worth recalling that in the pediments of the closely contemporary temple of Apollo at Delphi, Pausanias (X, 19, 3) recorded statues of Artemis, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, the setting of the Sun, and Dionysos with the Thyiad women. Of these, Artemis, Latona, Apollo and the Muses are likely to have occupied the front gable. Pausanias notes that the first of the statues were the work of Praxias, an Athenian and a pupil of Kalamis; after the death of Praxias the gables were completed by Androstenes, another Athenian. The possibility of some personal connection between the artists responsible for the groups in Athens and in Delphi is perhaps strengthened by the fact that Kalamis, the master of Praxias, is reported by Pausanias (I, 3, 4) to have been the author of a statue of Apollo that stood in front of the Temple of Apollo Patroos.

The sketch, Figure 5, will show our figure restored and drawn to scale in a pedi-

<sup>55</sup> Inv. S 1530. Height 0.423 m., depth from front to back 0.24 m. Pentelic marble. The left foot was fastened with an iron dowel and is now missing.

<sup>56</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 90-104.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108, fig. 56.



ment of the Temple of Apollo Patroos. There would appear to be room for Apollo on axis flanked to right and to left by his mother and his sister; beyond them to either side a standing muse, after which would come our seated muse to be balanced by a seated sister in the other wing and, finally, a reclining muse toward either extremity. Such a combination seems possible, yet in view of the meagreness of the evidence the suggestion is made with great reserve.



5. Pediment of the Temple of Apollo Patroos

A number of interesting terracotta figurines and moulds have been recovered from a vast mass of rubbish that was dumped over the ruinous west end of the terrace of the Middle Stoa soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. A typical specimen from this group is shown in Plate 30b: an actor, to judge from his stance and costume, modelled with effective simplicity.<sup>58</sup>

#### POTTERY

In the course of the season a number of ancient wells were encountered and cleared: three of the Geometric period, one of the archaic, two of the fifth century and one of the Hellenistic period. Interesting groups of pottery were recovered from all the wells, but since the menders have not yet finished with the groups at the time of writing, a few isolated pieces may be selected to show the chronological range and variety.

The krater with stand and "goat-head" handles of Plate 29a, b, comes from a well of the eighth century to the south of the Northeast Stoa; it is a good example of a shape of the developed Geometric repertory hitherto represented in the Agora only by fragments.<sup>59</sup> The spouted krater of Plate 29c, not far removed in date from the previous piece, comes from a well to the east of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>60</sup> The horses of the handle zone are evidently just emerging from the narrow paddock of the Geometric style and are gingerly trying out their legs for the open spaces that lie ahead.

<sup>58</sup> Inv. T 3074. Height 0.15 m. Pale buff clay, traces of bright blue paint. The small nodules on the surface suggest the use of a mould made not of terracotta but of plaster such as were commonly employed in Egypt and occasionally elsewhere (Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, pp. 298-300). Actual moulds of this material, however, have not yet been found in the Agora.

<sup>59</sup> Inv. P 21706. Height 0.29 m., diameter at rim 0.233 m.

<sup>60</sup> Inv. P 21233. Height 0.235 m., estimated diameter 0.32 m.

From a well of the first half of the sixth century to the south of the Northeast Stoa comes a small fragment of a large lid decorated with a lion strongly reminiscent of the great vases from the Vari cemetery (Pl. 30d).<sup>61</sup> The same deposit yielded about one half of a black-figured plate decorated by the "Polos Painter" according to his common formula which was inspired largely by Early Corinthian models (Pl. 30a).<sup>62</sup> Characteristic is the treatment of the floor with a zone of sphinxes, polos-crowned, separated by a dotted zone from a medallion that is here missing but which is elsewhere frequently filled with a floral motif. Less usual is the ring of rosettes on the rim which are paralleled among the works of the Polos Painter only on an unpublished piece in Karlsruhe which is close to ours in style.<sup>63</sup> The solitary sphinx of the underside, as also the rays beneath the rim, follow the regular practise of the Polos Painter, unknown apart from his work in Attica although common in Middle Corinthian.

The well that yielded the ostrakon of Perikles (cf. below p. 113) produced also a quantity of pottery of the mid fifth century that ranks well above the average run of household deposits in the quality of both its red-figured and black-glazed vases. Since the whole group is being prepared for publication by Professor Cedric Boulter only one sample is here illustrated: a scrap from the upper wall of an amphora bearing the figure of a young warrior about to depart from home (a second fragment preserves his outstretched right hand holding a phiale) (Pl. 30c). The drawing has been attributed to the Barclay Painter.<sup>64</sup>

During the 1951 season two fragments of vases by the Dinos Painter were added to the several pieces by this painter or in his manner already in the Agora collection.<sup>65</sup> The new pieces are illustrated here together with two others close in style, found earlier (Pl. 31a-d). Plate 31a, shows a fragment from a bell- or calyx-krater<sup>66</sup> with the head and left shoulder of a youth to right; he wears himation and fillet in faded white. The head and right hand, holding two spears, of another youth appear on an amphora fragment<sup>67</sup> found this year (Pl. 31b). He carries two spears and wears a

<sup>61</sup> Inv. P 21565. Maximum dimension 0.162 m., estimated diameter 0.43 m.

<sup>62</sup> Inv. P 21568. Height 0.025 m., estimated diameter 0.21 m. On the Polos Painter cf. Beazley, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 53 f., nos. 77-92. I am indebted for a note on this vase to Miss Denise Feytmans of the French School in Athens who is engaged in a special study of the shapes and painters of archaic plates.

<sup>63</sup> Inv. B 1507 (Welter, *Catalogue*, 497).

<sup>64</sup> Inv. P 21403. The attribution was proposed by Barbara Philippaki and confirmed by Beazley who now lists the vase in *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, pp. 1121-2. For both the subject and style cf. the neck amphora in the Louvre: *C.V.A.* III Id, pl. 39, 1-4 and 6 = *A. R. V.*, p. 663, no. 4.

<sup>65</sup> For this account of the Dinos Painter's work I am indebted to Miss Barbara Philippaki.

<sup>66</sup> Inv. P 17089. From a Hellenistic filling in the area west of the Areopagus. Max. dim. 0.044 m. Relief contour for profile; glaze worn; black-brownish glaze inside. Attributed by Beazley in his *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 790: "add as no. 6 bis."

<sup>67</sup> Inv. P 21534. From a narrow trench near the northeast corner of the market square, north-east of the Circular Building, the filling contemporary with this piece; from the same trench, partly excavated in 1936, the black-glazed cup-kotyle *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 343, no. 146. Max. dim. 0.096 m. The curls rendered in thick black glaze; relief contour; thick fabric, black inside. Compare



wreath with two berries, once white, over the forehead. A band of egg-pattern frames the picture above. These two heads though identical in details differ in mood. The revery of the cloaked youth has given place to an eager determined expression on the part of the wreathed youth with the spears. The fragment from a bell-krater<sup>68</sup> gives the upper half of a woman standing to right (Pl. 31c). She wears a girdled peplos with apoxygma at the back. Loose curly hair falls over her shoulders; she probably held a necklace. This is the first figure at the left of the picture; a little of the handle attachment is preserved. On our fourth fragment<sup>69</sup> a youthful maenad stands with the same dignity (Pl. 31d). She wears a short chiton and a girdled skin across her left shoulder; a thin necklace is rendered by a relief line. With great attention she offers a full kantharos to a figure seated at the right. Of this figure the right knee and a tiny piece of short chiton remain; he is probably Dionysos.

These four fragments from the Agora belong to the earlier period of the Dinos Painter's activity, about 425-420 B.C. Here also belong the maenad stamnos in Naples, the bell-krater in Syracuse, the fragment now in Copenhagen (notes 67 and 68 above) and the calyx-krater in Oxford (1937.983; *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 11). The *ῥῆθος* of the Parthenon world is still apparent, though less strong than in the preceding generation. Representative of the next phase of the painter's career are pieces like the dinos in Berlin (2402; *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 3), the calyx-krater in Bologna (300; *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 7), the volute-krater in Bologna (283; *A.R.V.*, p. 789, no. 1) and the dinos fragment in Palermo (*A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 6). In the vases of this decade the spirit of the Nike Parapet prevails; to a people tired after ten years of war, gaiety and charm appeal more than does the solemnity and dignity of the Parthenon years. The work of the Dinos Painter, like that of many other artists of the time, reflects this change in taste and feeling. A bell-krater in Cracow University (103; *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 29) shows a last transformation in the spirit of our artist. With this piece we come down to the end of the fifth century; in shape, style and sentiment it belongs

especially the maenads of the Naples stamnos (2419; *A.R.V.*, p. 789, no. 2; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 582) and the Oineus of the bell-krater in Syracuse (30747; *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 13; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 486, fig. 11).

<sup>68</sup> Inv. P 5865. From the Theseion Plateia, in a mixed layer over bedrock. Max. dim. 0.085 m. Relief contour except for the left shoulder and part of the back. Noted in *A.R.V.*, p. 792, no. 9, as Manner of the Dinos Painter; Sir John Beazley now thinks the piece may be from the painter's own hand (by letter, June 29, 1951). Compare the fragment now in Copenhagen, Inv. 318 (*A.R.V.*, p. 792, no. 33, and *Paralipomena*); the bell-krater in Syracuse noted above, and the bell-krater in Berlin (2643; *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 27; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1865, pl. 202, no. 1).

<sup>69</sup> Inv. P 21526. From a fifth century filling in the northeast part of the market square. Max. dim. 0.074 m. Relief contour for the maenad's profile, neck, right hand and thigh, and for a piece of drapery at the right. The dots on the nebris are of thick glaze; a little curl in dilute glaze. Good black glaze inside; probably from a bell-krater; the thickness of the walls and the scale of the figure suggest a small one. The attributions suggested for this piece [Talcott] and for the youth with the spears [Philippaki] were kindly confirmed by Sir John Beazley, by letter.

rather to the period which follows, and it reminds us how much the vase-painters of the fourth century owed to the Dinos Painter.

#### INSCRIPTIONS AND OSTRAKA

In the course of the season the inventory of marble inscriptions rose from 6323 to 6417. Among the new pieces may be mentioned a fragment of a *poletai* account (Inv. I 6354) of the second half of the fourth century containing the records of two transactions: the sale of some confiscated property for 900 drachmai and the lease of a silver mine. This appears not to be part of any of the similar records previously found in the Agora. A tantalizing marble with lettering of the early fourth century B.C. proclaims itself a boundary marker of the Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (Inv. I 6373); it was found, though not *in situ*, to the west of the Odeion. Another fragmentary document that suggests interesting historical implications (Inv. I 6367) records a decree in honor of one Arri[. . . who had been, or was in the service of a King Antiochos. The letter forms are most appropriate to the period of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, King of Syria 175-163 B.C. whose benevolent attitude toward Athens is otherwise well attested. The inscription was found at a low level to the east of the south end of the Eponymous Heroes.

The season's work yielded only five ostraka, presumably because exploration was confined to the market square proper whereas the overwhelming majority of ostraka have been found outside the square toward the southwest. At any point, however, a stray ostrakon may turn up at the appropriate level. Of the present season's yield, one (Inv. P 21581, Pl. 31e) proves to be the first known ballot cast against the notorious demagogue, Kleophon, son of Kleippides, the "Lyre-maker" of the comic poets; this piece is dealt with in a separate article by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool (cf. below, pp. 114-115). Another (Inv. P 21527) bears the name of Perikles, son of Xanthippos, in painted rather than incised characters (Pl. 31 f). This is the second known ostrakon cast against the great man, the first having been found in the Agora in 1940.<sup>70</sup> The new sherd came from the well noted above (p. 106) between the Panathenaic Way and the Northeast Stoa together with a quantity of red-figured pottery of the mid fifth century. It may well have been cast in 443 B.C. when Perikles was charged by Thukydides, son of Melesias, with extravagance in the use of the public monies of Athens and her allies. The future of the Periklean building program was therefore at stake and the decision of that day's voting, which resulted in the banishment of Thukydides rather than of Perikles, was fateful for the future of Athens and of Europe.

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<sup>70</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 2-3, fig. 2.



## KLEOPHON

(PLATE 31e)

**K**LEOPHON, the lyre-maker, was one of the leading politicians in Athens in the late fifth century before Christ. As leader of the popular party he first came into power in 410 B.C. and played a dominant role in affairs of state until his execution in 404. He is known to us from a number of references in the ancient historians, orators and comic poets where he appears as a headstrong demagogue with a character very like that of his predecessor Kleon.<sup>1</sup>

The name of Kleophon's father is not recorded in ancient literature. Kleophon is identified not by the usual patronymic or demotic but by an epithet, "the lyre-maker," or sometimes "the demagogue." His mother was a Thracian, and he himself is said to have been illegally enrolled as a citizen. Aelian, writing in the third century of our era and moralizing on famous men of obscure origin, says "one could not readily name the fathers of Hyperbolos, Kleophon and Demades, although they became leaders of the popular party at Athens."<sup>2</sup> All this has led modern historians to assume that he was of lowly birth, and Wilamowitz has even gone so far as to refer to him as "a man without a family."<sup>3</sup>

There is now some new evidence bearing on the question of Kleophon's origin. An ostrakon found in the Athenian Agora in the summer of 1951 carries the inscription Κλεοφῶν | Κλειππίδο (Pl. 31e). It comes from a layer of the late fifth century B.C., and as the writing is in the Ionic alphabet, we may feel confident that the ostrakon too dates from this period and not from some earlier time.<sup>4</sup> There can be no reasonable doubt, then, that it refers to Kleophon, the lyre-maker and demagogue; he is indeed the only possible candidate among known Athenians of the period. If this is so, we learn his father's name for the first time. If now we seek to identify Kleippides, we find that again there is only one possibility among known Athenians. A certain Kleippides, son of Deinias, of Acharnai, was a general in 428 B.C. and was voted against in an ostracism, probably that of 443 B.C.<sup>5</sup> His activity falls exactly a generation before that of Kleophon, the lyre-maker, and it is hard to avoid the con-

<sup>1</sup> The ancient references are conveniently collected in Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, I, No. 8638, and in Swoboda's article in *R.E.*, s. v. Kleophon, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Var. hist.*, XII, 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, p. 130, note 14. He is followed by Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, III, 2, p. 1535, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Inv. No. P 21581. Max. dim. 0.085 m. Fragment from the wall of a large, unglazed amphora. Inscription incised on the outside. Found in the northeast part of the Agora. The Hyperbolos ostrakon, Inv. No. P 12484 (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 246, fig. 47) was found about eight meters away in filling of the same general period.

<sup>5</sup> As general, Thucydides, III, 3, 2. The ostraka, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 911, 2; J. Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 123-5, pl. II. cf. *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 410, 412. The demotic, which is given on some of the ostraka, was not known to Kirchner, *P.A.*, No. 8521.

clusion that the two men are father and son. If this be accepted, we then have Kleophon's full name: Κλεοφῶν Κλειππίδου Ἀχαρνεύς.

We see then that Kleophon was not of obscure birth but belonged to an Athenian family of some prominence. How is it that he has come to be called "a man without a family" in our modern histories? Two main things seem to have contributed to this. First he appears to have been known almost invariably by his epithet "the lyre-maker"—as Kleon was sometimes called "the tanner"—to the exclusion of his patronymic or demotic. His patronymic does not appear in extant literature, and even in late antiquity Aelian could not, or did not discover it. This naturally suggested that his father was either unknown or else a person of no account. Secondly, our sources, which are almost all prejudiced against Kleophon, try to show him in the most unfavorable light possible. This often takes the form of references to his Thracian mother,<sup>6</sup> thus implying that he too was a foreigner. There is even a direct statement that he had been illegally enrolled as a citizen, the implication being that he had no right whatever to citizenship.<sup>7</sup> This constant reference to his foreign connections and dubious citizenship combined with the fact that his father's name was not recorded have thus led modern historians to the erroneous conclusion that he was of obscure or foreign or even servile origin, "a man without a family."

The new evidence from the ostrakon now shows us Kleophon's family connections and lays to rest the "man without a family" idea. It provides too the earliest record we have of Kleophon's activity, for it shows that he must have been in politics at least as early as 415 B.C. The ostrakon must be assigned to the year of Hyperbolos' banishment, the last ostracism ever held and the only one recorded in this general period.<sup>8</sup> This is now dated in 415 B.C. by Raubitschek;<sup>9</sup> hitherto it has been placed in 417 or 418 B.C.<sup>10</sup> The earliest previously known reference to Kleophon's activity was that in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, of 411 B.C.

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<sup>6</sup> Aristophanes, *Frogs*, lines 678 and 1532, with scholia. One of the scholia tells us that in Plato's comedy, *Kleophon*, she was represented on the stage speaking broken Greek.

<sup>7</sup> Aischines, II, 76. C. D. Adams, the translator of Aischines in the Loeb Classical Library, goes so far as to suppose that he was a slave; but the reference in this passage to his having been bound in chains need not mean more than that he was once imprisoned. On the other hand, however, it is probably true that his enrollment as a citizen was not strictly legal. Under the terms of a law passed in 451/0 B.C., not long before Kleophon reached his majority, a youth was required to be of Athenian parentage on both sides in order to be admitted to the citizenship (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, XXVI, 3). Exceptions were sometimes made, however, and no doubt Kleippides, being a man of some prominence, was able to exert his influence to have his son enrolled. There is, therefore, some foundation for the charge.

<sup>8</sup> As there is no record in our literary sources that Kleophon was involved in this ostracism, the ostrakon must be interpreted as part of the scattering vote.

<sup>9</sup> *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIX, 1948, pp. 191 ff.; cf. Woodhead, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See J. Carcopino, *L'ostracisme athénien*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 178, 191 ff.; W. Peek, *Kerameikos III*, pp. 101-104.



# THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

## I, A

(PLATES 32-42)

WHEN "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery" was published in 1934, it was suggested that a similar treatment of the stamped amphora handles and of the terracottas found in closed deposits would be profitable.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter an immense amount of material accumulated from the excavations and it appeared unwise to attempt these studies until the bulk of excavation had been completed. It now seems desirable to begin to study the Hellenistic material. Virginia Grace is preparing the stamped amphora handles for final publication. G. Roger Edwards has worked through the pottery and is able to date most of the Hellenistic deposits. Richard Howland is classifying the lamps. The coins have been cleaned and identified. By reference to this varied and abundant material it should now be possible to attack that most obscure and confusing of subjects, the figurines. The present article is the first installment of such a study, which is to cover the Hellenistic period, from the beginnings of the "Tanagra style" to the appearance of Italian wares in Athens, that is, roughly from *ca.* 350 to 50 B.C. or from Alexander to Sulla.

The material will be presented in groups as it was found. These groups have been selected from a much larger number on the basis of the quantity and quality of the figurines alone. For those groups of which the associated pottery has been studied by G. Roger Edwards, the chronology will be accepted as established by him.<sup>2</sup> If he has not prepared the pottery from a particular group for publication, the dating has been at least discussed with him.

The terracottas from the Agora excavations, though abundant, are very frag-

<sup>1</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 311 ff.; see p. 313, note 1. The figurines in these groups were too scanty to warrant independent study. They will be treated in forthcoming articles in this series. This suggestion of my husband's and his constant inspiration and help have formed the basis of this attempt. I also owe much to the wide knowledge and interest in all Hellenistic problems which Dr. Berta Segall has generously shared with me. The photographs have profited by the skill of Alison Frantz and the text by the criticism of R. E. Wycherley.

<sup>2</sup> Since few of the best pottery groups contain good terracottas, it was considered inadvisable for me to present the figurines that were found in those groups selected on the standards applicable to pottery alone. Unfortunately many of the best figurines were found in contexts without evidence for dating. Figurines are usually found in cisterns, which Mr. Edwards considers unreliable sources of dated material, owing to their being much more subject to disturbance than deep wells. It should therefore be borne in mind that the dating of many of the groups studied here is not infallible. In all the chronological problems I have profited from Mr. Edwards' generosity and willingness to discuss his material with me. His publication of the Hellenistic pottery from the Agora is forthcoming.

mentary. Few complete figurines have been found. But even scraps can tell much, particularly as regards types and technique. Such a study must be fundamentally archaeological; it will not attempt to include the evaluation of artistic elements, but it will afford documentary basis for such evaluation.<sup>3</sup> This evidence from datable contexts will help gradually to build up our knowledge of this obscure field of ceramics and, when correlated with other material, it should throw light on the still confused story of Hellenistic art.

The material from each group is arranged according to types. It is described in catalogue form. The discussion is concentrated in an introductory commentary. The stylistic chronology and the general value of the deposit will be summarized at the end of each article.

We know very little at present of the origin of the Hellenistic style in terracottas. During the classical period clay had been the modest medium for inexpensive votives and humble grave-offerings. By Hellenistic times it had taken its place beside marble and bronze as a sensitive material for the creation of minor works of art. It is fascinating to watch the way in which, during this period, the coroplast comes into his own. The process is complex and difficult to follow, but its general course is now clear. The shift in emphasis seems to have begun during the third quarter of the fourth century. "At this time," as Hetty Goldman has indicated, "there was a change in terracotta styles, unaccompanied by pronounced ceramic developments, in anticipation of the flowering of the Tanagra period."<sup>4</sup> By the end of the century has come that phase described by Schefold, "Es ist die Zeit, in der überhaupt eine neue Freude an der kleinen Tonfiguren erwacht, die, einmal erfunden, rasch so beliebt wurden, wie es ihre reiche Zahl und stilistische Einheitlichkeit annehmen lässt."<sup>5</sup>

Our study of Hellenistic terracottas, then, should begin at the critical period. The present article offers the best group of that period from the Agora. Called for convenience the "Coroplast's Dump," it is one of the largest groups of figurines which were found, and luckily it can be assigned to a fairly limited period, ca. 350-320 B.C. Another group, from a cistern containing ritual terracottas, is a much smaller and less significant deposit, which carries the story down to the end of the fourth century; this will appear shortly in a second article, "The Demeter Cistern."

<sup>3</sup> B. Neutsch, *Studien zur vortanagräisch-attischen Koroplastik* (17 *Erganzungsheft zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*) was just announced as this article went to press. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult it. A recent study of Hellenistic terracottas, based on as much documentary material as was available at the time, will often be referred to in this article: G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren, Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Kunst und Geschichte*, 15tes *Erganzungsheft zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, 1942 (hereafter abbreviated, Kleiner). An evaluation of the methods and results of this study will be found in a review, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 440 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 406.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bochlau and K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, 1942, p. 47.



Subsequent articles are planned to trace as closely as the evidence permits the development of the Athenian Hellenistic styles. For the first half of the third century material from the Hellenistic group already published as B and a fuller supplementary series from the "Altar Well,"<sup>6</sup> will be treated. A study on the late third century will cover the "Komos Cistern," which has already been noted as an interesting deposit.<sup>7</sup>

For the second century, since the material is distressingly scanty, one article should suffice. A longer article should cover the material from the first century B.C. Luckily this little known period is clarified by a series of closely dated groups, which, though small, illuminate the trends during the late Hellenistic period.

Finally, it is hoped to present the last article in two parts. The first should summarize the general history and add any significant material which cannot be included in the group studies. The concluding article should attempt an integration of all this evidence, setting forth the history of technique, fashion, types, and styles of Hellenistic coroplastic art in the great centre of Athens.

## PART I: THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

### COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Since in this article and the following on the two groups of the late fourth century we shall frequently refer to other material of the same period, we had best first summarize and evaluate this evidence.

A few Agora groups were consulted that will be dealt with only in the final publication.<sup>8</sup> Olynthos gives us the common stock of the coroplasts of a small town of the mid fourth century.<sup>9</sup> Vital is the *terminus ante quem* of the destruction of Olynthos in 348 B.C. The graves of South Russia, as dated recently by Schefold's study of the pottery, throw light on a few of the types and styles that we shall discuss.<sup>10</sup> Certain deposits from the excavations of Corinth are more useful.<sup>11</sup> The figurines from three deposits on the Pnyx form an excellent check, as they provide more closely related material.<sup>12</sup> Other comparable groups not only give but also receive

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff. (Group B); *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376 (Altar Well).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 376 f.

<sup>8</sup> In the meantime their excavation designations will be listed: Section NN, Brown Fill with marble chips, early fourth century; Section EE, Cistern at 31/K, mid fourth century; Section IT, Cistern at 38/M, mid fourth century; Section Ψ, Well at 37/KA, third quarter of the fourth century.

<sup>9</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, VII, XIV. The grave-groups listed in vol. VII, p. 110 and XI, p. 258 offer very little comparative material for our study.

<sup>10</sup> K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>11</sup> A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, Princeton, 1949 and ii (in press). G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII (in press), chap. II. I am indebted to both Mrs. Stillwell and Miss Davidson for letting me consult their manuscripts and for giving me the benefit of their expert knowledge on many matters.

<sup>12</sup> 1) From the filling of the third period of the Assembly Place, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 112 ff. Since this publication, the lower limit of this filling has been placed during the time

light on their chronology when they are compared with our deposit.<sup>13</sup> By far the most reliable and illuminating study of fourth century terracottas, however, is that made by Hetty Goldman and Frances Jones on the figurines from the necropolis of Halai in Lokris.<sup>14</sup> The grave-groups are made available for checking by the reader. Despite the fact that the pottery from this cemetery has not been studied in the light of present knowledge, the dating of the graves stands firm and checks closely with the results of recent excavations. But as Halai was a country town and as the number

of Lykourgos, that is, 338-326 B.C. Cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300. Much of the contents of this filling, however, was made during the first half of the fourth century.

2) A more limited group of figurines found in the filling of the Compartment period of the City Wall, dating in the third quarter of the fourth century, namely Nos. 23, 24, and 80 in the above publication.

3) The deposit from the "Thesmophorion," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 170 ff. On the identification of the sanctuary, cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 250 ff. The dating, on p. 177, in the third century, is probably too late. The evidence adduced from Pagasai and Chatby is only general and that from the miniature vases (p. 180) not in the least close. Indeed, the whole "Thesmophorion" deposit so closely resembles the Coroplast's Dump, including examples from what appear to be the same moulds, that the two deposits must be placed close together. Further evidence for this earlier dating now comes from Corinth. The figure of a seated girl shown in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 171, fig. 18, e<sup>1</sup> and e<sup>2</sup> is practically identical with one which was found in the North Cemetery of Corinth, Grave 372, to be published in *Corinth*, XIII, T 2717 (P. H. 0.057 m.). This grave is probably to be dated late in the third quarter of the fourth century. I am indebted to Miss Hazel Palmer and to Mrs. Stillwell for giving me the date of the pottery in advance of publication. A good example of this type of seated girl is in the Acropolis Museum, D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acrop. Mus.*, p. 390, No. 1424 (P. H. 0.093 m.). I owe this reference to R. V. Nicholls. Another replica, of local manufacture, was found in a deposit in Larisa, which the excavators date before ca. 300 B.C., Schefold, *Larisa*, III, p. 47; on this dating see below note 13 b. The type was found at Tanagra, cf. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (hereafter, *TK*), II, p. 123, 3, and at Chatby, E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (hereafter, *Breccia, Monuments*), II, i, 1930, pl. XIV, 6.

<sup>13</sup> (a) *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, 5, pp. 163 ff., pl. XXII. This grave was dated by its excavators ca. 400 B.C., but several archaeologists have suggested that it may be later. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 473, note 1; H. Goldman, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 402; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102, note 117, where the evidence from the pottery and lamps is fully analysed and the grave dated close to 350 B.C.

(b) Schefold, *Larisa*, I, pp. 42 and 91. Schefold associates the deposit of figurines with the destruction by the Gauls in 279 B.C. The relation of the Stoa in question to the deposit does not seem perfectly clear, even to the excavators. The figurines as shown in III, pl. 9, pp. 40 ff. obviously belong to a long range of time and the dating does not have to fall very close to the time of destruction.

(c) Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Les petits objets, Berlin, 1931, Petit Dépôt, p. 55, Nos. 2866 ff. Blinkenberg believes that most of this deposit comes from one shop and that it dates from after 300 B.C.; Kleiner, p. 93, agrees with Kinch that it must rather be assigned to the period before 300 B.C. Even this date as a lower limit seems conservative as all the figures are pre-Tanagra in character; note Blinkenberg's own remark, p. 715. It is yet to be determined how long styles lingered in provincial towns.

<sup>14</sup> "Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae," *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 365 ff.



and variety of its figurines were limited, even this series cannot be regarded as fully representative of its period.

Finally, for the lower limit of our deposit, we must consult the contents of the graves of the cemetery of Alexandria at Chatby.<sup>15</sup> It can have been established no earlier than the date of the founding of the city, *ca.* 320 B.C. But recently Kleiner has expressed a doubt that many of the graves containing terracottas actually come from the earliest days of the city. From the scanty and degenerate red-figure, from the poor quality of the Attic black-glaze, from the absence of grave-reliefs of the Eridanos type and particularly from the coins (of the twenty-two only one or two were from the life-time of Alexander), and on other grounds adduced by Adriani, Kleiner dates the terracottas from the cemetery as ranging in general from 300-200 B.C.<sup>16</sup> Actually we shall not find many close parallels between the material from Chatby and our own deposit. We may, then, safely regard these Chatby parallels as forming our lower limit.

### A. THE COROPLAST'S DUMP

#### GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

In 1938 a pair of deep pits was excavated on the north slope of the Areopagus just west of the "Valerian Wall."<sup>17</sup> Although a little of the material that filled these pits may have strayed in from the hillside, most of it was obviously composed of waste dumped from a coroplast's shop. This is clear from the numerous figurines in the deposit, which contained a large number of moulds (twenty-five catalogued specimens), and from the repetition of types from single moulds. The shop must have catered to sanctuaries, to judge from the predominantly votive character of the figurines and also from the presence of miniature cups and kernoï. Lumps of red and white coloring matter were also discovered. Such dumps from shops have been found elsewhere in the region of the Agora. They serve to illustrate the vigorous activities of the small artisans who worked on the slopes of the Areopagus and of Kolonos Agoraïos. Recently a group of their houses has been published.<sup>18</sup> In the humble shop of our coroplast no masterpieces were created, but the taste, though modest, is not

<sup>15</sup> E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pp. 107 ff. Most of these figurines are also reproduced with others from Alexandrian cemeteries in Breccia, *Monuments*, I and II. *La Necropoli di Sciatbi* will be referred to hereafter as *Sciatbi*.

<sup>16</sup> Kleiner, pp. 31 ff., note 7 on p. 276. From the more accurately dated material from the later cemetery of Moustafa Pacha, Adriani argues back to the date of Chatby. This is a treacherous method. It should be noted that many of the lamps and vases from Chatby are so similar to those from Olynthos that it is highly probable that many of the graves still date in the fourth century. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 315. See further discussion below p. 157.

<sup>17</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 15. These pits were excavated by Rodney Young, to whom I owe many details. The pits bore the designation, Section AA, Cistern at 17-18 / AA, Pit at 18-20 / Α-ΑΓ.

<sup>18</sup> R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135 ff.

bad; the variety of the styles and types is surprisingly extended. This deposit may be taken as typical of the stock-in-trade of an ordinary coroplast of the day when figurines were still following the old traditions and were intended primarily for dedicatory purposes. A new spirit, however, is noticeable in a few of the pieces, which, in the miniature character of their style presage those figurines generally known as "Tanagras." The deposit, then, comes from the critical period of transition from the old votives to the new works of art in clay. It should, therefore, form a suitable group with which to begin our study of Hellenistic terracottas.

## CHRONOLOGY

### Context:

Of the two pits under discussion the one to the north had been disturbed in Roman and Byzantine times, but so many of the figurines discovered in it resemble those from the undisturbed South Pit that they have been included here. Their provenience is noted in the Catalogue.<sup>19</sup>

The South Pit probably originated as a cistern. It had collapsed and then had been filled by a mass of rubbish deposited in two layers. The first layer to be thrown in, that is, the lower, contained considerable broken bedrock from the collapse of the sides, mixed with brownish earth that was full of sherds, figurines and moulds. It looks like the surface earth that lay in the backyard of the little shop. The upper filling, reddish in color, contained no figurines, but thirteen coins, dating from the late fourth to the early third century B.C.<sup>20</sup> It had evidently been thrown in after the first filling had settled and, being so sterile, would seem to have been brought from elsewhere. In the disturbed North Pit, but along with the figurines that are so closely related to those of the Cistern, three coins were found, of the same general period.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Catalogue numbers: 6, 20b, 40, 45c, 48b, 77.

<sup>20</sup> I owe the identification and dating of these coins to Margaret Thompson.

<sup>21</sup> Coins from the South Pit:

Coins from the North Pit:

"Greek "	3	Athens (330-307 B.C.)	1
Athens (330-300 B.C. or later)	6	Athens (330-300 B.C.)	1
Athens (335-295 B.C.)	1	Athens (307-283 B.C.)	1
Athens (fourth to third cent.)	2		
Unidentified	1		

It will be observed that these coins date generally later than the other contents of the pits. They came in the upper filling, which therefore has been assumed to be considerably later than the lower. In many Agora wells and cisterns the coins are later in date than the other material discarded with them. This fact indicates that much of the material survived some time before it was actually thrown away. It has also been noted by G. R. Edwards that coins, being made of metal, work their way down into earlier strata than that in which they must, on all other evidence, have first been dropped. The dates that we assign to objects in a deposit are naturally those of manufacture and not of dumping, which is the *terminus ante quem*.



The South Pit contained little but pottery and figurines. There were no stamped amphora handles. Of the ten loomweights, one was pyramidal, and nine conical, which proportions would indicate a date late in the fourth century B.C.<sup>22</sup> The lamps were of Broneer's type VII b, typical of the late fourth century. The pottery, to judge from its close resemblance to the wares prevalent at Olynthos at the time of its destruction, must date around the middle of the fourth century. Fragments of Panathenaic amphorae must be placed very close to 350 B.C.<sup>23</sup> The waste material, then, was mostly made and used around the middle of the century. The best evidence for the lower limit of the Coroplast's Dump is provided by sizeable fragments of a red-figured bell krater of a class well analysed and closely dated by Schefold.<sup>24</sup> Our pieces fit into the class of 330-320 B.C. This is also the date implied by the dates of the coins which were found in the deposit that was thrown into the cistern after the filling that contained the figurines.<sup>25</sup> The final filling, then, took place at some time from 320-300 B.C., a time when many other cisterns in this region were also filled.<sup>26</sup>

#### TECHNIQUE

The more one studies terracottas, the more it becomes apparent that the technique with which they are executed must be taken into account in any attempt to establish their chronology. Certain details, scarcely visible in a picture and of no significance to most observers, nevertheless reveal much to the expert eye. It seems desirable therefore to include here a full analysis of the significant peculiarities that can be used as criteria for dating.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 76.

<sup>23</sup> Lucy Talcott kindly sent me the following note on the Panathenaic fragments: "P 19530-1. Athena's drapery somewhat resembles that on the Alexandria amphora of the Asteios group (Asteios was archon in 373/2 B.C.; Beazley, "Panathenaica," *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 455) and shows but a slightly greater degree of archaistic exaggeration. The goddess, however, faces right, a change of pose which took place no earlier than the mid-century (between 359/8 and 348/7 B.C.; cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 457). Our fragment is perhaps one of the earliest to show the new stance and might thus be dated close to 350 B.C." Cf. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, Berkeley, 1951, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>24</sup> P 12406 from the South Pit.

A. Arimasps and Griffin P. H. 0.235 m.

B. Three cloaked Youths P. H. 0.21 m.

Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki have most kindly provided me with the following information: "For the shape compare another of the same subject and of the same general date, Schefold *Untersuchungen*, No. 129 (Langlotz, *Würzburg*, pl. 213, No. 635). For the dating see also Schefold, Nos. 516 and 375, pl. 23: two pelikai, both dated 330-320 B.C." H. A. Thompson suggests a comparison with the pelikai from Hellenistic Group B from the Agora, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 333 f. and 427 ff. which seem about a decade later.

<sup>25</sup> On the generally later date of coins, see note 21; cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Group A and probably Group B.; G. R. Edwards will note others. Cf. also *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 398.

Technically, the figurines from the Coroplast's Dump are consistent. The clay is typically Attic, fine in texture and varying in color from light red to yellow. The fabric is fairly friable, a condition which may have been produced by the damp condition of the cistern in which they lay. Variation in the hardness of the fabric and in the color of the clay can, however, be due to firing. In the case of one particular clay, the higher the temperature of firing, the harder the fabric and the lighter the color of the baked clay. In general, it can be observed that certain practices of firing were followed in all the ceramic fields alike during any one period. In the Agora material, fifth century lamps, plastic clay work, and pottery are usually of buff-colored clay, which is baked fairly hard. In the fourth century the color is generally buff to yellow, but it is also sometimes reddish and the clay is very friable. In the third century, however, the fabric becomes very hard and brittle and the surface color changes from yellow to light tan.<sup>27</sup> Color and texture have been noted in the Catalogue only where words can convey an idea of their significance. A fuller study of the history of technical details will be given in the final summary.<sup>28</sup>

The bases on which the figurines stood also vary with the period. Those from the Coroplast's Dump show several types. The simple plaque base, made in the same mould as the figure, is common (Nos. 18, 21, 82). They are, as is usual with this type, irregular in size and shape. In one case the front is stepped (No. 83). No high block base of the commonest early form appears in the deposit. Of the thin plaque base that was made separately and attached later to the figure, twelve separate examples survive. Their fresh condition suggests that these bases are among the latest in the deposit. (No. 79 and uncatalogued examples). Their size implies that our coroplast made larger figures than were found in the Dump. Two such bases were double (Nos. 80, 81), an arrangement which was used in Athens, so far as I know, only on plastic lekythoi.<sup>29</sup> These bases indicate that in the Coroplast's shop more figurines of the "Tanagra style" were manufactured than the other evidence would suggest.

The surviving figures in the round, except No. 16, have no vents; they are so small that the opening beneath sufficed. Many of these figures were solid with flat backs; the mould-made backs that survive are all unworked, except No. 15 and a few moulds.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Kleiner, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Archaeologists have varied their policy in considering the color of the clay worth reporting. The evidence is of course valuable, but it cannot be put into words that convey a sharply-defined meaning to the reader. A full technical study of clays must soon be made that will put the matter on a scientific basis and make definite terms available. At the moment one simply has to take on trust the assignment of a clay to a site. Cf. S. Weinberg *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pp. 263 f.

<sup>29</sup> *TK* II, p. 224, 3.

<sup>30</sup> Nos. 36, 41, 59. The theory of Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 413 ff. that hand-modelled backs were a characteristically Athenian product meets with no support in this deposit. Cf. Kleiner's reasonable objections, p. 134 f.; cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 443.



Owing to the conditions in the cistern, little color was preserved and rarely even the white slip.

The moulds show more differences among themselves than do the figurines. This is presumably due to the fact that the moulds are sturdier than figures and usually survive much longer. In only one possible case (No. **4 b**) does a mould from this deposit fit a figurine found with it (No. **4 a**). In general, the figurines made from the moulds would have been almost twice as high as the average height of the surviving figurines. On the assumption that the moulds were not thrown away until they were no longer useful, we might conclude that the small figurines were later than the larger. In general, this assumption is borne out by the evidence from other deposits. The miniature style was fashionable during the latter part of the fourth century and probably died out at least as early as the middle of the third century.<sup>31</sup>

The fabric of the moulds does not seem to follow exactly the same tendencies that we have noted in the finished ceramic products. Perhaps it was more difficult for the Coroplast to fire a thick mould as high as a thin figure, but this does not seem to have been true at Corinth, where archaic moulds were both heavier and harder than later ones.<sup>32</sup> The various classes of moulds found in the Coroplast's Dump may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The clay is reddish in color, very soft and friable. These moulds were made by pressing soft clay in thin layers against the model; the irregular exterior, still showing the finger marks, is left rough.<sup>33</sup>

Examples: Cat. Nos. **40, 42, 50, 55, 56.**

- 2) The more common type of mould was made of harder, lighter-colored clay than the above. The exterior of the mould, after it had been pressed against the model, was completely finished. Sometimes it was wiped and rounded neatly with a damp cloth, which has left its impress on the back. Many of these moulds have been dipped in a thin clay slip. Short clay tabs were sometimes attached evidently to hold two moulds together while the figurine was setting.<sup>34</sup>

Examples: Fairly neat: **6, 7, 14, 41.**

Perfectly finished: **11, 18, 35, 36, 58, 59, 61, 72, 73.**

- 3) A few moulds were made of a much coarser clay, showing particles of tempering grit. They appear to have been used for sizeable plaques.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Kleiner, p. 60. This statement refers only to the average height of all types; the figures of children continue to be made small.

<sup>32</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 82.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>34</sup> No. **41**. In Corinth no form of tab appears to have been used at any period, but the moulds were tied together with string, a method also used at Athens. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Examples: **77** (the clay seems to be Corinthian) and an uncatalogued fragment of similar character.

In general, these technical differences among the moulds, both in the color of the clay and in the treatment of the exteriors, may be said to correspond with differences in date. Very carelessly finished exteriors are characteristic of the moulds from the Agora that date in the fifth century. Those of this class from the Coroplast's Dump are certainly much worn. They may be assigned to the early fourth century at the latest. This does not seem to hold for Nos. **42** and **50** (of which the fabric is that of the earliest class). On the Pnyx and in Corinth the exterior of the moulds from deposits of the third quarter of the fourth century are worked fairly smooth.<sup>36</sup> In general, then, the moulds may be arranged in order of degree of finish and thus show their chronological order. Certainly the best preserved and the crispest have the most perfectly finished backs. The exception, No. **50**, has been pressed so carelessly against the model that it seems to have been taken as an impression for study purposes rather than intended for the manufacture of figurines, a practice well attested at Athens.<sup>37</sup>

One other technical point must always be taken into consideration for the dating of a figurine, that is, its condition. In a deposit of figurines, as in a hoard of coins, the relative condition of the pieces is of significance for the relative dating of the group. Since terracotta is very fragile, it is obvious that the most worn (not necessarily, of course, the most fragmentary), are presumably the oldest. On the other hand, pieces of which the surface is fresh, the color abundant, and the protrusions of wreaths, hair, or hanging drapery and extended limbs are crisp or the breaks sharp, are probably among the latest pieces in the deposit. Though it is always possible in one case that some freak of fortune has preserved an heirloom intact long beyond its normal life expectancy, all likelihood is against the frequent occurrence of such chances. The statistics seem to indicate that in a group the sequence of condition should be trusted to give in general the sequence of manufacture. Moulds, which are less fragile and do not have protrusions, are less susceptible to these rules, but even with moulds the general sequence seems to hold.

In the Coroplast's Dump, most pieces were fragmentary, but fairly well preserved in such a condition as one might expect from discards. A few, however, were extremely battered or preserved only in tiny scraps. These included the masks (**52-54**) and the small votive heads (**24-26**). Of the moulds, those for masks (**55-56**), the charioteer relief (**78**), and the seated woman (**42**) were much worn. Of all these only No. **42** appears to be of a late type.

The best preserved figures from the deposit, on the other hand, were some of the numerous limbs from dolls (**1-3**), the wing fragment (**12**), the figures of draped

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, Nos. 31, 32, 34; *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 83.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 285; Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 370.



women (15-16, 19-21), the small heads that belong with them (27-34), the actors with large-mouthed masks (45), the squatting negroes (48), the bust (51), and the thin plaque bases (79-81). These are all, in general, typologically of obviously later date than the preceding group. The freshest moulds were those of the Eros (11), the hermaphrodite (50), the dog (57), the ape (59), the shell (61), and the tripod (73). Again, there is no apparent contradiction on other grounds against the hypothesis that these moulds are the latest in the deposit.

We may venture, then, to consider that condition can safely be regarded as a criterion for relative age within a given group, but that it should not be relied upon exclusively for the dating of any one piece in that group.

## TYPES AND SUBJECTS

### JOINTED FIGURES AND RELATED PIECES: NOS. 1-10

The jointed figures usually called "dolls," though evidently one of the most popular types in our coroplast's shop, are not sufficiently well preserved to furnish much evidence about this interesting subject. Some nineteen fragments of arms pierced for articulation and thirteen legs as well as other miscellaneous fragments were found in the deposit. They follow the usual types already familiar from other sites. A good example of the arm, which is thin, flattened inside and often, as here, bent sharply at the elbow, is No. 1. The hand in mitten form (No. 2) and the stiff, straight leg (No. 3) are typical of this class. It is interesting to note that these limbs are not always articulated, but sometimes the legs are shown in a sitting position, pressed closely together (No. 4).<sup>38</sup> This piece seems to be the only one in our deposit for which the mould was also found (No. 4 b). Though these "dolls" are usually female, pairs exist of similar male and female figures from Attica. It is interesting to find an example of the nude "doll" in this deposit (No. 6), as well as several others in the Agora.<sup>39</sup> This mould (No. 6) is also unusual in bearing an incised inscription on the back, probably a name.<sup>40</sup> The maker's signature, common in later days at

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 9-10.

<sup>39</sup> Agora examples: T 290, 408, 470, 2055, 2098. Cf. Brooke, *Acrop. Cat.*, II, p. 428. Cf. E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, p. 422, pl. XXXVI, 1, 3. This type has usually been associated with the male companion of the Oriental Aphrodite or it might represent Aphroditos, a male god known on Cyprus. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Hermaphroditos, cols. 2314 f. But considering the appearance of the male and female types in pairs, it would seem that they simply represented the simple fertility concepts of the peasants, who would perhaps not even give the figure specific names. Cf. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 471, fig. 22, A and B; N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas . . . in the Danish National Museum*, Copenhagen, 1941, pl. 28, Nos. 268-269.

<sup>40</sup> No trace of a letter can be detected before *υπιοϋ*. George Stamires does not think that the reading *κ]υπιοϋ* is plausible and considers that it is probably all that is left of a long proper name. As it is scratched, rather than incised in the wet clay, it may be a later graffito.

Myrina, is not found on terracottas from the Greek mainland, although occasionally letters do occur.

More ambitious and unusual are the two large legs, No. 7 **a** and **b**. They must have belonged to a figure *ca.* 0.28 m. in height. The delicate modelling of the ankle-bones and toes places them in a class apart from that of the ordinary small "dolls." Yet the level position of the feet, which nevertheless have not borne the weight of the figure, indicates that they must come from a "doll" of the same type as handsome pieces attributed to Athens.<sup>41</sup> The sizeable hand (No. 8) may also have come from the same figure, as it is close to those of the Athenian parallels. The peaked coiffure of the Berlin example is exactly like that on a Corinthian votive head from the Asklepion, which probably dates about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>42</sup> The hand holding a *phiale* (No. 9) also comes from a sizeable figure, probably of Demeter or Kybele, performing a ritual.<sup>43</sup> The hand from a negro figure (No. 10) must come from a plastic vase of the same sort that provided a similar hand from the Pnyx though of later style.<sup>44</sup>

#### MALE FIGURES: NOS. 11-14

The only nude male figure beside the doll is represented by a mould for a flying Eros (No. 11). The body, though not plump, is much more like that of a child than of a youth. Kleiner has traced in detail the history of the change from the youthful Eros of the fifth century to the child type which was a characteristic product of Hellenistic taste.<sup>45</sup> He shows that the ephebe was still the only type known at Olynthos, but by the time of the formation of the "Tanagra style," the youth had taken on a shorter and more boyish form.<sup>46</sup> On examples of the Tanagra period, the body is still rather slim and hard, but the face is round and boyish. On No. 11 the legs and arms are spread out in a bold attempt to suggest flight without any twisting of the body. This is a new departure from the conceptions of Olynthos where the figures were all kept compact and the limbs close to the torso.<sup>47</sup> Not dissimilar is an Eros from Halai, found in a grave dating in the period *ca.* 335-280 B.C.<sup>48</sup> All these

<sup>41</sup> Acrop. Mus. No. 1464. The limbs probably do not belong to this piece, but to a similar example. I owe the photograph to R. V. Nicholls. A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pl. 29.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3; cf. XV, i, pl. 35, No. 38.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Köster, *op. cit.*, pl. 80.

<sup>44</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, No. 117.

<sup>45</sup> Kleiner, pp. 172 ff. Cf. an analysis of the development of the Eros conception, T. Rosenmeyer, "Eros-Erotes," *Phoenix*, V, 1951, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Kleiner, pl. 37a. Slightly later, of true Tanagra type, is pl. 39a.

<sup>47</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 34-35; cf. also the figurines of the period from Corinth and even those from Tarsos, H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 306. Extended limbs, being difficult to make, are actually not common except in the expert centres.

<sup>48</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, V-h-2, pl. XXII; cf. the Eros from Tanagra, Köster, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 78a.



examples cited must fall closely together in the third quarter of the century as even the earliest pieces of "Tanagra style" are a little plumper and the body more turned.<sup>49</sup>

In connection with this Eros, the little wing (No. 12, Pl. 40) is decidedly significant. It is too large for a figure taken from our mould and therefore implies another flying Eros of even larger size. The feathers are delicately modelled in the manner of bronze work.<sup>50</sup>

Five little male figures (Nos. 13, a, b, c, and two uncatalogued examples) are distinctive and unusual. They represent a man wearing a *pilos*, short chiton and chlamys, moving forward as though lunging with a javelin or possibly an axe. The implement, apparently made in bronze, was inserted in a pin-hole in the right hand; another hole, perhaps for a sword, pierced the left hand. As a terracotta type, this has, to my knowledge, no parallel. On jewelry, youths in similar dress are shown hunting animals.<sup>51</sup> The costume is also that of the Dioskouroi, who, however, as heroes are generally shown nude at this period. Since the Dioskouroi in Athens were identified as Anakes and since the Anakes were frequently themselves the Kabeiroi, it is possible that our figures can be related to the Kabeiroi.<sup>52</sup> It is impossible in our present state of knowledge to be sure of the identification of these little figures.

#### FEMALE FIGURES: STANDING, DRAPED: NOS. 15-23

The draped female figures all represent women and girls in simple poses of everyday life. They are clearly derived from the earlier types of votaries, who, dedicating themselves to the deity in the ritual, also dedicated their images in the temple. During the fourth century this kore type undergoes a change of emphasis. Still hieratic at the beginning of the century, the terracotta type follows that of the goddess or of the priestess or votary, performing a ritual, bringing a gift, or playing music for the procession. But by the middle of the century the emphasis is beginning to shift, so that the female figures appear less in the rôle of dedicant than of a simple human being as she is in daily life. These ladies no longer carry offerings or perform rituals; they stand empty-handed or they carry the frivolous fan or mirror. The religious intention behind the dedication is finally forgotten and the ladies of Tanagra emerge as women from the boudoir, intent only on pleasing men and mindful of no god but Eros.

In our deposit both the earlier and later types of female figures are found. The

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, pl. 78b. A similar but more advanced example was also found in the Agora, T 2280, from the Altar Well, to be discussed in a subsequent article.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *TK* II, p. 324, 2 and the previously cited examples.

<sup>51</sup> F. H. Marshall, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, No. 2195c, pl. XLII, two little hunters (H. 0.032 m.).

<sup>52</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Dioscures, p. 254. B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala, 1950, pp. 264 ff.

small simple votive figures are fragmentary or are represented by moulds. Larger, more ambitious draped types and their miniature variants also occur. We should examine these for the interesting stylistic sequence which they reveal.

The earlier phase of the more ambitious figures is well represented by No. 15. This would have approximated 0.18-0.20 m. in height and would presumably have stood on a plaque base. The woman wears a chiton over which the himation falls in a deep curve, a curve visible on a few terracottas of the late classical style.<sup>53</sup> The parallels also show a similar stance, in which the weight is almost evenly distributed between the feet, but the freer leg is thrust forward rather than sideways or backward, that is, the axis of movement is from back to front, in the old classical manner. Moreover, the way in which the chiton on No. 15 reveals both legs and falls in simple folds between and beside them is also traditional for terracottas, going back to the fifth century tradition, which apparently persisted far longer in figurines than in major sculpture.<sup>54</sup> All these characteristics are observable in many conservative fourth century deposits, for example, those of Eutresis and Lindos.<sup>55</sup> An incipient interest in texture and in folds is, however, visible across the front of the himation of No. 15 and also in the end of drapery that hangs down in an informal zigzag at the left side. The pattern of these folds is rudimentary, with both zigzags facing the same way. But this is certainly more advanced than the latest draped figure from Olynthos, which is formal in comparison.<sup>56</sup> The side fold is rather a precursor of the hanging ends that furnish the coroplasts of the third century with one of their most congenial opportunities for elaboration.

Nos. 16-18 also belong to this stage. Their bases, however, are made in the same mould with the figure, which is the more old-fashioned technique.<sup>57</sup>

Although we have no closely dated parallels for this style, which Kleiner calls pre-Tanagra,<sup>58</sup> it bears sufficiently close relations to that of the latest pieces from Olynthos to be datable fairly close to the middle of the century.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Kleiner, pp. 124 f., pl. 11a, a later development of the type of J. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Terrakotten*, Munich, 1916, pl. 44, which seems fairly close to ours; Kleiner (*loc. cit.*) also calls it, on the ground of its high base and undeveloped *contraposto*, "pre-Tanagraic." Cf. *Encyclopédie photographique du Louvre* (Editions Tel) II, p. 180A, a slightly more advanced example.

<sup>54</sup> Professor Rhys Carpenter, in a letter to me, has summarized the character and illuminated the origin of this style in sculpture: "Fifth century diaphanous drapery seems to have been an accidental corollary to the transitional period's perplexity about what to do between the ridges after archaic incised drapery had been reversed into protruding ridge drapery. If one did nothing at all with the cloth between the ridges, it naturally followed the anatomy of the figure and hence looked nude."

<sup>55</sup> H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, Cambridge, 1931, figs. 313, 316, 317, etc.; *Lindos*, I, pls. 140 ff.; note for the leg thrust forward pl. 142, No. 3048.

<sup>56</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 22, No. 181; cf. Kleiner, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> See above p. 123.

<sup>58</sup> Kleiner, p. 124, on the "vortanagräische Stufe."

<sup>59</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 21, No. 223; VII, pl. 22, No. 181.



Along with these conventional figures of draped women were found others of a different character (Nos. 19-23). They are all miniatures, of which the greatest complete height is 0.10 m. They all stood either without base or on separately made plaque bases. Their backs are flat and unworked; they have no vents. They are delicately modelled; their heads and faces as well as the drapery show that refinement which we associate with the "Tanagra style." Shall we call them "Tanagras"? Perhaps in this connection we should define that term for clarification and reference.

The term "Tanagra style" is, of course, derived from a class of figurines that was first found at Tanagra in Boeotia. Figurines of this style or local imitations thereof have been found all over the Greek world. The term has therefore become generic and as such it can be defined so that it has no implication of limited provenience.

Technically, "Tanagras" are sufficiently uniform to suggest that their origin at least was in one centre. They range from *ca.* 0.12 to 0.30 m. in height, seldom passing this range in either direction, except for the figures of children. They are normally made in several moulds and are retouched. The backs are shaped, often fully modelled. The bottoms are open, but when the figures are set on a base, they usually show a vent, commonly rectangular in shape. Other types of base, particularly the spool, which is sometimes seen in museums, is not, so far as I can tell, attested from excavations in Athens.

The repertory of "Tanagras" is surprisingly limited and is drawn exclusively from daily life. Draped women form the most popular subject, but boys and children do appear. Seated, dancing and flying figures also occur. Nude types and representations of deities, except Eros, are not found among them.

Although these criteria define a specific class, variations and echoes carry the range farther, especially at remote places and in later times. Kleiner has made a full study of the later development of the "Tanagra" type.<sup>60</sup> We are concerned here chiefly with their origin, with the inherent difference, which we can all feel, between them and contemporary or earlier terracottas which do not fall in their class. Fundamentally, the difference is subjective. "Tanagras" are, particularly at the beginning, tiny works of art, true pieces of miniature sculpture, not made for any dedicatory purpose, but created for delight. They imply a discriminating taste among the ordinary citizens, who could at that time apparently take pleasure in the infinite variations of a few simple themes. Seldom in the history of art has a craft produced such success without religious, dramatic, or even sentimental appeal. The exuberant or clumsy imitations from Italy, Egypt and Asia Minor show how rare was such taste, and how soon it faded, even among Greeks.

Most of these criteria outlined above are satisfied by our figures, Nos. 19-23, but their tiny size, frontality, and evident naïveté place them among the very earliest examples of their class.

<sup>60</sup> Kleiner, pp. 85 ff.

Let us consider their affiliations. The standing woman (No. 19) wearing her himation like a shawl about her shoulders is a simple version of a theme that continues all through the Hellenistic period. During its long history life and variety are imparted merely by swinging the stance or changing the head-type or proportions. Nothing else, fundamentally, differentiates this girl from her sisters of Myrina.<sup>61</sup> In one significant point, however, our piece differs from all these others: her free leg is not relaxed sideways, but is thrust forward as on our No. 15. The plan of this figure on its base, then, would appear as a triangle with its apex toward the front, whereas the plan of a normal "Tanagra" is an elongated oval.<sup>62</sup> Our Athenian piece, then, retains the traditional pose, but it is more maturely conceived and more delicately modelled than the pre-Tanagras. It should fall, therefore, among the very earliest figures that can rightly be assigned to the "Tanagra style," but that it belongs there seems clear from the direct line of descent which can be traced from it down even to the first century B.C.<sup>63</sup> Once conceived, the "Tanagra type" crystallized, continuing with amazing vitality as long as the coroplastic tradition held its own against that of bronze work and of major sculpture.

We must try to fix the date of this creation of "Tanagra" types and of this example in particular. As one of the best preserved of the pieces in the Coroplast's Dump, it must date after the middle of the century. But probably it was made very shortly thereafter. A parallel, not exact, though very similar, from a grave in Rhitsona in Boeotia, is dated by Ure about the middle of the fourth century.<sup>64</sup> This figurine, he notes, "appears to be of a different fabric from the rest (i. e. of those found in other graves at Rhitsona). It is so far the only figurine from Rhitsona that makes us think at all of Tanagra."<sup>65</sup> In size, in pose, in proportions, in type of head (and very probably also in coiffure), and in the fine drapery that differs markedly from the simpler traditional style visible on the other Rhitsona pieces, this figure is remarkably like our No. 19. The characteristically "Tanagra" versions of the type are, unfortunately, undated, but they must be slightly later than ours.<sup>66</sup> The early

<sup>61</sup> For the development of the type in later times, see Kleiner, p. 92, pl. 13d and e (from Myrina).

<sup>62</sup> Kleiner, p. 8, and pp. 141 f. analyses this movement in terms of balance as it is usually related to pre- and post-Lysippan schools. Such a fundamental change of pose would naturally derive from the concepts of major sculptors, not from the coroplasts themselves.

<sup>63</sup> Kleiner, p. 92; Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, pl. XXXIII, No. 90 of which the dating may be too late. In general, *TK II*, pp. 72 f.

<sup>64</sup> P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, London, 1913, pl. XIV, 6, p. 30 (on grave 56) (H. 0.12 m.). I am indebted to Mrs. Ure for the photograph reproduced on Pl. 34.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27. A similar piece was found in a grave of the mid fourth century at Halai, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 398, note 71 (Grave 63, dated by cross-reference with Graves 110-111), p. 406, V-j-3.

<sup>66</sup> Good parallels for ours, but somewhat more advanced, Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas in Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 66, No. 544 (H. 0.188 m.) "From the excavations at Tanagra"; J. Schneider-



third century examples from Chatby, like one from Larisa, are elongated, high-waisted, and obviously in a further stage of typological development.<sup>67</sup>

Presumably by the same hand as No. 19 are two other pieces from our deposit, Nos. 20 a and b. In the imaginative cross-play of drapery, they belong to the true "Tanagra style." But actually, so far as I can find, of the other known examples of the type, none was found at Tanagra. In most of these examples the clay seems definitely Attic and most of them were bought in Athens.<sup>68</sup> Three other fragments were found in excavations on the Pnyx in a deposit very similar to the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>69</sup> Another comes from Aigina, and it certainly appears to be a local imitation of the Attic type;<sup>70</sup> one in the Nauplia Museum is of unknown provenience.<sup>70a</sup> Finally, a most important example (T 1626) was found in the Agora in a cistern deposit that can be definitely dated down to the third quarter of the first century B.C.<sup>71</sup> We have, then, a series that should illuminate for us the general course that a type followed as it passed through the hands of various coroplasts down the years.

Let us study the stylistic development. The pieces from the excavations on the Pnyx and in the Agora are obviously the earliest. They are strictly frontal, including the heads. The faces, where preserved, are round, doubtless intended to be childish, but still retaining a stiff maturity, so that the figure looks like an adult on a small scale. All are of nearly identical size, but all do not seem to come from one mould. They appear to come from one shop, probably that of our coroplast. Certain details in the modelling of the area around the right hand show interesting affiliations with a scrap found on the Acropolis.<sup>72</sup> On this, as on our pieces, the edge of the himation is lifted by the slightly protruding right hand. This lower edge falls into two main and several subordinate cord-like folds, springing from a small triangle, itself nicked, which forms just below the last two fingers of the hand. These systems appear, though

Langyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, pl. 75 (H. 0.268 m.) "Said to be from Lesbos"; TK II, p. 70, 5b lists a similar piece from within the precinct of the lion monument of Chaironeia (therefore post 338 B.C.), but unfortunately no picture is available. Kleiner, p. 126, calls it "more like a pre-Tanagra."

<sup>67</sup> Schefold, *Larisa*, III, pl. 9, No. 11, p. 47; Kleiner, p. 92; *Sciatbi*, pl. XLII, 156, No. 367 (P. H. 0.17 m.); pl. LXV, Nos. 169, 171 (H. 0.15 m.). Kleiner, pp. 56 f.

<sup>68</sup> I owe the information on the Metropolitan figures to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander, who allowed me to examine them. The same courtesy was given me by Mr. R. A. Higgins in the British Museum and by the authorities of the Bibliothèque nationale.

<sup>69</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, j<sup>1</sup> and j<sup>2</sup> and an unillustrated piece. P. H. of the largest fragment, 0.075 m. See above, p. 119.

<sup>70</sup> British Museum Cat. C 36. From Aigina, 1893.

<sup>70a</sup> Φιλαδελφείας, 'Ανέκδοτα μνημεία ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ Ναυπλίου, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., IV, 1918, Παρ. p. 5, fig. 5.

<sup>71</sup> T 1626, from Section Ω, cistern at 74 / H. P. H. 0.083 m. Oval vent. The evidence for the dating of this cistern will be presented by G. R. Edwards. He places the contents from the late second century into the second quarter of the first century B.C.

<sup>72</sup> Acropolis Inv. 1273. I owe my knowledge of this fragment to a photograph kindly given me by R. V. Nicholls and permission to reproduce it to Mr. Miliades.

worn and dull, on our **20a** and even weaker on **20b** and on the Pnyx pieces. But the Acropolis fragment does not actually derive from the same type as ours, because the right leg is advanced and the drapery is drawn tightly rather than loosely over the right breast. The type must rather have been very close to that of a figure in the Metropolitan Museum (06.1113, Pl. 34),<sup>73</sup> which shows all these details in a style very like that of our No. **19**, if finer. The head of this Metropolitan piece is also similar to our No. **28**. The drapery style is of the simplest "Tanagra" phase. The linear folds drop directly from waist to hem, keeping flat surfaces and maintaining an even flow like that on the drapery of the Mantinea Basis and of other reliefs of that period.<sup>74</sup> These two types, then, would seem to have been created in Athens.

Certain other Museum pieces indicate the further development.<sup>75</sup> Since this type is rare, distinguished, and definitely related to our shop, it might be profitable to trace the sequence so far as it is known, down to the latest datable example mentioned above (Agora T 1626).

To date Museum pieces, which have no context, is at best a treacherous undertaking. The arrangement that I suggest is based not only on stylistic analysis, but even more on technical analysis, which at the moment seems more reliable. By comparing these Museum pieces with dated fragments from the Agora, I have been able to place them in general periods; the detailed evidence for this analysis must await the publication of full evidence in my later articles.

It is of especial interest to note that the scale of all the child examples, from the earliest to the latest, is almost identical. There was, then, no unchanged series of moulds taken from figurines, but apparently, the repetition of the type, virtually unchanged, by coroplasts of succeeding generations, who, however unconsciously, did manage to infuse something of the spirit of their own age into each re-creation. It is for us to formulate and evaluate these changes.

Three fine and one poor version of this type are known to me in Museums. The finest of these from an artistic point of view, is the piece in the Metropolitan Museum (07.286.31, Pl. 35). It remains frontal, but the modelling is far more delicate than on ours, or indeed, on the somewhat similar Metropolitan piece mentioned above (06.1113). The simple linear folds of our No. **19** have been enriched by reworking

<sup>73</sup> Metropolitan Museum 06.1113. H. 0.148 m. No vent. *TK II*, p. 14, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Kleiner, pp. 127 ff. dates the Mantinea Basis *ca.* 330-320 B.C. which date seems to fit our evidence more reasonably than Süsserott's dating of shortly after 300 B.C., *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt, 1938, p. 124. C. Blümel, *Hermes eines Praxiteles*, Baden-Baden, 1948, pp. 46 ff. dates the Basis in the period *ca.* 340-320 B.C.

<sup>75</sup> Most are listed in *TK II*, p. 55, 8: a) British Museum C 308 (H. 0.10 m.), Pl. 35; b) Vienna (apparently not exactly the same type); c) Paris, Cabinet de médailles, now Bibliothèque nationale, No. 69 (H. 0.12 m.), oval vent, Pl. 35. Add d) Metropolitan Museum 07.286.31 (H. 0.115 m.), no vent, Pl. 35; and e) British Museum C 36 (H. 0.113 m.), rectangular vent, from Aigina, Pl. 36; f) Nauplia No. 358 (H. 0.27 m.).



into systems and by delicate variations of strength and of texture. The head, realistically childlike, wearing the hair in twisted rolls, a variant of the melon coiffure, is tilted at an engaging angle. It is a little masterpiece in the finest "Tanagra style." But the fabric, which is of deeper buff clay, harder and technically more advanced than that which characterizes the work of our coroplast, indicates that we should place this piece somewhere around the turn of the fourth into the third century. Probably at about the same time was made the adult version in Nauplia, which cannot lie far from Metropolitan Museum 06.1113.

Another example, in the British Museum (C 308, Pl. 35), despite a superficial resemblance, is really very different in spirit from the preceding pieces. The formulae for the folds are the same, but the mood has changed. The folds of the himation do not swing clearly across the body, as they do on the Metropolitan example, but they start, hesitate, and die in mid course. In the lower part of the figure, the rhythm is no longer gently repeated in vertical ruling, but the course of the folds is now vague, without clear systems, even without much definition of surface. The features of the head also betray the same impressionistic flavor; the squinting eyes are defined only by their upper lids. In the hair, this vagueness is somewhat redeemed by hasty touches of the graver, incisive rather than plastic. The fabric is dark, fairly hard, retaining considerable chalky white slip;<sup>76</sup> there is no vent. These details all point to a date in the late third or early second century for this version.

Somewhat out of the direct Athenian course of development is the figure of a little girl with a fan from Aigina, in the British Museum (C 36, Pl. 36). It deviates from the foregoing type in the following elements: the figure is thin and pinched; the himation is almost without folds; the chiton falls in systems of tubular folds that find parallels on many figures of the late third century; the left foot, protruding awkwardly, seems out of scale. All these details would fit well among figures of the later third century, as would also the type of face, the wreath, the coiffure, with a bunchy knot low on the neck, the dark fabric, retaining its thick slip, and the fact that the figure has a rectangular vent. It seems to me that this piece is an interesting example of a local imitation of a good Attic type, possibly even earlier than British Museum C 308.

The evidence regarding a version in the Bibliothèque nationale (Pl. 35) is rather surprising. Superficially it too resembles the Metropolitan Museum No. 07.286.31. But it is more elongated, particularly below the waist. It is of hard, light yellow fabric and carries an oval vent. The feet protrude (the left foot is missing) with the toes pointed sharply outward. The neck is long. The head is somewhat like that of British Museum C 308, but is different in significant details. In the plump face

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 335; IV, 1935, p. 211 (on a piece of the second century B.C., a thick white chalky slip).

the features are small and casually set rather than growing as integral parts of the whole visage. The eyes are completely blurred. The mouth is set high under the lumpy nose and emphasized by two lines that run to the corners from the nostrils. The lips run parallel, without meeting at the corners. These features find close analogies in the heads from an Agora cistern of the first century B.C.<sup>77</sup> If this seems surprising, one has only to check the drapery with several fragments from the same cistern. The deep regular folds run with rounded ridges and deep furrows of almost exactly the same width and of a mechanical evenness, particularly over the shoulders. Occasionally the monotony of these flutings is relieved by a slight waver or nick, just as it occurs on the lower chiton of the figure in the Bibliothèque nationale. Moreover, the fabric not only is very close to that of the parallels indicated, but a careless tendency to leave the surface of the figure unwiped, with tiny bits of clay still adhering to it, apparent on the hat, face and drapery of the Paris example, is observable in many of the terracottas found in the later Hellenistic deposits of the Agora. Finally, the stylistic affinity between this figure and that from the Agora (T 1626) would indicate that they are not very far apart. As most of the figures mentioned above, though found in first century deposits, seem to have been made in the later second century, and since T 1626 is in fresher condition and more likely to be later, we might assume that the Paris example can still be dated in the late second century.

T 1626, found in a deposit of the third quarter of the first century B.C. is a suitable candidate for the last in our series. It is of coarse, dark, thick-walled fabric, covered with a chalky white slip; it carries an oval vent. The proportions are surely later than those of the preceding figure, for they are markedly elongated, with pinched shoulders. The protruding feet are very large and upset the balance by their sharp angles. Although the drapery follows the original model with surprising fidelity, plasticity and even the formula to which plasticity had been reduced in the second century have both died out, to be echoed in an incised linear style, clearly a further degeneration of the linear style of T 2628.

The relative sequence, then, seems clear. A glance at the succession indicates graphically how the tendency toward emphasis on the vertical makes for elongation and a loss of mass down the long Hellenistic age. Such a tendency is visible in all Hellenistic art, from architecture to sculpture; it is vividly exemplified in the development of this one type. Later, as we study the groups of other phases of the Hellenistic period, we shall be able to check our suggested dating and to indicate the full picture of which this glimpse gives us a foretaste. The Agora and Pnyx fall between 350-325 B.C. The latest of the series, T 1626, found as it was in fairly good con-

<sup>77</sup> Cistern in Section Γ, 95 / KΘ, called the Kybele Cistern, to be published later by both G. R. Edwards and myself. Mr. Edwards considers that the contents are Sullan debris, discarded in the third quarter of the first century B.C. One head (T 909) is shown on Pl. 35; also the drapery (T 2628).



dition in a deposit of the third quarter of the first century B.C., can scarcely be placed earlier than the very late second century. It is startling to realize the implications of this analysis. The type must have lived for some 250 years virtually unchanged. We can now begin to appreciate the difficulties involved in the dating of Hellenistic figurines. Type and style, even, tell us little over wide periods; the most variable element is the technique. We must therefore place as much emphasis as possible on technical minutiae during the course of our study of terracottas.

The relation of these figures to major sculpture is a study which can be profitable only after a great deal of material has been reviewed. Suffice to say here that the type of the round-faced girl, standing simply, lifting a corner of her drapery, appears in marble sculpture, both in relief and in the round, at about the time that it was most popular in terracotta, that is, *ca.* 325-275 B.C. Such, for example, are the girls on the grave reliefs of the end of the fourth century, presumably all before 317 B.C.<sup>78</sup> Others are statues, like those in the Glyptothek and in Delphi.<sup>79</sup> The general style is very like that of the Mantinea Basis, which is probably to be dated at this period.<sup>80</sup> As has frequently been noted, the Muses are essentially "Tanagras" undoubtedly of Attic inspiration.<sup>81</sup> Their folds hang in thin, clear-cut verticals in much the same spirit as the folds on our figurines. The other reliefs of this cycle show the same facial canon, the same proportions, the same gently furrowed verticals, uncomplicated by secondary movements.<sup>82</sup> These characteristics also occur on many other early "Tanagras."<sup>83</sup> We have therefore reason to relate the whole body of material to the mood of the period just at the end of the career of Alexander. The correlation between figurines and sculpture is new and presages the interrelation of the media that is to become so much exploited during the Hellenistic age.

Of the two draped fragments, Nos. **22-23**, little can be said save that they increase the number of miniatures in our deposit. Even more insignificant fragments were left uncatalogued. In No. **22** the larger scale, higher waist, and closer-fitting chiton differ from those of No. **19**, but these two cannot be very far apart in date. No. **21**,

<sup>78</sup> A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1900, pls. CLVI, No. 815; CXLVII, No. 878; CCXXVI, No. 1100. Cf. also Agora T 1823, a figurine of a girl holding a bird, in much the same spirit, from 37 / KA, a context mostly of the third quarter of the fourth century, and also *Sciatbi*, pl. XX, 23 (a grave relief).

<sup>79</sup> Professor Bernard Ashmole kindly showed me an excellent example in a marble statuette presumably of the fourth century, recently acquired by the British Museum, Inv. 1951-8-1.1. The advanced leg is relaxed. This figure has much in common with the spirit of our figurines. Cf. for somewhat more ambitious works, A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 21, p. 17; M. Bieber, *Griechische Tracht*, Berlin, 1934, pl. 36. Note that on these the pose is similar and the relaxed leg is thrust forward.

<sup>80</sup> See above note 74.

<sup>81</sup> Kleiner, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 25.

<sup>83</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 447 ff., figs. 14 ff.

although complete save for the head, adds nothing to our information, largely because it is a dull piece from a dull mould. In scale and in theme, it is comparable with types later than Nos. 19-20, but it is not easily duplicated. It seems most at home among the figurines of the same scale and fabric from the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx.<sup>84</sup> The undifferentiated detail and the base, cast in one mould with the body, suggest that it is still a product of the earliest "Tanagra" style.

#### FEMALE RITUAL FIGURES: NOS. 24-26

Three heads derive from types that belong to the old terracotta tradition. One is No. 24, a head carrying a well-shaped hydria. It comes from a common votive type that is present in many fourth century deposits.<sup>85</sup> No. 25 follows the ancient mourning type which appears in just this form even as early as the seventh century; the hands are laid flat on the head.<sup>86</sup> These two types died out during the Hellenistic period. But that of No. 26, the flute-player, continued.<sup>87</sup> This head, with the hair pulled into a peak over the forehead according to a fourth century fashion, probably dates around the middle of the century, like the one from Olynthos.<sup>88</sup> Both resemble the head of a piece said to come from Athens<sup>89</sup> of which the lower part of the figure is also like that of one of the actors from an Attic grave-group of the same date.<sup>90</sup>

#### FEMALE HEADS: NOS. 27-36

A number of heads, now detached from their bodies, belonged to simple draped female types. The large number implies a preponderant interest in that subject at the time of the dumping of material from our shop. These heads are all miniature, ranging from 0.019 m. to 0.029 m. in height. The figures, then, would have been *ca.* 0.11 m. to 0.20 m. high. They are homogeneous in fabric and in style. They are sufficiently well-preserved to be late products of our shop. Most of them belong to types of the earliest "Tanagras," such as Nos. 19 ff. Two wear the himation drawn up over the head, a very popular style at Tanagra (Nos. 27-28). The oval face with

<sup>84</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, fig. 19, especially h and m.

<sup>85</sup> *TK* I, p. 156, 4-6; K. A. Rhomaïos, 'Αρχ. Δελτ., VI, 1920-21, pp. 90 ff., figs. 24 f.; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 255 ff., figs. 315 ff., particularly fig. 316, 6; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 472, fig. 164, No. 52; Newton, *Discoveries*, pl. LX, fig. 10, p. 379; *Lindos*, I, pp. 705 ff., Nos. 3003-12, pl. 140; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 159, fig. 140 may belong to the third century.

<sup>86</sup> Early examples: *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, p. 282, fig. 16. Breitenstein, *Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 41, No. 340.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 37, No. 298 (H. 0.126 m.) *Lindos*, I, pl. 142, No. 3043 (P. H. 0.073 m.).

<sup>88</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, No. 298, pl. 37. (H. 0.126 m.).

<sup>89</sup> *TK* II, p. 140, 3 (H. 0.155 m.).

<sup>90</sup> See below p. 143, note 129.



small features, thin cheeks, and pointed chin, is often called "Praxitelean." No. 28 finds an interesting parallel in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>91</sup> The scale seems identical with ours; the small mouth and sharply defined eyelids seem to belong to the earliest phase of the "Tanagra style."<sup>92</sup>

Another facial type also occurs among these heads: the round childish shape with chubby cheeks and pursed features (Nos. 31-32). It comes in on the latest grave-reliefs from Athens. Judging by the earlier character of the modelling of the few children's faces at Olynthos,<sup>93</sup> we may suppose that the new attempt to differentiate the face of a child from that of an adult, like the attempt to show the boyish body, began just after the middle of the century. Our figure (No. 19) of which the head and body are both preserved, shows that no really childish form had been achieved at the time of the Coroplast's Dump. Both heads and bodies are still fairly mature.

The hair on several bare heads (Nos. 29-32) is arranged in a coiffure generally called "melonfrisur." A series of deep parallel waves or twists run back from the forehead to a large flat coil of plaits at the back of the head. This coiffure also occurs on the complete figure, No. 19. That gives a total of five examples in our deposit. It seems clear that they must all date at about the same time as the draped figure, that is, in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. These examples of a coiffure usually considered to have begun in Hellenistic times are decidedly interesting.<sup>94</sup> Variants, or prototypes, of this coiffure occur on a few grave-reliefs that must date before the decree of Demetrius in 317 B.C.<sup>95</sup> On these reliefs, the plaits are wound round the head rather than at the back of it. This seems to be an early stage of the true melon coiffure. The plaits appear wound in a coil around the back of the head not only on the heads from the Coroplast's Dump, but also on a contemporary head from the Agora that was found in a context probably to be associated with the building activities of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.).<sup>96</sup> A similar coiffure is more delicately

<sup>91</sup> See above p. 133 and Pl. 34.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 434, fig. 23.

<sup>93</sup> E. g. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 42, No. 384; VII, pl. 36, No. 280, pl. 56, Nos. 397-8.

<sup>94</sup> Kleiner, p. 15, places the beginning of this coiffure in the last quarter of the fourth century. Cf. E. Schmidt, *Jahrb.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 284, who cites grave reliefs that do not seem to me so pertinent as those listed in the following note.

<sup>95</sup> Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pl. CCXXXVIII, No. 1131 (dated by H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1931, p. 47 as of ca. 350 B.C.) and pl. LXXI, No. 297 (dated by Diepolder, *op. cit.*, p. 51, as of ca. 340-330 B.C.). Cf. Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, p. 124, pl. 25, four reliefs showing related coiffures, dated by Süsserott ca. 300 B.C., which, on our evidence, appears to be too late. Cf. A. Adriani, "Annotazioni su alcune Teste del IV secolo a Cristo," *Arti Figurative*, II, 1946, pp. 218 ff., pls. LXXIV, f. Adriani dates this head ca. 400 B.C., but, as Dr. Segall has pointed out to me, the style is due to the restoration of the features in plaster, which should more properly be like those on pl. LXXVI.

<sup>96</sup> T 2983, from a cutting in the floor of the Square Building which preceded the Stoa of Attalos; for its character and date, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 322; XX, 1951, p. 53. (P. H. 0.045 m.).

rendered on the head of a fine figurine in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 36).<sup>97</sup> The features, with the crisp-lidded eyes, the long, straight nose, and the mouth set off by grooves running up to the nostrils are not unlike those of our small head No. 29. Another similar, much-battered head comes from an Agora well closely contemporary with the later Demeter Cistern terracottas, that is, belonging to the very end of the fourth century.<sup>98</sup> All this evidence indicates that this type of melon coiffure flourished during the latter part of the fourth century. The Metropolitan figure just cited also ties in with others of its type,<sup>99</sup> and with the way in which our No. 19 lifts the drapery with the left hand. Thus we find close interrelations between figures which wear the same type of melon coiffure. The single phases of the variants of coiffure do not seem to have had a very long life, probably not more than twenty or thirty years.

The second phase of the melon coiffure, in which the plaits at the back of the head have lost the nature of a coil and assumed that of a bun, is presumably to be dated early in the third century B.C., on the evidence of an example from Corinth and of others from Chatby.<sup>100</sup> The bun turns into a knot fairly early in the third century and becomes the best known form of melon coiffure, of which innumerable examples exist from all over the Greek world.<sup>101</sup> Its subsequent history will be treated in later articles.

The moulds for standing draped types of women from the Coroplast's Dump are mostly too fragmentary to be of interest. None shows a "Tanagra type." The moulds for female heads (Nos. 35-36) show that these heads were modelled in the same mould with the figure instead of separately as on more elaborate pieces. The curious "Directoire" curls projecting from the back of the head on No. 36 find parallels only on a group of ambitious figures of which the Girl with the Duck is the most famous.<sup>102</sup> It is perhaps significant of the close stylistic interrelations of these pieces with our mould and with Metropolitan Museum 07.286.31 (Pl. 35) that several also incline

<sup>97</sup> Metropolitan Museum Inv. 06. 1138 (H. 0.182 m.).

<sup>98</sup> T 1214 from Section Γ, Well I, dated by a kantharos and loomweight as close to the time of the Demeter Cistern, that is, at the very end of the fourth century B.C. I owe this dating to Lucy Talcott.

<sup>99</sup> *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 431, figs. 21-22; Kleiner, pl. 2, p. 52.

<sup>100</sup> *Corinth*, XII, pl. 23, No. 268: the deposit was dated by three coins, ranging from 300-243 B.C.; *Sciatbi*, pl. XXI, No. 26 (a stele), pl. XLII, 154 (No. 350), pl. LXV, 167, 169 ff. (Nos. 155, 368) (figurines). Cf. above undated specimen, probably from Athens, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 431, figs. 21 f.

<sup>101</sup> E. g. Züchner, *Gr. Klappspiegel*, figs. 108-112; for others, see Kleiner, p. 15 and notes on p. 271.

<sup>102</sup> *TK II*, p. 7, 5 and 7. Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 72, which is related to Breitenstein, *Terracottas of the Danish Nat. Mus.*, pl. 75, No. 609 with full bibliography of the related group. Cf. Kleiner, p. 168, who dates the group in the mid third century, which appears to me too late; see *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 443 f.



the head markedly and wear the sleeve cords, which have a brief popularity at the very end of the fourth century.<sup>103</sup>

#### FEMALE FIGURES: SEATED, DRAPED: NOS. 37-42

The seated female figures in our deposit are all miniatures. Two (Nos. 37-38) are among the tiniest figures made, even smaller than others of this ancient type. Originally it represented a goddess or votary with her hand to her breast. A few of these degenerate miniatures of the old line continued to be made in the fourth century.<sup>104</sup> No. 39 is a descendant of an old type that Furtwängler identified on good grounds as mourning women, who are sometimes shown seated by grave stelai.<sup>105</sup> Our example represents an old woman, almost in caricature. The motive of the crossed legs, though it occurs earlier, became very popular in the latter part of the fourth century.<sup>106</sup>

The moulds for seated women lead us farther back in time. The earliest, and actually one of the oldest types in our deposit, is No. 40, which represents the head and upper part of a seated woman. Similar figures from Olynthos probably date early in the fourth century.<sup>107</sup> The rounded mass of wavy hair that surrounds the face is a coiffure that was popular early in the century at Corinth, Athens, Olynthos, and elsewhere.<sup>108</sup> The mould for the back of a seated woman and child (No. 41) is the prototype for more elaborate groups composed of a woman and child, often treated as Eros, in complicated positions.<sup>109</sup> The only mould for a miniature, No. 42, represents a seated lady wrapped in her himation, which is drawn up over her peaked hair and across the lower part of her face. It is extremely small and delicately modelled in the spirit that we have defined as "Tanagraic." The taut drapery across the arm, the deep folds between the legs, the careful rendering of the face are all in the best "Tanagra" manner. Yet there seem to be no parallels from Tanagra; only echoes

<sup>103</sup> I base much of my understanding of this group on an unpublished study by Mrs. Stillwell, which she generously shared with me.

<sup>104</sup> *TK* I, p. 86, 1-4 (early examples); cf. II, p. 108, 6; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXXXVI, E 21, from a Corinthian well of the period ca. 300 B.C. (H. 0.061 m.).

<sup>105</sup> *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pls. XV-XVII; cf. *TK* II, p. 108, 7; Heuzey, *Terres cuites de Louvre*, pl. 28, 4. These figures might possibly represent women fasting, sitting on the ground during the Thesmophoria, cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 56 and note 8.

<sup>106</sup> Züchner, *Gr. Klappspiegel*, p. 17, figs. 3-4, KS 18-19. Züchner remarks that crossed legs are a common motive by the end of the fourth century B.C. But it often occurs earlier, as, for example, on the Sarcophagus of Mourners and on certain figurines of actors, see below p. 142. Crossed legs are also common on reliefs of ca. 330-320 B.C. (Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, pl. 22) in a more relaxed form than on the figures mentioned above.

<sup>107</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 29, Nos. 229-236.

<sup>108</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 34, Nos. 36-39; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 142, fig. 57, No. 42; *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 48, Nos. 384-385.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. *TK* II, p. 200, 2 and 6, developing to those types shown on p. 201.

of the type exist.<sup>110</sup> This piece seems to derive from a tradition apart. The close muffling may indicate that the figure is an initiate.

This is the mould that we previously noted as of an earlier technique than most of its fellows.<sup>111</sup> It may possibly be explained by comparing the delicate scale and modelling with similar work on plastic reliefs and lekythoi, which seem much more closely related to metal work than do the small votive terracottas.<sup>112</sup> The possibility of a new relation springing up between the coroplast and the metal-worker of this period must be considered in another place.

An interesting descendant of this type of simple seated muffled figure has been found in an early second century deposit on the North Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>113</sup> Untouched by any feeling or delicacy such as distinguish our piece, this last representative of a long line comes from a dull mould, apparently derived from one like that we are considering. The history of the type, like that of the one we have just discussed, is the story of a slow degeneration of unchanging features over a period of about 200 years.

#### COMIC FIGURES: ACTORS: NOS. 43-47

Subjects drawn from the comic stage are prominent in the deposit. Two belong to types that are commonly associated with Old Comedy, but actually the terracottas are not popular until Old Comedy has died out. The first, No. 43, represents a slave dressed in travelling costume, wearing a *pilos* and carrying, slung round his neck, an oval basket and a flat-bodied canteen or *askos*. Others of this type also bear a huge roll slung behind their shoulders, of which an unattached example survives in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 71).<sup>114</sup> We can see the details of the accoutrement from clearer impressions, possibly from the same mould, in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale (Pl. 38).<sup>115</sup> Thus Xanthias must have looked as he carried the *stromata*, about which he was everlastingly groaning on his journey to the underworld.<sup>116</sup> No. 44 is of the same old tradition, of equal scale and dull impression. Both belong to the type of actor most popular at Olynthos.<sup>117</sup> Our second example shades

<sup>110</sup> TK II, p. 108 for the general type.

<sup>111</sup> See above p. 125.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 313 f.; F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>113</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 210, fig. 14c (H. ca. 0.05 m.).

<sup>114</sup> TK II, p. 414, 4; cf. 5 and p. 415.

<sup>115</sup> *Brit. Mus. Cat.* C 238 (H. 0.086 m.). Bought in Athens in 1880. Solid. Clay brownish; might be Boeotian. The photograph is by the courtesy of R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, No. 157. H. (restored) ca. 0.09 m. Clay light yellow; could be Attic. Solid. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of M. Babelon and the Bibliothèque nationale.

<sup>116</sup> Aristophanes, *Ran.*, 165 and *passim*.

<sup>117</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, No. 297.



his eyes with his hand as he gazes into the distance.<sup>118</sup> This is the attitude taken by a performer in the *Skops*, the horned-owl dance mentioned by Aeschylus.<sup>119</sup> It has been variously described by the lexicographers, but by far the best elucidation of our type is given by Athenaeus:<sup>120</sup> "The *Skops* is a figure (of the dance) in which men look away with the tips of the fingers arched over the forehead." It is easy to imagine a scene in comedy, as in *Alice in the Looking-Glass*, in which a slave would look off stage and humorously describe the coming visitor in parody of tragedy.

These two pieces wear the costume that appears to be that of Old Comedy.<sup>121</sup> It consists of a short, close-fitting jerkin, showing a large *phallos*; the hair is left plain or a pointed cap, the *pilos*, is worn. The mask has a long, sharply-pointed beard (*σφηνηπώγων*) below a broad, grinning mouth, of which the opening is only a wide slit. The deep-set eyes are rather small.

In the following examples (Nos. 45, a-d), though the costume remains the same, the mask differs markedly. The hair rises around the face in a thick roll, known as the *σπείρα*; the brows are arched sharply above the popping eyes; the beard is rounded, forming the rim of a large, gaping mouth, which is shaped like a megaphone. All this is considered by Dr. Bieber as the costume of Middle Comedy.<sup>122</sup> It still shows the *phallos*, but in other respects it approaches the costume of New Comedy. We have in our deposit, therefore, an interesting combination of both early and later types, indicating that this is a period of transition.

Our four fragments from the same or very similar moulds (Nos. 45 a-d) are on a slightly larger scale than Nos. 43-44. Their type is that of the seated slave. The upper parts are certainly to be related to the lower parts (Nos. 46-47), none of which, unfortunately joins. Together they make up a type of which the British Museum possesses a well-preserved example (Pl. 38).<sup>123</sup> The slave has evidently fled to the household altar for refuge, to nurse his ear, which has just been boxed. The impudent

<sup>118</sup> TK II, p. 418, 1 and 2.

<sup>119</sup> Aeschylus, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* (Nauck, 2nd edition), 26.

<sup>120</sup> *Deipnosophists*, XIV, 629 f., ἦν δὲ ὁ σκῶψ τῶν ἀποσκοπούντων τι σχῆμα ἄκρα τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων. Cf. Pollux, IV, 103; Hesychius, s. v. ὑπόσκοπον χέρα. F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, Halle, 1926, p. 90.

<sup>121</sup> M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920 (hereafter *Theaterwesen*), p. 135, pl. 73, 4.

<sup>122</sup> M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Princeton, 1939 (hereafter, *History*), p. 86; cf. T. B. L. Webster, "South Italian Vases and Attic Drama," *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 19 f. suggests that the shift to the more modest costume of New Comedy may be connected with the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317 B.C.

<sup>123</sup> Brit. Mus. Cat. C 90. Bought in Athens; marked "Peiraeus, 1868;" H. 0.12 m. Orange-yellow clay; could be Attic, but unlike the fabric of the Coroplast's Dump. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum. The type is shown TK II, p. 418, 9. Examples have been found at Tanagra. Cf. A. Körte, "Archäologische Studien zur alten Komödie," *Jahrb.* VIII, 1893, p. 82, fig. 6, Nos. 59-62. H. Luschey, "Komödien-Masken," *Ganymed*, Heidelberger Beiträge zur antiken Kunst, Heidelberg, 1942, pp. 71 f.

slave, enjoying the immunity of the altar, was a very popular type even into Roman times; ours are among the earliest examples. The later developments are numerous and delightfully varied.<sup>124</sup>

Enough evidence is now at hand to indicate the typological development of actor statuettes through the fourth century. The technique and style of our earlier examples (Nos. 43-44) clearly belongs to an earlier stage than the other group. We can safely assume, then, since, as we pointed out, this is the type most common at Olynthos, that it is a creation of the first half of the fourth century. Just when did the new type come in?

In general, the Olynthos type of mask is transitional between the earliest and the intermediate types. The *speira* and the pop-eyes occur, but the beard is still pointed and the mouth is only partially open. An approximation of the megaphone type of beard appears on a bronze statuette, which, however, is not yet the fixed New Comedy type.<sup>124a</sup> Evidently at the middle of the century, the mask was undergoing a change, which we find a little more advanced in our Coroplast's Dump.

A number of moulds for actors' heads were found in a deposit in Corinth which dates *ca.* 350-325 B.C.<sup>125</sup> These are predominantly of the earlier type, but one mould found among them for a figurine of an actor shows the megaphone type of beard.<sup>126</sup> Masks of a somewhat transitional character appear in a group at Halai that falls into the period *ca.* 390-350 B.C.<sup>127</sup> These are typologically earlier than the masks found on the Pnyx in the deposit of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>128</sup> This dating is confirmed by a group of actors in the Metropolitan Museum, said to come from a grave in Athens, of which the types show the wedged-shaped beards with grinning, but not gaping mouths and a modest *speira*. The group can be closely dated by a series of interlocking parallels close to the middle of the fourth century.<sup>129</sup>

All this evidence, then, indicates that our small early actors (Nos. 43-44) date in the early part of the fourth century, probably *ca.* 375 B.C., that the Metropolitan group and its affiliates must fall within the period 360-340 B.C., and that our Nos. 45 and others with the new type of mask must come slightly later, *ca.* 330 B.C.

This sequence is interesting in connection with the development of the drama

<sup>124</sup> TK II, pp. 418 f. Bieber, *History*, figs. 209, 210, 416, etc.

<sup>124a</sup> *Olynthos*, X, pl. I, No. 1.

<sup>125</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pls. 35-36, Nos. 43-47.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 50.

<sup>127</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXIII.

<sup>128</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 149, fig. 62, Nos. 71, 75.

<sup>129</sup> Bieber, *History*, pp. 85 ff., figs. 122-135. *Met. Mus. Bull.*, IX, 1914, p. 235. Webster, *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 20 f. Princeton Art Museum, *The Theatre in Ancient Art*, Princeton, 1951, Nos. 14-27. I had the privilege of examining this group, both at Princeton, when they were on loan there, and in the Metropolitan Museum, by the courtesy of the curators of both Museums, Miss Jones and Miss Alexander. The group presents a most interesting combination of stylistic unity and technical disparity; it should be studied in detail.



during this period.<sup>130</sup> Much of the ribald spirit of Old Comedy seems to have lingered on through the rather uninventive stage called Middle Comedy. Then just as New Comedy was beginning, *ca.* 330 B.C., new masks and types come in.<sup>131</sup> The change of mask type may also probably be associated with the enlargement of the auditorium of the theatre under Lykurgus.<sup>132</sup> For an audience numbering 14,000 or more, now seated in orderly and fairly roomy quarters upon built seats, a mask that threw the voice like a megaphone would obviously soon be developed. This type, once established in Athens, undoubtedly spread over the Greek world; an example dating *ca.* 325 B.C. from Corinth would be perfectly in order. It looks indeed, as though innovations and new styles now found an immediate response in contemporary crafts, which once had heeded only the voice of tradition.

Tradition, however, even at this time evidently still held firm the various forms at various stages. That is, at any one time, the mask type for young or old men and women, slaves, gods, etc., was clear-cut and consistently followed. The changes came slowly until the new megaphone mouth was invented. The beard slowly grows less sharp; the hair grows thicker; the characterization becomes more defined. But apparently the fourth century did not develop the individual characterization of the types as described by Pollux (*Onom.* IV, 143 f.). Evidently the Hellenistic repertory took old and new traditions and differentiated between the various types in order to characterize the different old men and slaves in the large casts. It seems at present to be impossible to assign a Hellenistic mask to any one period on the evidence of the type of face alone. A good example of this difficulty can be seen in the figure of an actor as a soldier or traveller, which wears the wedge-shaped beard and the *pilos* of Old Comedy, but which we know from its technique and from the signature of its coroplast, Nikostratos, was made no earlier than the end of the second century B.C.<sup>133</sup>

#### PROPHYLACTIC FIGURES: NOS. 48-50

A group of small, poorly made votives holds considerable interest. They are so bent and technically poor that they may be discarded (No. 48, **a-d**). This is a type

<sup>130</sup> Luschey, *Ganymed*, pp. 76 ff. traces the general development of the mask, without giving such specific dating as is now made possible by our evidence, but without glaring discrepancies with our conclusions. A different approach is made by T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of Greek Comedy," *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII, 1948, pp. 97 ff., who attempts to identify the types mentioned by Pollux with extant vase-paintings and terracottas. He admits that the evidence before New Comedy is hazardous. It is certainly true that even in the fourth century examples, the types do vary, but so far as I can see, the variation seems to be temporal rather than for purposes of characterization, except in such clear-cut cases as the mask of Herakles, men and women, age and so on. There seems to me very little difference in the masks of the Metropolitan group mentioned above.

<sup>131</sup> Bieber, *History*, p. 86.

<sup>132</sup> A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysos in Athens*, Oxford, 1946, pp. 136 ff.

<sup>133</sup> D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, p. 6; Kleiner, p. 247.

now known from the finer specimen from the Pnyx.<sup>134</sup> The presence of the herm shows that the group had a Dionysiac connection.<sup>135</sup> Another fragment of this type has been found in the Agora<sup>136</sup> and an unpublished example is in the Chalkis Museum.<sup>137</sup> The type is descended from an archaic ancestor, with surprisingly few variations.<sup>138</sup> The parallels for our group, from Olynthos<sup>139</sup> and the Pnyx, show that the type was at the height of its popularity in the middle of the fourth century B.C. The small herms found with our groups presumably are to be closely connected with them (Nos. 49 a and b and an uncatalogued example).

A sizeable but carelessly made mould (No. 50) presents a subject which is unexpected at this period, an hermaphrodite *sese ostendens*. Perdrizet, in a full analysis of the hermaphrodite type, shows that it became a concept, artistic rather than realistic, during the fourth century.<sup>140</sup> The first artistic form seems to have been derived from that of Priapos; indeed, our mould might represent Priapos himself. But it is remarkably close to a type of hermaphrodite that was popular somewhat later in Alexandria.<sup>141</sup> The examples from Chatby and Hadra can scarcely be so early as our mould. The fertility cults naturally occupied themselves with such concepts; the cult of Kybele seems at Chatby to have been the centre of this particular conception.<sup>142</sup> Our piece, so far as I know, is a rare subject in clay on the Greek mainland;<sup>143</sup> later, many variants were developed all over the Mediterranean.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>134</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, No. 87, pp. 124 ff., fig. 65, with bibliography on the type. Add also an unpublished example in the Louvre.

<sup>135</sup> H. Goldman, "The Origin of the Greek Herm," *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 58 ff. For the polos on the heads of the herms, cf. those on Priapos in Egypt, Breccia, *Monuments*, II, pl. CIV, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>136</sup> T 621, P. H. 0.033 m. Soft buff clay; style and type exactly like those from the Coroplast's Dump. From a late Roman filling south of the Middle Stoa.

<sup>137</sup> Chalkis Museum Inv. 806, unpublished so far as I know.

<sup>138</sup> See above note 134.

<sup>139</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 58, No. 406, a plastic vase. The position of the legs on our examples, reducing the emphasis on the phallos, and the fact that the figure and the herm were moulded separately and set on a plaque base all point to a date slightly later than that of the Olynthos and Pnyx pieces.

<sup>140</sup> P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Paris, 1911, pp. 6 ff., pls. II-III. Cf. Kleiner, p. 53 and notes with bibliography. The first mention of the name Hermaphroditos, occurs in Theophrastos, *Characters*, XXVIII, 26 (Jebb), written ca. 325-320 B.C. For ithyphallic figures in general, B. Hemberg, *Die Kabeiroi*, Uppsala, 1950, pp. 266 ff.; for the Kabeiroi in particular, pp. 283 f.

<sup>141</sup> Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. 75, 239 (No. 490); *Monuments*, I, pl. XLVII, 15, (No. 153) from Hadra.

<sup>142</sup> The piece mentioned in the preceding note was found in a grave along with the figure of a musician in Phrygian costume, which suggests an association with the cult of Kybele.

<sup>143</sup> Another hermaphrodite was found in a late second to early first century B.C. context in the Agora, a crude piece, T 3002 (P. H. 0.065 m.).

<sup>144</sup> T. Schreiber, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, 2, pl. XLIII; Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, pl. XV, No. 86.



PROTOMES, MASKS ETC.: Nos. 51-56

Detached heads or busts, in the fourth as in the fifth century, are usually treated as plastic vases. Our No. 51 and fragments from similar pieces are peculiar in being, protomes like busts, finished off below the shoulders. This form, though rare, does occur during the fourth and third centuries.<sup>145</sup> Both plastic vases and busts usually represent a goddess of nature and fertility, Demeter, Kore,<sup>1</sup> or Aphrodite.<sup>146</sup>

The closest parallels to our Agora examples are those from Olynthos.<sup>147</sup> They too show the same severe features, the hair brushed back from the face to hang in long curls on the shoulders and the rosettes on a cap or band around the face. These rosettes seem to take the place of the tendrils and floral ornaments which always surround the goddess in painting or relief. Over the forehead of No. 51 is a peculiar ornament, like a bud or fruit between two leaves, which resembles one from Olynthos and another from the distant sanctuary at Sele in South Italy.<sup>148</sup> Possibly this ornament is derived from the Egyptian lotos-bud or lotos-fruit, which became excessively popular later in Graeco-Roman Egypt.<sup>149</sup> It had long been regarded as the emblem of immortality. On the evidence of the Phrygian cap worn by an Olynthian specimen, Robinson suggests the identification of the goddess with Artemis Bendis.<sup>150</sup> But she might well also be Kybele. Other busts follow the same type without any definite indication of the deity intended.<sup>151</sup> The type shows such hieratic conservatism that it is difficult to date exactly.<sup>152</sup> The excellent condition of our piece, however, on which

<sup>145</sup> For the origin and variations of the bust type see P. Knoblauch, *Studien über archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, Nieft, Bleicherode am Harz, 1937, pp. 167 ff.; *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 354 f.

<sup>146</sup> General discussion: E. Jastrow, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 73 ff. For the lekythoi, which seem to represent Aphrodite, G. Treu, *35tes Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1875, pl. I; C. R. 1870-1871, pl. I, 3 (dated ca. 380 B.C. by Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 71). Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 354, fig. 9. For similar heads, cf. Marshall, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, pl. XLII, Nos. 2169 ff.

<sup>147</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 18, Nos. 149 ff.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 18, No. 156. *Mon. Ant.*, VII, 1897, pp. 247 f. (Kore); *Not. Scavi*, XIII, 1937, p. 226, fig. 13 (Hera). I owe my acquaintance with the closest piece from Sele to Dr. Paola Zancani-Montuoro, who kindly sent me a drawing, as she was unable to photograph the figure on account of war conditions. One leaf and a sort of pyramidal bud remain, on the head of a nude seated female "doll."

<sup>149</sup> For a discussion of this symbol, Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, p. 28; *Bronzes Fouquet*, p. 30.

<sup>150</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pp. 42 ff.

<sup>151</sup> Particularly in the later examples cited in the following note.

<sup>152</sup> A series may be indicated beginning with the humanized bust of the masks of the late fourth century from Ithaka, *B.S.A.*, XXXIX, 1938-1939, pl. 20, No. 58. Other examples: *Bulletin Verecing.-ant. Beschaving*, IV, 1 1929, p. 17, fig. 9 (fourth century); A. Adriani, *Annuaire du musée gréco-romain*, 1939, pl. XLVIII, 1 (third century); Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, pl. IX, 2 (third to second century); *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 218, fig. 26 (dated by Pharmakowsky in the Roman period).

even the back and such fragile details as the rosettes are well preserved, certainly indicates that it must fall after the middle of the century, probably close to 330 B.C.

Other fragments from protomes and masks represent the goddess in a more common form (Nos. 52-54). An admirable series of these masks from Halai and Olynthos<sup>153</sup> show that they were losing their popularity by the middle of the century. No. 52, **a** and **b** come from a sizeable mask, wearing puffy waves of hair incised with small lines and a veil that hangs down on the shoulders. This follows a fifth century type well preserved at Halai and Olynthos.<sup>154</sup> A similar piece of veil comes from a Corinthian mask of the third quarter of the fourth century.<sup>155</sup> No. 54 wears a polos decorated with relief palmettes, as on examples from Olynthos.<sup>156</sup>

A mould fragment (No. 55) evidently was made for a large mask, of which the heavy-lidded eye, with its steep inner corner, belongs to fifth century canons. It is on a much bigger scale than the other masks from the deposit.<sup>157</sup> These facts, taken in conjunction with its worn condition, place it earlier in our group. Very possibly it even survives from the fifth century.

Another mould gives us a Gorgoneion (No. 56). It shows the modified type, not so horrific as the archaic. It still extends the tongue;<sup>158</sup> snakes appear to be tied under the chin as on a gold plate from harness in a South Russian tomb of "ca. 300 B.C."<sup>159</sup> But it is not so human as the tongueless plaster heads from sarcophagi of the third century from Russia and others from Alexandria.<sup>160</sup> Technically, the mould belongs to our earlier group in the cistern, but the humanized character of the type cannot be very early; we must probably date it around the middle of the century.

#### ANIMALS: Nos. 57-61.

Animal figures are rare in the deposit, nor do two examples of any one type occur. Fragments of a bovine creature (No. 57) are fairly well modelled, especially the head of a calf or heifer. Scraps of a similar subject from Olynthos are simpler in style.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>153</sup> For a recent discussion of protomes, H. R. W. Smith, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 353 ff. Halai: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 380 ff.; *Olynthus*, IV and VII, pls. 1 ff.

<sup>154</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XVI, type IV-a-10, p. 384; *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 12, No. 66; pl. 14, No. 93; pl. 22, No. 240, etc.

<sup>155</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 32, No. 28. Other masks from Corinth will be published shortly in *Corinth*, XV, ii.

<sup>156</sup> *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 27, Nos. 297-8.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. the early large masks, *Olynthus*, IV and VII, pls. 1 ff.

<sup>158</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Gorgonen, cols. 1718 ff., middle type, which Furtwängler dated mid fifth to fourth centuries.

<sup>159</sup> E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 168, fig. 59.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 372, fig. 274; Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXIX, 256 f.

<sup>161</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 41, Nos. 340, 344.



Closer is the rendering of a bull-calf on a gem,<sup>162</sup> which shows the same flat treatment of the eye and the muzzle set clearly off from the rest of the head; it is dated in the late fifth century B.C. The style and fabric of our piece tend to place it fairly early in our deposit.

A mould for a reclining dog (No. 58) is unusual. The animal lies extended with his head resting on his forepaws. His mane is so thick that his nose and eye are just barely visible in profile at the extreme left. Body hair and haunch are carefully modelled. The tail is very thick also and seems as large as the head, which is decidedly blunt. This type of dog—one can hardly call it a breed—seems too heavy for the house-dog most popular in antiquity, the Spitz, but it is more like that of the farm-dog, described by Columella as having a large head, shaggy mane, hairy body, and drooping rather than prick ears.<sup>163</sup>

A mould of the back of a seated ape (No. 59) is larger and more carefully modelled than the figures of squatting apes of earlier times.<sup>164</sup> This piece, on which the hair is indicated, most closely resembles the tailless baboon, which is often shown among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas.<sup>165</sup> It is an animal form of Thoth which is presented in this squatting position, sometimes even clothed.<sup>166</sup> I am aware of no comparable examples from Greece. After a full study of the ape in antiquity, McDermott came to the conclusion that the ape had no mythological implications for the Greeks, but was merely a comic subject without religious significance.<sup>167</sup> Apes were favorite pets at the time of Theophrastos.<sup>168</sup> The close resemblance of our mould to Egyptian types, however, may well point to a cult connection.

The little hand-made bird (No. 60) belongs to a class of which a number was found in the Agora in what seems to be a sanctuary deposit of the late fourth to third century B.C.<sup>169</sup> Better examples from Corinth date in the fifth century; one from Halai would seem to fall in about the same period as ours, though it is larger and more carefully modelled.<sup>170</sup>

The mould for a shell (No. 61) is approximately on the same scale as a terra-

<sup>162</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1930, pl. XXXIII, fig. 99, dated in the late fifth century.

<sup>163</sup> O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, I, pp. 115 ff., fig. 44; Columella, VII, 12.

<sup>164</sup> *TK* I, p. 225; W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 162 ff.; *Lindos*, I, pl. 113, Nos. 2391-2, the fifth century version with worked backs. Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 38, No. 314.

<sup>165</sup> Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt*, I, pp. 7 ff.; Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, p. 145, pl. LIII, Nos. 389-392; cf. pl. XXXIII, No. 92.

<sup>166</sup> Breccia, *Monuments*, I, pl. XLIX, 13 (No. 166).

<sup>167</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 156 f.

<sup>168</sup> Theophrastos, *Characters*, (Jebb), VII, 15, p. 64.

<sup>169</sup> Section X, 73 / M, T 1366-69.

<sup>170</sup> *Corinth*, XII, No. 66, pl. 5; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 475, No. 69.

cotta shell which was found in a late fifth century deposit in the Agora (Pl. 41).<sup>171</sup> Both represent a mollusk of the type that the Greeks called κτείς or κτέμιον from its resemblance to a comb.<sup>172</sup> The mollusk was considered a delicacy, as are scallops to-day. The attractive shell, both natural and imitated, was much used as a decorative and symbolic motive, signifying immortality.<sup>173</sup>

One of the most popular of shell designs in clay comes of the association of Aphrodite with the sea. According to well-known legends, she was born of the sea foam; later versions derive her from the shell itself.<sup>174</sup> The Agora examples were presumably made for figurines and lekythoi, which were used as perfume vessels during the fourth century, rendering the legend in the round for the delight of the ladies. On a base representing the sea waves, these lekythoi open the valves of a shell like a diptych, to reveal the charms of the goddess, Aphrodite.<sup>175</sup> The most elaborate example of this conceit, from the Taman peninsula, is dated by Schefold *ca.* 380 B.C.,<sup>176</sup> a dating that fits well enough with that of the pieces from the Agora.

The two Agora examples, however, are not exactly alike. The fifth century piece is a faithful copy of a genuine shell (very possibly from a mould made by pressing a shell directly into clay); whereas our example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 61) shows a peculiarity, namely, that the plications do not fan out from the beak, but run almost parallel to each other. It is irregular in the grooves and summarily treated at the edges. As these details are not characteristic of natural formation, we must conclude that this mould was made free-hand by a coroplast whose knowledge of conchology was sketchy.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>171</sup> T 1529. P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 339, No. 120, pl. 99 (H. 0.098 m.). An Agora specimen from a context of the late second century is very crude and really large (T 2237; P. L. 0.22 m.; P. W. 0.23 m.).

<sup>172</sup> Athenaeus, III, 86 C gives a full account of the edibility of shell-fish. The modern classification, Pectinidae, retains the ancient analogy with a comb. Our examples are, however, not strictly of this class, according to Dr. Madeleine Fritz of the Royal Ontario Museum of Palaeontology in Toronto. Dr. Fritz kindly examined photographs of our terracottas and said that they resembled Pelecypods with non-plicated wings.

<sup>173</sup> C. Picard, *Rev. arch.* XIII, 1939, I, pp. 136 f., p. 267; II, p. 79; M. Bratschkova, "Die Muschel in der antiken Kunst," *Bull. de l'Institut arch. bulgare*, XII, 1938, pp. 1 ff. with full bibliography of the abundant earlier literature.

<sup>174</sup> Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt*, II, pp. 560 f.; W. Déonna, *Rev. arch.*, VI, 1917, pp. 393 ff.; *Olynthus*, XI, p. 199; Bratschkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>175</sup> Bratschkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff. for a full catalogue of vases and statuettes portraying this theme. *TK* II, pp. 202 ff.; *Olynthus*, V, pp. 123 f., No. 144, pl. LXXXIX. (*Ca.* 370 B.C.)

<sup>176</sup> *C.R.*, 1870-71, pl. I; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 71.

<sup>177</sup> Although Dr. Fritz admitted the possibility that a shell unknown to her might be represented, the balance of probability is in favor of poor modelling on the part of the coroplast as the explanation of the peculiarity. I am indebted to Miss Barabara Philippaki for checking details in Athens for me.



## MISCELLANEOUS VOTIVES: Nos. 62-73

At a sanctuary numerous small votives were often dedicated, of which the significance remains obscure. In this deposit a surprisingly large number of miniature objects appeared, looking like children's toys rather than serious adult offerings.

The tiny pointed hat or *pilos* (No. 62) is clearly rendered with its steep back and longer front, just as it is shown on the vase-paintings.<sup>178</sup> This is the felt cap of the workman, the sign manual of the laboring classes, but worn also for convenience by hunters and travellers.<sup>179</sup> Thus it was popular with the Dioskouroi and came to be their symbol, often shown separately on coins.<sup>180</sup> So far as I am aware, the *pilos* is not a common dedication, although one has been found at Corinth.<sup>181</sup> Ours may be a dedicatory offering to the Dioskouroi, or intended to be put on a figurine.

Possibly also connected with the Dioskouroi are the knuckle-bones (No. 63 and unpublished examples), the favorite playthings of those typical Greek ephebes.<sup>182</sup> These *astragaloi* are usually the natural bones of sheep or goats, but they are sometimes imitated in bronze, glass, ivory, and even, like ours, in clay. That they were dedicated for good luck or even for foretelling the future would make the coroplast naturally include them in his stock.

Possibly the small clay disks (Nos. 64-65 and an unpublished example) are to be connected also with games of chance.<sup>183</sup> They are neat little counters; possibly they are differentiated from each other by the ridge across the centre in two, which does not appear on the third. We might identify them as *πέσσοι*.<sup>184</sup>

The tiny pestle (No. 66) is an attractive miniature of a common instrument. In type, with its pointed handle in the shape of a finger, it resembles one from Lindos, which was inscribed with the owner's name.<sup>185</sup> Similar clay votive pestles have been found in the Corinthian Kerameikos,<sup>186</sup> and the stone originals are numerous all over the Greek world.<sup>187</sup> Such small examples were probably used to grind herbs or paint.

<sup>178</sup> E. g. G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, New Haven, 1946, fig. 53.

<sup>179</sup> Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Pileus, p. 480.

<sup>180</sup> Roscher, *Lexicon*, *s. v.* Dioskuren, cols. 1154 ff., particularly 1172.

<sup>181</sup> *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 52, No. XXXVII-65.

<sup>182</sup> Roscher, *loc. cit.*, col. 1174. For full bibliography, *Olynthus*, X, pp. 503 ff.; XI, pp. 197 ff.; a clay example, VII, pl. 47, No. 376. Cf. *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 332 f. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 340, No. 134, five fifth century examples from the Agora.

<sup>183</sup> Clay disks, also probably game counters, have been found in many periods; e. g. the Geometric and Proto-Attic examples from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603.

<sup>184</sup> These disks might represent sacrificial cakes, *πόπανα*, cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 285. But the ridge on top is hardly suitable for a cake.

<sup>185</sup> *Lindos*, I, pl. 152, No. 3229.

<sup>186</sup> *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. XXXVII, Nos. 26-29.

<sup>187</sup> For full bibliography, *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 117 f., pl. XLVII, Nos. 347 ff. H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 387, No. 4. Unpublished Agora examples: ST 347, ST 405, ST 462. None of these is of the fourth century, but all are later. L. varies from 0.08 m. to 0.14 m.

The lion's foot support (No. 67) may come from a miniature mortar to accompany the pestle. Its scheme is closest, however, to that of the foot-bath, *ποδανίπτηρ*.<sup>188</sup>

The footstools (Nos. 68 and an unpublished example T 1789) are of the type that are placed beneath thrones. They show the moulded animal feet and cross-bracings characteristic of footstools.<sup>189</sup> This type of stool was frequently used as a base for the veiled dancing figures which were very popular during the early fourth century.<sup>190</sup> Our pieces seem to belong to this category because they have clearly been made separately and never set under the feet of women seated on a throne. The breaks on our examples, suggest figures of the type of those in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on which veiled dancers are pirouetting.<sup>191</sup> No fragments from dancing figures of this type, however, have survived from the Coroplast's Dump.<sup>192</sup>

The small columns (No. 69 and an unpublished example, T 1782) are presumably discards of unused supports for leaning figures, which were coming into favor at this time. It is noteworthy that the top fillet of the scotia is set back of the projection of the torus above, unlike the normal Greek form of Attic base in which the scotia projects beyond the upper torus. The form used here occurs regularly later in Italy, but only very rarely in Greece.<sup>193</sup>

It is interesting to note a fragment of stippled roll, probably representing a thick woolen fillet or wreath (No. 70) of the type that becomes immensely popular in Hellenistic times. A few examples occur at Olynthos.<sup>194</sup>

An amusing object (No. 71) appears to be a blanket roll, tied firmly around its centre for convenience in carrying. Such rolls appear slung over the shoulders of soldiers and travellers, the inevitable *stromata*, to which Aristophanes loves to allude.<sup>195</sup>

Of the miscellaneous moulds the only interesting examples are two: one for an almond (No. 72) and the other for a tripod (No. 73). The almond was a popular nut in antiquity. Since cosmetic oil was made from it, the shell formed a suitable shape for small lekythoi to contain perfumed oil.<sup>196</sup> Our piece is merely a tiny votive.

<sup>188</sup> M. J. Milne, *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1944, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>189</sup> G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 72 f., type b, figs. 41-43.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. *TK* II, p. 145, 2 and 3; p. 146, 5 and 8, etc.

<sup>191</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 376, fig. 3.

<sup>192</sup> But compare the fragments from the contemporary deposit on the Pnyx; their condition suggests that they were old pieces at this time, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, fig. 55, Nos. 28-29.

<sup>193</sup> E. G. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Terrakotten*, II, pl. 66. L. T. Shoe has kindly provided the architectural comment.

<sup>194</sup> E. g. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 39, No. 36; pl. 46, No. 404; pl. 51, No. 410.

<sup>195</sup> Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, pl. 71 (early fourth century); pl. 73 c (later fourth century); pl. 72 c (by the coroplast, Nikostratos, second century B.C.), cf. pl. 83, pp. 134 f.

<sup>196</sup> A much better Agora mould, T 1297, shows the type. It too dates from the fourth century. Athenaeus, II, 67 B and 52 C ff. Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, p. 229, fig. 31. G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, I, Berlin, 1940, pl. 17, 1, p. 92. J. D. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XLI, 1930, p. 14, note 2.



The mould for a tripod stand, also miniature, is not a common type. Votive tripods were frequently made in bronze, though clay examples do occur, even as early as the seventh century.<sup>197</sup> Tripods were dedicated to many gods, not exclusively to Apollo.<sup>198</sup>

#### PLAQUES: NOS. 74-78

The hang-hole on No. 74 b indicates that this type should be classified as a plaque although the back is very rough. The female figure wearing a polos and a long veil may represent a goddess or a votary; it is impossible to determine. The original mould would seem to have followed an old hieratic tradition, but no identical type is known to me.<sup>199</sup>

No. 75 is even more difficult to interpret. It shows two upright panels crossed by two (possibly three) horizontals (or vice versa). The lower cross-band, as shown in the photograph, is slightly wider than the other bands. The relief suggests the panelling of a door or throne, but I know of no parallels. Another possible explanation is that it represents the *δόκανα* of the Dioskouroi, certain curious horizontal and vertical beams that symbolized, according to Plutarch, the close ties of their brotherhood.<sup>200</sup> Too little of our plaque is preserved to permit of certain identification.

A bit of curved relief showing two petals of a palmette (No. 76) comes from a mould similar to No. 77, although not from that mould itself. The type of circular mould covered with palmette designs is Corinthian.<sup>201</sup> Corinth manufactured and exported many; one bears a Medusa head in the centre.<sup>202</sup> They evidently served as cheap substitutes for *à jour* reliefs in bronze, apparently solely for decoration. This is an interesting instance of the importation by one centre of a mould for the peculiar local product of another centre. We shall note other instances of this practice. As Mrs. Stillwell has pointed out, the fragility of these thin openwork plaques made it more feasible to export the moulds than the finished product.<sup>203</sup> One mould even found its way as far as Olynthos.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>197</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 621, No. 329, with references.

<sup>198</sup> W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 385.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. *TK* I, p. 63, 2, etc.

<sup>200</sup> Plutarch, *de fraterno amore*, I, (478A). M. C. Waites, "The Meaning of the Dokana," *A.J.A.*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 1 ff. Tod and Wace, *Cat. of the Sparta Museum*, fig. 14, cf. No. 588, and pp. 114 ff. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d' une déesse*, Paris, 1935, pp. 4, 109. G. Demangel, "II," *Eph. Arch.*, 1937, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>201</sup> Mrs. Stillwell considers that the clay also is probably Corinthian,

<sup>202</sup> *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 139, 141; the date of this piece is not clear, but stylistically it appears to be later than ours. Cf. a similar example from Tarentum, *Rev. arch.*, XXXV, 1932, p. 58, No. 41, pl. II, 4. These both appear to date in the late fourth century. For earlier examples of openwork plaques, see *Corinth*, XV, i, No. 103 ff., pl. 46, with references; XV, ii, pl. 47; XII, No. 212-3, 215.

<sup>203</sup> *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 112.

<sup>204</sup> *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 45, No. 372.

The bent tips of the palmettes of our pieces and their general style compare best with early fourth century examples,<sup>205</sup> but in the deep dentation, in the shape of the petals, our mould, though probably of Corinthian clay, cannot at present be duplicated at Corinth. Actually it is far more like two other pieces that were found elsewhere in the Athenian Agora (Pl. 42).<sup>206</sup> One impression (T 2415), though not from the same part as our mould, is close enough to have come from another section of it. The other (T 123) is squatter, with a splayed central petal, which would seem to date in the third quarter of the fourth century.

An interesting connection with Olynthus can be seen in a mould of a relief of a charioteer and his horses (No. 78). It shows in reverse the same scene as a vase from Olynthos.<sup>207</sup> The compact composition of rearing horses is characteristic of early fourth century vase-painting and metal-work. Our piece seems to echo metal-work, although it is not a direct impression from metal.<sup>208</sup> Its condition suggests that it is one of the earliest pieces in the deposit, as is also indicated by its style.

Only a few other fragments of indeterminate character unworthy of publication have been omitted from this discussion.

#### MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY: Nos. 84-87

Miniature pottery was often associated with figurines among the dedicatory deposits of sanctuaries, especially those belonging to the Eleusinian and other deities related to fertility cults.<sup>209</sup> A summary of the types of this miniature pottery that was found in our deposit should be added here.

Technically, the miniatures are more like figurines than like vases. The clay is soft, lightly-baked; the vase is covered with a lime slip on which soft colors were applied. Glaze rarely occurs.

The shapes are few. One of the most popular is the *kernos* (No. 84), for which type a mould also survives (No. 85).<sup>210</sup> This was a miniature ritual vessel, in which offerings were made. Grain, as a token offering, was probably placed in these tiny vessels. Most prevalent in our deposit are the cups (No. 86) with ribbon handles, no doubt intended for the draughts of wine that accompanied the gifts of food. These

<sup>205</sup> For the palmette with spurred spiral at its base, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 596; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 292, fig. 43, p. 140, dated 365-350 B.C.

<sup>206</sup> T 2415, from the Agora Terracotta Factory, H. 0.067 m. T 123, from the foundation of the Stoa Annex, of the first century B.C., P. H. 0.073 m., P. W. 0.073 m.

<sup>207</sup> Olynthus, IV, pl. 39, No. 371.

<sup>208</sup> Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 584 (Melos Amphora); cf. Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, No. 172, pl. 167; Richter, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 362, fig. 5 (silver version).

<sup>209</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128; V, 1936, pp. 179 f. (later); *C.V.A.*, Michigan, 1933, p. 68. Corinthian examples will appear in *Corinth*, XV, iii.

<sup>210</sup> *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff.



cups do not follow any contemporary type, but retain the shape that they originally derived from the Geometric kantharoi right down into Hellenistic times.<sup>211</sup> Rarer are the votive incense-burners, the *thymiateria*, of which a sizeable base is preserved (No. 87). All these miniatures were originally copies of ritual vessels used by the initiates, but ultimately they seem to have retained their character through religious conservatism so that they became divorced in shape and nature from the actual vessels and became a ritual series themselves of an independent votive character, for nominal offerings.

#### CONCLUSION

Even a glance over this series of terracottas reveals the votive character of the contents. The tiny objects, the masks, the figures of animals, and especially the *kernoi* and miniature cups, are all suitable for dedication in a sanctuary. Can we determine the nature of the deities for whom they were intended?

It is notoriously difficult to argue from votives to deities. As early as the fourth century, apparently, people no longer had any feeling for strict propriety in this matter; indeed even in early days, there was no rigidity in types for definite deities. Dedicators bought what was available, offering what they wished to whatever god seemed likely to be helpful, just as to-day Greek peasants buy the same little silver votives for any saint in any church.<sup>212</sup> Certain types, however, became appropriate for certain deities, not exclusively, but usually given only to them. Leaving aside the common votives, such as belong to the stock-in-trade of any coroplast, let us review our deposit to see which pieces indicate a specific deity.

Jointed figures or "dolls" have indeed been found in children's graves, but they are also common dedications in the sanctuaries.<sup>213</sup> The ritual types, the masks, the bust, the footstools, the actors, the prophylactic figures, the plaques that may represent a goddess (No. 74), and the figures of women and girls are all suitable for the Eleusinian goddesses. In four cases, however, namely, the *pilos*, the little cloaked figures (No. 13), the *dokana* plaque, and the *astragaloi*, we have suggested a possible connection with the Dioskouroi, or possibly the Kabeiroi, who were often associated with Demeter.

The great mass of the votives, then, is to be associated with the Eleusinian cult. Referring to Pausanias' description of the region where our Coroplast's Dump was found, we note two precincts eminently suitable for the products of his shop. The Anakeion, or sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, was situated on the North Slope of the

<sup>211</sup> Many others will be published in G. Roger Edwards' study of Hellenistic pottery.

<sup>212</sup> For general discussions, Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 348 ff.; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, Chap. I.

<sup>213</sup> For a general discussion and bibliography, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 114-118. See also *Corinth*, XV, ii, Class XX, pl. 31.

Acropolis near the Aglaurion, whence Lucian describes the philosophers scrambling up to the Acropolis.<sup>214</sup> It lay, then, just above our cisterns, to the southeast and might well offer opportunities for an energetic tradesman. Much closer, however, indeed right across the Panathenaic Way from the deposit, lay the buildings which are now identified by the excavators as the Eleusinion complex.<sup>215</sup> All around them in pockets and holes in the rock, as well as in our cisterns, deposits of *kernoi* were found, which as characteristic Eleusinian votives, have helped to fix the location of this sanctuary. Other evidence is also at hand for this identification.<sup>216</sup> It is clear, then, that our coroplast, whether he set up his shop within the precinct or just outside, catered especially to the demands of the devotees of the Goddesses.<sup>217</sup> The variety of his offerings and their inexpensive nature form an interesting commentary on the vigor of the cult and on the class of pilgrims who visited the sanctuary. Since much finer figurines were actually being made in Athens at this time,<sup>218</sup> it is apparent that already a difference existed between sculpture in clay and mass-produced votives which were bought for a trifle by the pious, just as they are bought to-day in the August festival of the Virgin that crowds the "Theseion" market-place with the working-people of Athens.

Within a closed deposit like the Coroplast's Dump, it should be possible to trace some stylistic development. Unless a dump consists of one year's produce, which appears to be rare in archaeological discovery, the older types or pieces should be differentiated from the new. We have indicated this difference in our discussion of the techniques and types. In summary, we might note that the hieratic types, like the hydrophoroi or fluteplayer, the "dolls," certain actors and little warriors, the small votive miniatures, belong to the first half of the fourth century. Masks and protomes, which were popular at Olynthos, Rhodes, Corinth, and Halai during the late fifth and fourth centuries, were evidently on the wane in Athens before *ca.* 350 B.C.

On the other hand, on the basis of comparative evidence from other sites we may assign other types from the Dump to the third quarter of the fourth century. The

<sup>214</sup> *Pausanias*, I, 18, 1; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 164 ff. Lucian, *Piscator*, 42.

<sup>215</sup> E. Vanderpool, "The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 134 ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff., figs. 7 and 8.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.* and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447. On *Kernoi*, E. Groline, "Die Koppel-Ring und Tüllengefässe," *Schrift der Brenner Wissenschaft. Gesell.*, Reihe D, Abhandl. und Vorträge, 1933, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>217</sup> Nos. 74 a and b might conceivably be figures of Artemis, as a much battered fragment of an archaic Artemis, also found in the Coroplast's Dump (uncatalogued, T 1779) seems to indicate. I owe this suggestion and interpretation to Miss Clairève Grandjouan.

<sup>218</sup> Several very small fragments of the most exquisite delicacy have been found in the excavations, but scarcely warrant publication before the final catalogue of figurines from the Agora. For other examples, cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 112 ff., especially figs. 70, 73. The German excavations at the Kerameikos produced few, but some good fourth century pieces.



bust protome, the moulds of ape and dog, the hermaphrodite, and the flying figures are among the most significant of these later pieces. Even more important are the early "Tanagra types" and their related heads showing the melon coiffure. These seem to fit into the decade 340-330 B.C. when the "Tanagra style" was being formed.<sup>219</sup>

Correlations with comparable figurines from other sites, particularly Olynthos, Halai, Corinth, and the Pnyx, all indicate that the Athenian figurines as a whole are well ahead of their time. Since the pottery and lamps from our deposit all support our dating of the great majority of the terracottas before or around *ca.* 350 B.C., we must conclude that these few pieces of later style can scarcely fall later than the third quarter of the fourth century. We must assume, therefore, that the early "Tanagras," the hermaphrodite, and the flying Erotes, all Hellenistic types, came into being before 325 B.C.<sup>220</sup>

This early date may seem surprising to those who have carefully studied the terracottas of Olynthos, which in no way presage the Hellenistic styles.<sup>221</sup> But there is surely no reason to believe that the delicate sophistication of the Hellenistic style should have had its inception anywhere but in a great artistic centre. Its dissemination to the provincial towns would inevitably have taken a little time, particularly as many of them never made anything but traditional votive figurines.

The evidence from our deposit indicates that the elements of what is commonly called the "Tanagra style" were coming into existence in Athens during the course of the third quarter of the fourth century. The examples which have survived in the Coroplast's Dump cannot, unfortunately, be relied upon to tell us just how far and to what degree of excellence the style had actually gone by the last quarter of that century. It is illuminating, however, to compare the character of our deposit with that of the work found in the graves of the cemetery of Alexandria, Chatby. Even if the earliest material there dates as early as the end of the fourth century,<sup>222</sup> it still supports our dating for the Athenian material, because it is typologically definitely more advanced.

<sup>219</sup> This supports Kleiner's observations, pp. 134 ff., that no "Tanagra type" is preserved which certainly dates before the fall of Thebes (335 B.C.). He points out that considering this fact, the style could scarcely have originated in Boeotia, but "möglich, ja wahrscheinlich" it originated in Athens. In this connection, it is significant that a few Boeotian "Tanagras" show a very close relation to Athenian coroplastic work.

<sup>220</sup> Kleiner, pp. 139 ff. considers that the fundamental basis for the Hellenistic sculptural style was laid during the last two quarters of the fourth century. Our evidence suggests that the most creative period was the first rather than the second quarter, at least in Athens.

<sup>221</sup> This is true also of the unpublished figurines from Olynthus from the latest campaigns, of which Dr. Robinson kindly writes me, "Rest assured that there are *absolutely no* Tanagras among them."

<sup>222</sup> See above p. 120.

Let us compare the two groups. Although the small size of the figurines is characteristic of both regions, it is also common to the earlier "Tanagras" from Boeotia and must therefore be regarded as a chronological rather than a topographical criterion.<sup>223</sup> The technical differences between the figurines of Chatby and of the Coroplast's Dump are marked. Technically our pieces show the solidity, plain backs and lack of vents characteristic of early manufacture, whereas the Chatby figures are made in two moulds, and usually have vents. On the other hand, many Chatby figures stand on round or oval bases which are usually made in the same mould as the figure, which is an early type in Athens. Most seem never to have had a base at all. The separately made plaque base, which is typical of "Tanagras" is common in our coroplast's shop, but only one of the Chatby figures had a plaque base preserved.<sup>224</sup> These differences appear to be local and should be studied in relation to Kleiner's plausible suggestion that refugees from Thebes settled in Alexandria, bringing with them the Boeotian coroplastic tradition.<sup>225</sup>

Although the styles and types found at Chatby are not totally dissimilar to ours, they seem in general to be later developments of the Athenian prototypes. There is no exact duplication of pose. Only one head (but not necessarily its missing body) bears a really close similarity to one of ours (No. 28).<sup>226</sup> The variants of our standing draped girl type (No. 19) are more elongated and high-waisted; they actually seem as closely related to their descendants in Myrina as to their Athenian forebears. The simple figures and particularly the faces of the children from Chatby are more genuinely immature than any of ours. Flying Erotes do not occur at this cemetery. In general, then, the Chatby material, even those figures that Kleiner plausibly calls the earliest, bears no striking resemblance to the material from the Coroplast's Dump. In every way, on the contrary, the Alexandrian material, whether it dates from the third century, as is now argued, or earlier,<sup>227</sup> is still decidedly later than that which we are discussing.

It seems safe, then, to date the latest figurines from the Coroplast's Dump in the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century along with the pottery and lamps with which they were found and to consider that the coins of the late fourth and early third centuries which were found above them mark the time of the final filling of the cisterns.

<sup>223</sup> Kleiner, p. 51, notes that these figurines average around 0.15 m. in height. Those from our Dump are of course smaller, not more than 0.10 m. high. In general, the smaller the figure (of adults), the earlier. Kleiner, p. 60, considers that the miniature style is well over in Alexandria by the middle of the third century. We shall examine the evidence for Athens in a later article.

<sup>224</sup> Kleiner, p. 282, note II A 5, No. 1.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>226</sup> See above p. 138.

<sup>227</sup> On the ground of the Athenian evidence, the Chatby figurines could well be brought back into the last quarter of the fourth century, as originally dated by Breccia, but they might be merely conservative.



These figurines illustrate an interesting period of transition in coroplastic conception. The old hieratic types of the votive style lie side by side with more imaginative creations that were clearly inspired by major works of sculpture. The beginnings of the "Tanagra style" may be observed as they come into the repertory of the humble coroplast. That Athens may well have been the centre where this style was created has, of course, long been argued by archaeologists.<sup>228</sup> Our evidence from this group tends to strengthen this hypothesis. Considerable additional material is also at hand to suggest that it was indeed Athens where the first shift in the interest and style of the coroplasts took place. A full analysis of the circumstances and tendencies that brought this shift about will be attempted at a later date.

#### CATALOGUE

This catalogue aims to present the material in as brief a form as possible. Unless otherwise noted, therefore, the clay shall be understood to be a pinkish buff, the fabric rather soft. Slight traces of the white slip that normally covered figurines will not be specifically noted, but any trace of color will be mentioned. The figurines are mould-made. The T number in parentheses is that of the Agora inventory. All objects come from the South Pit, unless the provenience is specifically mentioned. H. refers to Height; P. H. to Preserved Height; W. to width; L. to length. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the abbreviation C. D., for Coroplast's Dump.

#### *Jointed Figures and Related Pieces*

##### **1** (T 1743) Articulated Arm. Pl. 32.

H. 0.043 m., P. W. 0.042 m. Fingers and thumb missing.

The left arm from a "doll," bent at elbow, with palm outstretched. Pierced at the shoulder, flat inside.

##### **2** (T 1747) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.054 m.

Right arm and hand from the elbow; no fingers indicated.

##### **3** (T 2610) Articulated Leg. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.062 m.

Leg to ankle, pierced at the top.

##### **4** Legs of a seated figure. Pl. 32.

**a** (T 1768) P. H. 0.08 m. Toes missing. Traces of pink.

**b** (T 1769) P. H. 0.068 m. Mould. Broken at the bottom.

**a** the legs of a seated nude "doll," and **b** apparently the mould from which **a** was taken.

##### **5** (T 2612) Mould: Side of a seated "Doll." Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.027 m. Broken on side. Thin clean edge to bottom.

Part of a mould for the left side of a seated nude "doll."

<sup>228</sup> R. Kekulé, *Gr. Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 23 f. Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, 1883-1887, II, pp. 7 f. Both these scholars suggest the Attic-Theban school of painting as the primary inspiration of the Tanagra conceptions. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 446 ff. offers the suggestion on slight grounds. Kleiner, pp. 46 and 127, summarizes previous views and contributes an illuminating historical account of the relations between Athens and Boeotia at this period. More can be done to illuminate the Athenian side of the picture when all the coroplastic evidence from the Agora has been studied.

**6** (T 1849) Mould: Legs. Pls. 32, 33.

From the North Pit. P. H. 0.065 m. Right side only preserved.

Fragment of a mould for the upper legs of a seated nude male "doll." Incised on the back of the mould: YΠIOY

**7** Leg and Foot. Pl. 32.

**a** (T 1749) P. H. 0.089 m.

**b** (T 1750) P. H. 0.086 m.

**a** Left leg and foot from the knee down. Well modelled.

**b** Right leg and foot from the knee down. From the same type as **a** but on a slightly smaller scale. Toes less well modelled.

**8** (T 1745) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.033 m. Traces of red.

A left hand with the fingers curved as though grasping a round object. A similar hand, T 1936, was also found in a fourth century context.

**9** (T 1687) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.064 m.

A right arm and hand holding out a *phiale mesomphalos*.

**10** (T 1917) Hand. Pl. 32.

From the upper filling. P. L. 0.018 m. Excellent black glaze.

Right hand, clenched around some object.

*Male Figures.***11** (T 1688) Mould: Flying Figure. Pl. 32.

H. 0.088 m. Complete. Well rounded outside.

Mould for the front part of a flying nude male figure.

**12** (T 1777) Wing. Pl. 40.

Max. dim. 0.04 m. Back smooth.

Fragment of a right wing, sharply modelled.

**13** Warrior or Hunter. Pl. 32.

**a** (T 1773) P. H. 0.057 m. Feet missing. Solid.

**b** (T 1774) P. H. 0.043 m. Feet and top of head missing. Solid.

**c** (T 1775) P. H. 0.049 m. Left foot missing. Solid.

A male figure, wearing chlamys and *pilos*. Hands pierced in **a** and **b**. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 15.

**14** (T 1797) Mould: Draped Male. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.059 m. Broken at top.

The mould for the base and lower part of a draped standing male figure.

*Female Figures, Standing, Draped***15** (T 1753) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.10 m. Carefully worked back.

A standing female figure, wearing a chiton and himation wrapped closely around her and hanging in a curve in the front.

**16** (T 1754) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.04 m. Trace of vent in the back.

Fragment from the lower part of a figure like the preceding.

**17** (T 1761) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.083 m.

Fragment from the upper part of a standing draped female figure, wrapped tightly in an himation under which she holds out her left arm.

**18** (T 1692) Mould: Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.11 m. Broken off above. Well rounded outside.

The mould for the front part of a standing draped female figure wearing a closely wrapped himation.

**19** (T 1680) Standing Female. Pl. 34.

H. 0.097 m. Complete. Back unmodelled.

The figure wears a straight, high-girt chiton and an himation around her shoulders and drawn to the side by her left hand in which it



is wrapped. Her right hand rests on her hip. Her hair is dressed in the melon coiffure, with a coil of braids at the back. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 16.

**20** Standing female. Pl. 34.

**a** (T 1755) P. H. 0.085 m. Back flat. Head missing.

**b** (T 1861) P. H. 0.082 m. From the dump of the North Pit. Back flat. Head missing.

Two pieces from similar moulds showing a figure draped in a chiton and an himation that is drawn across the body to the left side.

**21** (T 1679) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.105 m. Head missing and chips at bottom.

Standing female, wrapped in an himation, under which her right arm is bent across her chest.

**22** (T 1758) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.057 m. Back rough.

The lower part of a standing female figure wearing a chiton and an himation to the knees.

**23** (T 1756) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.05 m. Back rough.

The upper torso of a female figure wearing a chiton.

*Female Ritual Figures*

**24** (T 1675) Head of an Hydrophoros. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.036 m.

The head of a female figure, wearing her himation over her head on which she holds an hydria.

**25** (T 1670) Head of a Mourner. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.04 m. Flat back.

The head of a female figure, and part of her right shoulder and arm, which is raised to the top of her head.

**26** (T 1736) Head of a Flautist. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.034 m.

The head of a female figure wearing her hair in a peaked coiffure over her forehead; she puffs out her cheeks in playing the double flutes.

*Female Heads*

**27** (T 1676) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.029 m.

The head of a woman, wrapped in her himation, leaving the face clear.

**28** (T 1681) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.024 m.

The head of a woman, wrapped tightly in her himation, which is drawn over the chin.

**29** (T 1693) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.028 m.

The head of a woman, wearing her hair in the melon coiffure with a coil of braids at the back of the head.

**30** (T 1667) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.023 m.

Similar to the preceding, except that the braid is broken off from the back of the head.

**31** (T 1682) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.019 m.

Similar to No. **30**; the coil of braids is preserved at the back. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**32** (T 1737) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.02 m.

Similar to No. **30**.

**33** (T 1668) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.19 m.

The head of a girl wearing a thick wreath.

**34** (T 1738) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.021 m.

The head of a female wearing her hair drawn up carelessly to a knot at the back of her head.

**35** (T 1803) Mould: Female Head. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.043 m. Broken on three sides. Well rounded outside.

Fragment of a mould for the back part of a female head and shoulders.

**36** (T 1711) Mould: Back of a Female Figure. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.10 m. Broken at bottom. Two tabs preserved. Well rounded outside.

The upper part of a mould for the back of a female figure, showing the hair in curls or tied in a kerchief of which two ends project. One shoulder is markedly raised.

*Female Figures: Seated, Draped***37** (T 1673) Seated Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.034 m. Solid.

A seated draped female figure, wrapped in an himation; her right arm is bent up under it, her left rests at her side.

**38** (T 1752) Seated Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.029 m. Solid.

Similar to the preceding.

**39** (T 1735) Seated Female. Pl. 33.

H. 0.066 m. Part of the head missing. Traces of red paint. A seated woman, meditating, her head resting on her left hand, her elbow on her knee.

**40** (T 1709) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 37.

P. H. 0.075 m. From the North Pit.

The upper part of a mould for a seated draped female figure, possibly holding a baby. The back of the throne shows behind.

**41** (T 1710) Mould: Seated Female and Child. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.088 m. Tabs outside.

The lower part of a mould for the back of a female figure seated on a plain seat, wearing a roll of drapery around her hips. The child, apparently nude, stands at her right.

**42** (T 1799) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 37.  
H. 0.07 m. Chipped.

Mould for a female figure wrapped tightly in an himation, which is drawn over the lower part of her face.

*Actors***43** (T 1685) Comic Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.073 m. Solid. Back plain.

A comic actor, dressed as a soldier or traveller, wearing a short padded garment, chlamys, and *pilos* and pointed beard. He holds his right arm akimbo; with his left he holds a jug in front of a basket against his body. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**44** (T 1683) Comic Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.075 m. Solid; back rough.

A comic actor, wearing a short padded garment, chlamys, and tights. He raises his right hand to his brow and looks off to his right; his left arm is bent under his drapery. His pointed beard hangs down to his waist. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**45** Comic Actor, Seated. Pl. 38.

**a** (T 1742) P. H. 0.061 m.

**b** (T 1684) P. H. 0.06 m.

**c** (T 1651) P. H. 0.047 m. From the North Pit.

**d** (T 1672) P. H. 0.056 m. Solid.

Four examples from one mould. A comic actor, as a slave, seated, holding his right ear with his right hand. He wears a short garment and a mask with *speira* and megaphone-type mouth. (See Nos. **46** and **47**).

**46** (T 1770) Legs of a Seated Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.05 m.

The legs of an actor of the preceding type, seated on a seat, probably an altar. Traces of a hand on the left knee.

**47** (T 1771) Legs of a Seated Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.043 m. Trace of red.

The trousered legs of an actor of the type of No. **45**.



*Prophylactic Figures*

48 Negro Boy squatting by a Herm. Pl. 39.

**a** (T 1665 + T 1689) H. 0.083 m., W. 0.026 m. Solid; back plain. Complete.

**b** (T 1701) P. H. 0.055 m. Solid. From the North Pit. Herm broken away.

**c** (T 1740) P. H. 0.062 m. Solid, bent in firing. Top broken away.

A negro boy, resting his head against his hands, which are clasped against his left cheek, squats by a herm, which wears a polos. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

49 Herm. Pl. 39.

**a** (T 1664) H. 0.082 m. Complete.

**b** (T 1666) P. H. 0.032 m. Head only.

Hermes of the type of the preceding. One uncatalogued example, T 1739, shows the same type.

50 (T 1808) Mould: Hermaphrodite. Pl. 37. P. H. 0.074 m. Broken all around.

Fragment of a mould for the abdomen and legs of a nude male figure holding up his drapery to reveal his genitals.

*Protomes, Masks, etc.*

51 (T 1763) Female Protome. Pl. 39.

H. 0.186 m. Hole for suspension on top. Dark red paint on face and hair. Ornaments attached separately. Back moulded.

The protome of a female head, wearing her hair in waves back from the face and hanging in long curls down the shoulders. On her hair, a wreath, with bud and leaf ornament in the centre and disk rosettes on the sides. Fragments of similar protomes were also found (T 1764-65).

52 (T 1767) Mask Fragment. Pl. 39.

**a** P. H. 0.08 m. **b** P. H. 0.055 m.

Fragment from a female mask, showing the hair arranged in deep waves beneath a *stephane* decorated with a beaded ring at its base. Frag-

ment from the lower part shows a trace of wavy veil hanging down the side.

53 (T 1794) Protome Fragment. Pl. 39.

Max. dim. 0.067 m.

Fragment showing a part of a wavy veil, hanging down the side of a protome.

54 (T 1766) Protome Fragment. Pl. 39.

P. H. 0.068 m. Suspension hole at the top of the hair.

Fragment from the upper left corner of a protome, showing wavy hair beneath a *stephane* on which are traces of palmette decoration in relief.

55 (T 1805) Mould: Mask. Pl. 40.

Maximum dimension 0.074 m.

The mould for a mask of a face with a large eye, probably a Gorgoneion.

56 (T 1690) Mould: Mask, Gorgoneion. Pl. 40.

Diameter 0.11 m. Complete except for chips.

Circular mould with a thickened edge for a Gorgoneion with extended tongue and snakes under her chin.

*Animals*

57 (T 1780) Calf. Pl. 40.

Three non-joining pieces: **a**) Max. dim. 0.075 m. **b**) Max. dim. 0.08 m. **c**) Max. dim. 0.055 m.

**a**) The head and neck of a calf, **b**) its base and feet, **c**) its rump and the upper part of the hind legs. The area between the legs is filled in solid.

58 (T 1694) Mould: Dog. Pl. 39.

L. 0.125 m., H. 0.049 m. Well rounded outside.

The complete mould for the left side of a reclining dog, with its base.

59 (T 1691) Mould: Ape. Pl. 40.

H. 0.087 m. Well rounded outside.

The complete mould for the back and base of a squatting ape.

**60** (T 1778) Bird. Pl. 40.

P. L. 0.039 m. Hand made. Suspension hole through the centre. The body of a flying bird; all the extremities are missing.

**61** (T 1650) Mould: Mollusk Shell. Pl. 41.

P. H. 0.074 m. Broken at top. Splotches of red glaze outside; well rounded outside.

The mould for a mollusk shell, with sharp-ridged plications.

*Miscellaneous Votives*

**62** (T 1785) *Pilos*. Pl. 39.

H. 0.013 m.

A pointed cap, or *pilos*, modelled completely in the round.

**63** (T 1671) *Astragalos*. Pl. 40.

H. 0.02 m., L. 0.032 m. Solid.

An astragal, fully modelled in the round. Another uncatalogued example, T 1741, was also found.

**64** (T 2609) Disk. Pl. 40.

Diam. 0.02 m. Solid, flat.

A plain disk.

**65** (MC 494) Disk. Pl. 40.

Diam. 0.022 m. Solid, flat.

A disk with a ridge across the centre. A similar uncatalogued example, MC 472, was also found.

**66** (T 1784) Pestle. Pl. 39.

P. H. 0.017 m. Solid.

A pestle modelled roughly in the shape of a bent finger.

**67** (T 1788) Lion's Claw Foot. Pl. 40.

P. H. 0.033 m. Solid. Broken at the top.

The lion's claw foot of a piece of furniture or vessel, decorated at the top with a volute.

**68** (T 1790) Footstool. Pl. 41.

P. H. 0.03 m. Solid. Broken off above.

A footstool with braces across the front. Another example, T 1789, was also found.

**69** (T 1781) Column. Pl. 40.

P. H. 0.122 m. Solid. Top finished smooth.

A round shaft, with upward taper, stands on an Ionic base.

**70** (T 1787) Wreath Fragment. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.03 m. Broken at each end.

The detached end of a thick wreath.

**71** (T 1786) Traveller's Pack. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.025 m. Knob broken off one end. Solid.

A thick roll tied around the centre, ending in a knob at the end.

**72** (T 1806) Mould: Almond. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.034 m. Broken at one end. Well rounded outside.

Part of the mould for half an almond.

**73** (T 1678) Mould: Tripod Stand. Pl. 41.

H. 0.042 m. Well rounded outside.

The mould for the stand of a tripod, blunt at the top, with grooved sides and claw feet.

*Plaques*

**74** Plaque Fragments. Pl. 42.

**a** (T 1686) P. H. 0.084 m. On the left upper corner, a suspension hole.

**b** (T 1759) P. H. 0.086 m.

A plaque showing a standing female figure in relief, with her right arm bent across her body; her left hangs down her side. She wears a low polos and a long veil hanging down behind her. Another similar uncatalogued piece was found.

**75** (T 1795) Fragment of a Plaque. Pl. 39.

Max. dim. 0.052 m. Broken all around.



In relief on the surface of what appears to be a plaque, low vertical and horizontal bands cross each other.

**76** (T 1783) Plaque Fragment. Pl. 39.

Diam. of plaque *ca.* 0.20 m. Max. dim. of the fragment 0.041 m. Broken on three sides; edge preserved. Part of a circular flat plaque with two leaves of a palmette in low relief.

**77** (T 1700) Mould: Plaque. Pl. 42.

From the North Pit. Max. dim. 0.105 m. Outside edge preserved.

Mould for a plaque showing a dentated edge, with lotus and palmette band inside, in low relief.

**78** (T 1810) Mould: Relief. Pl. 41.

Max. dim. 0.089 m. Broken all around; much disintegrated.

The mould for a relief scene of Nike in a chariot; the neck of the horse is very close to the right hand of the driver, which is extended.

*Bases*

**79** (T 1677) Plaque Base. Pl. 42.

P. L. 0.046 m., W. 0.05 m., T. 0.007 m.

A rectangular plaque base. Smear of yellow paint on top. Similar uncatalogued fragments were found.

**80** (T 1791) Base. Pl. 42.

H. 0.034 m., W. 0.063 m., L. 0.114 m. Fragments missing. Traces of pale blue paint.

A shallow rectangular double base, open at the back. Traces of the figure that stood on top.

**81** (T 2615) Base. Pl. 42.

L. 0.11 m., W. 0.058 m., T. 0.018 m. Traces

of red paint. The lower element of a double base like the preceding.

**82** (T 2613) Base. Pl. 42.

P. H. 0.039 m.

Fragment of a flat base made in one with the figure and open beneath it.

**83** (T 2611) Base. Pl. 42.

P. H. 0.024 m., W. 0.026 m. Flat back. Solid.

A stepped base, on which are preserved two flat feet.

**84** (P 12481) Kernos. Pl. 42.

H. 0.046 m., diam. 0.046 m. Considerable remains of white. Chipped.

Small kernos on flaring base, flat beneath. Narrow flange with two sharply projecting ribbon handles, the loop providing a piercing. Very slightly flaring lip. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

**85** (P 13106) Mould: Kernos. Pl. 42.

H. 0.028 m., L. 0.055 m., W. 0.044 m. Complete.

Mould for the upper body, handles and flange of a very small kernos.

**86** (P 12998) Votive Cup. Pl. 42.

H. to lip 0.024 m., diam. at lip 0.037 m. Complete.

Miniature kantharos, roughly made on the wheel. Band handles, rising from rim.

**87** (P 19535) Base of Thymiaterion. Pl. 42.

P. H. 0.087 m., P. W. 0.064 m. Top missing.

A tall stand composed of three disks.



a. The Agora from the West (August, 1951). Temple of Ares in lower left, Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?) in lower right



b. Southeast Exit from the Agora, from the North. East end of Middle Stoa in lower right





a. Northwest Corner of Middle Stoa, from the Northwest. A: original west end of terrace, B: monument base, C: underpinning for stair

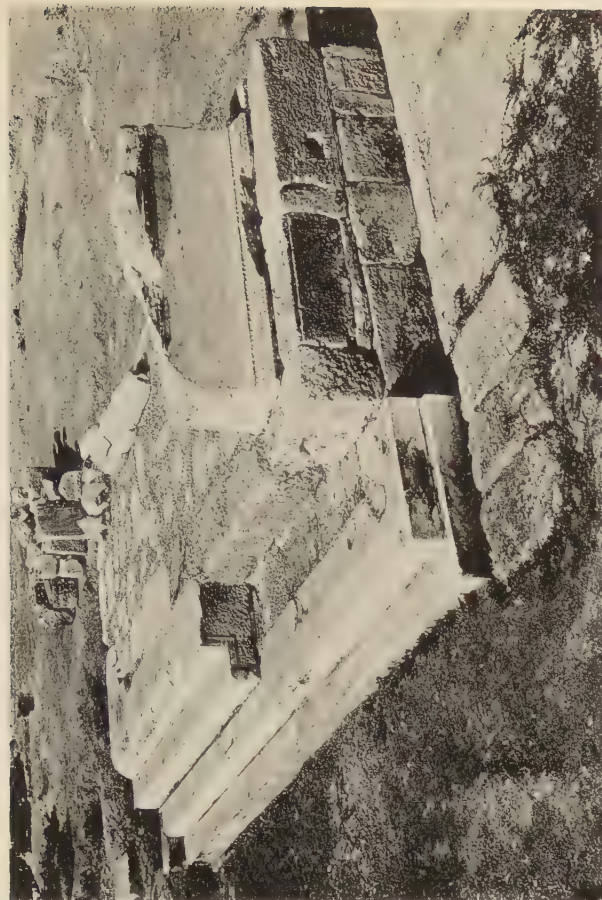


b. West Side of Agora, from the South (August, 1951). A: foundation for north stylobate of Middle Stoa, B: Civic Offices, C: Southwest Temple, D: stoa at foot of terrace





a. Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?), from the Southwest, as found



b. Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?) from the Southwest, as conserved



c. Terracotta Wellhead of Fifth Century B.C.



d. Hitching Block beside Panathenaic Way





a. Temple and Altar of Ares from the Northeast (October, 1951). A: Altar of Ares, B: terrace wall, C: Odeion Drain, D: water channel flanking Panathenaic Way, E: early monument base, F: hitching block



b. Relief Sculpture associated with Altar of Ares (S820, 679, 1072, 676)





a. Marble Head associated with Altar of Ares (S1538)



b. Marble Head associated with Altar of Ares (S1494)





a. Archaic Marble Raking Sima (A 1892)



b. Archaic Marble Horizontal Sima (A 758+769)



c. Poros Base to West of Northeast Stoa, from the Northwest



d. Curved Marble Curb (A 1794)



a. Cornice Blocks from Monopteros



b. Area of early Graves to Southeast of Northeast Stoa, from North. A: chamber tomb with niches, B: chamber tomb of bronze bowl, C, D: LH graves, E: Submycenaean grave



c. Vases from Chamber Tomb with Niches (LH III A and B)





a. Vases from Chamber Tomb beneath Temple of Ares (LH II-III C)



b. Vases from Chamber Tomb near Northeast Stoa (LH III B or C)



c. Vases from Child's Grave near Northeast Stoa (LH III A)



a. Pit Grave near Northeast Stoa

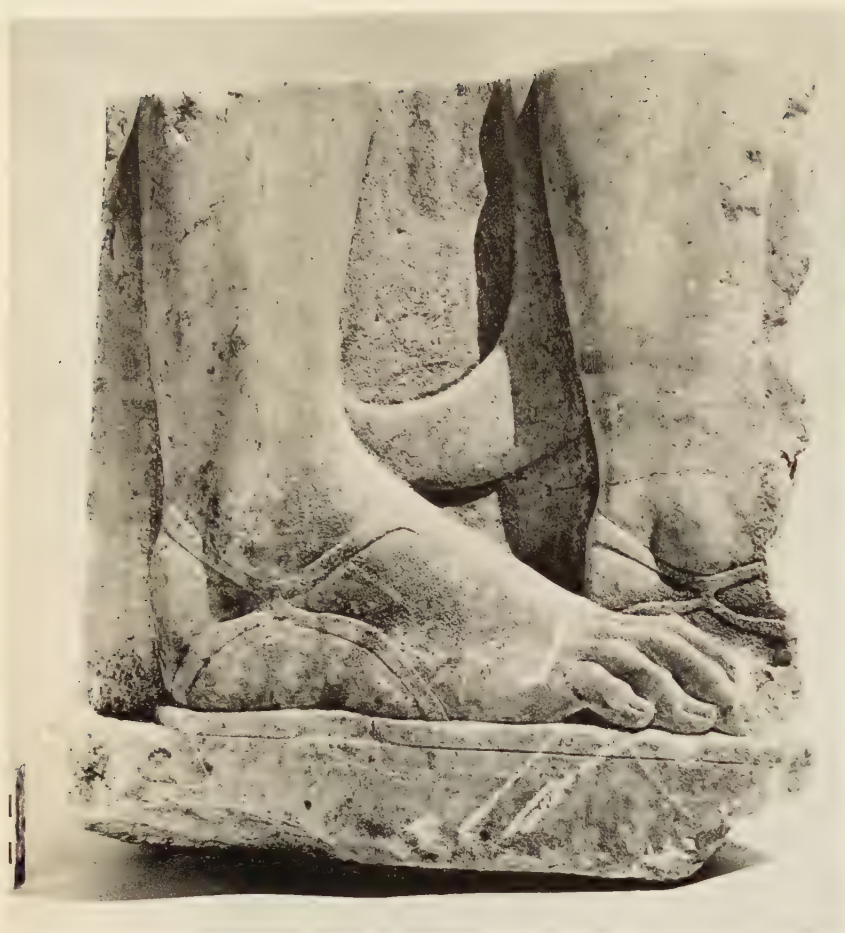


b. Vases from Pit Grave (LH III A or B)



c. Vases from a Child's Grave (Protogeometric)





a-b. Fragments of Archaic Grave Stele (S1276)



c-d. Seated Statue found to West of Odeion (S1530)

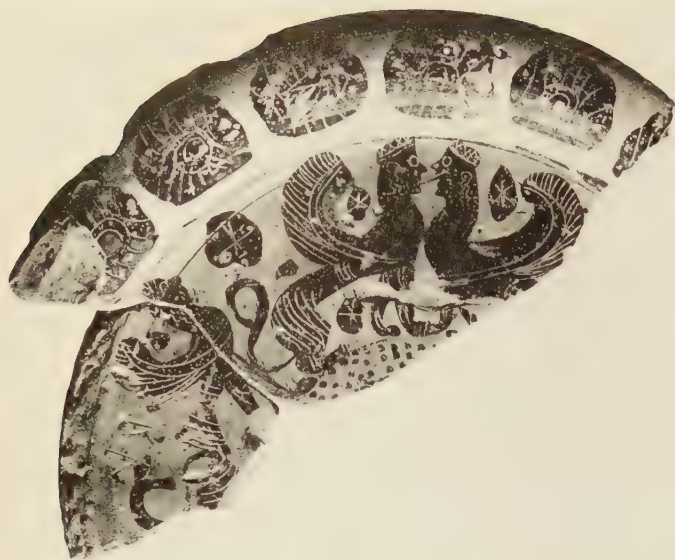


a-b. Late Geometric Krater (P21706)



c. Late Geometric spouted Krater (P21233)





a. Black-figured Plate by Polos Painter (P21568)



b. Terracotta Actor (T3074)



c. Fragment of Amphora by Barclay Painter (P21403)



d. Fragment of Lid (P21565)



a



b



c



d

a-d. Fragments by the Dinos Painter (P17089, 21534, 5865, 21526)



e



f

e-f. Ostraka of Kleophon (P21581) and Perikles (P21527)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1951

EUGENE VANDERPOOL: KLEOPHON





7a

10

8

9

7b



Acropolis Mus.  
1464



1

2

6 Cast

4b

4a



a

13

b

c



5 Cast



11 Cast



15



6b Exterior



21

17  
16

39



18 Cast

14 Cast

41 Cast



35 Cast

36 Cast

38

37

23

22





19



Acropolis Mus. 1195



Acropolis Mus.  
1273



Figure from Rhitsona



20a



20b



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1113)



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art  
(07.286.31)



Courtesy of British Mus. (C 308)



Agora T 1626



Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale



Agora T 909



Agora T 2628





Courtesy of British  
Museum (C36)



31                      32                      33                      30  
34                      29                      28



Agora T2983



24                      26  
27                      25



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1138)



40 Cast



42 Cast



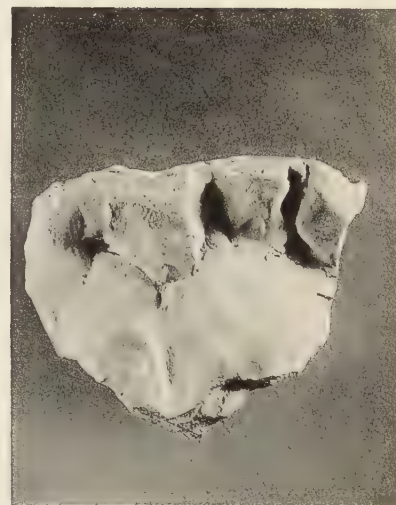
40 Interior



40 Exterior



42 Exterior



50 Exterior



Interior

50

Cast





45d  
45b

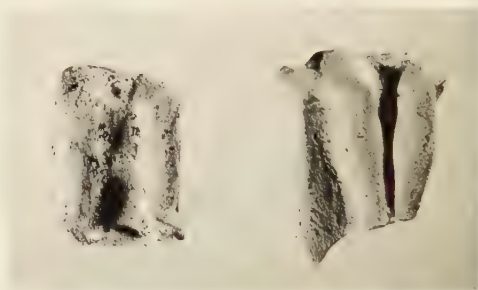
45c  
45a



44



Courtesy of British Mus.  
(C90)



47

46



Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale



43



Courtesy of British Mus. (C238)



Agora T621



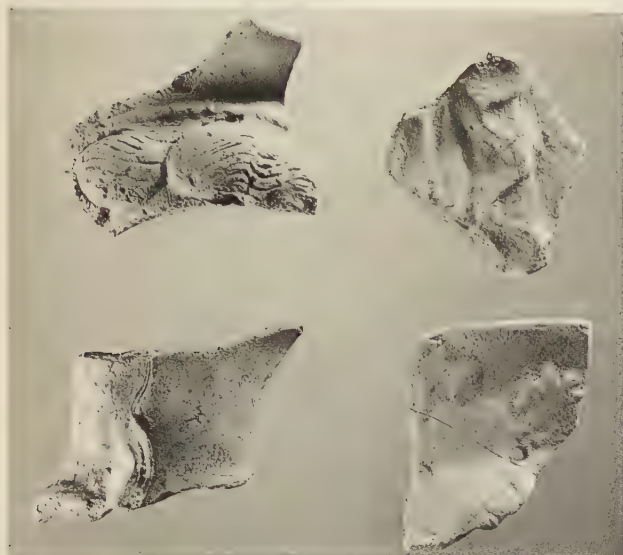
48c

48b

48a



49b



52a  
52b

53  
54



51



49a

66

76  
58 Cast

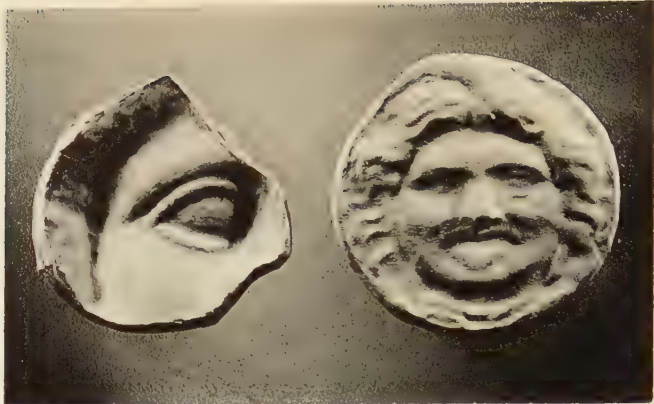
62

75





57



55 Cast

56  
Cast



12  
63

65  
60

64  
67



69



Interior

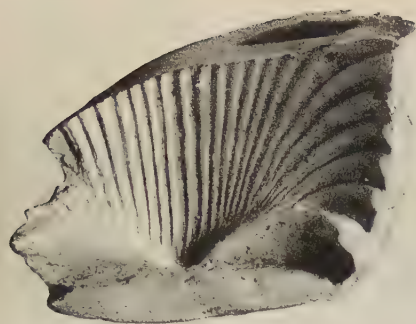


59

Cast

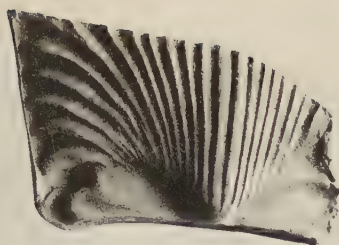


59 Exterior



Interior

61



Cast



78 Cast



Agora T1529



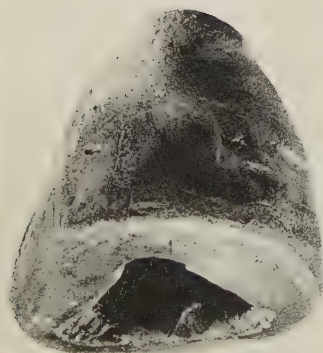
70  
72



71



68



Mould

73



Cast



74b

74a



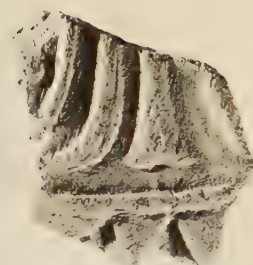


77 Mould

77 Cast



Agora T123



Agora T2415



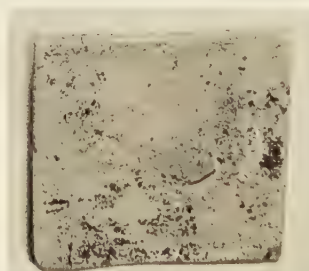
87

86

85  
84



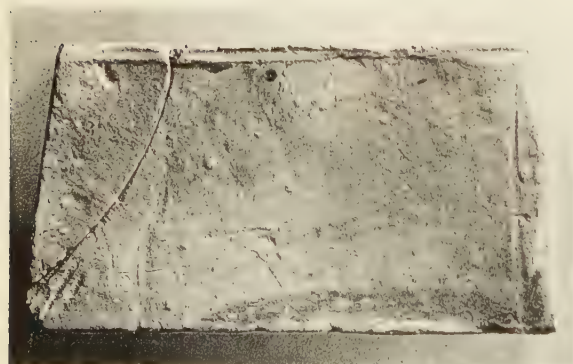
82



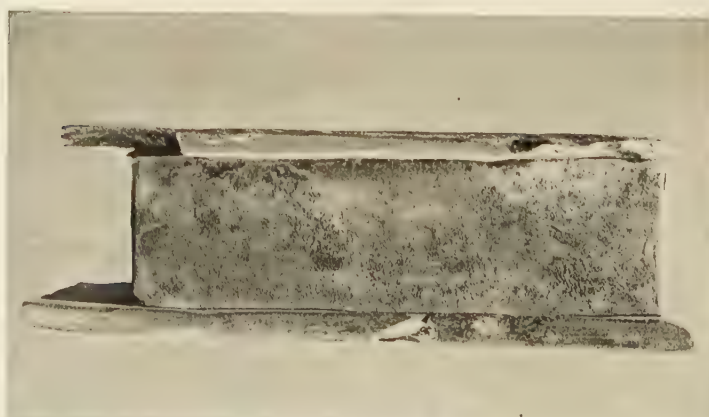
79



83



81



80

# INVESTIGATIONS AT THE HERAION OF ARGOS, 1949

(PLATES 43-60)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL remains of the sanctuary of Hera near Argos have been made known through a long series of excavations and studies. The site was discovered in 1831 by General Gordon, who dug there briefly in 1836. In 1854 limited investigations were carried on by Rangabé and Bursian. Schliemann made soundings in 1874, and the Mycenaean tholos tomb was cleared by Stamatakis in 1878. Comprehensive excavation on a large scale was first undertaken by the American School of Classical Studies, under the direction of Charles Waldstein in the four campaigns of 1892-1895. A generation later, in 1925-1928, pre-classical remains on the acropolis and in its vicinity were examined in excavations conducted for the School by C. W. Blegen.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the site is far from having been exhausted. Further remains of the successive Helladic periods are still to be sought, and more precise knowledge of the architecture, topography, and chronology of the sanctuary in the archaic and classical periods may certainly be obtained. Professor Blegen noted in the summary of his conclusions, "The chance of a fortunate discovery of a deposit of intrinsic value still beckons no less enticingly than before." (*Prosymna*, p. 9). A discovery of just that sort, made recently and largely by chance, forms the subject of the following report.<sup>2</sup>

Architectural problems which had drawn the attention of P. Amandry to the Heraion since 1947 led him in the spring of 1949 to clear the earth from a retaining wall on the sloping side of the acropolis, immediately below the East Building (Fig. 1 and *A. H.*, I, pl. IV). At the foot of this wall he came suddenly upon a stratum that contained fragments of bronze and iron and an extraordinary number of

<sup>1</sup> The principal publications are: C. Waldstein and others, *The Argive Heraeum*, Boston and New York (1902, 1905); C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge (1937), and "Prosymna: Remains of Post-Mycenaean Date," *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 410-444. Summaries of the earlier investigations are given in the introductory chapters of these works. In the present report we use the following abbreviations:

*A. H.* = *The Argive Heraeum*.

*Corinth*, VII, i = S. S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, *The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery* (1943).

*M. P.* = A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery* (1941).

*NC* = H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931).

*V. S.* = K. F. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens* (1923).

<sup>2</sup> Brief notices were published in *B. C. H.*, LXXIV, 1950, pp. 315 f. and *American School of Classical Studies*, 69th Annual Report, 1949-50, pp. 35 f.



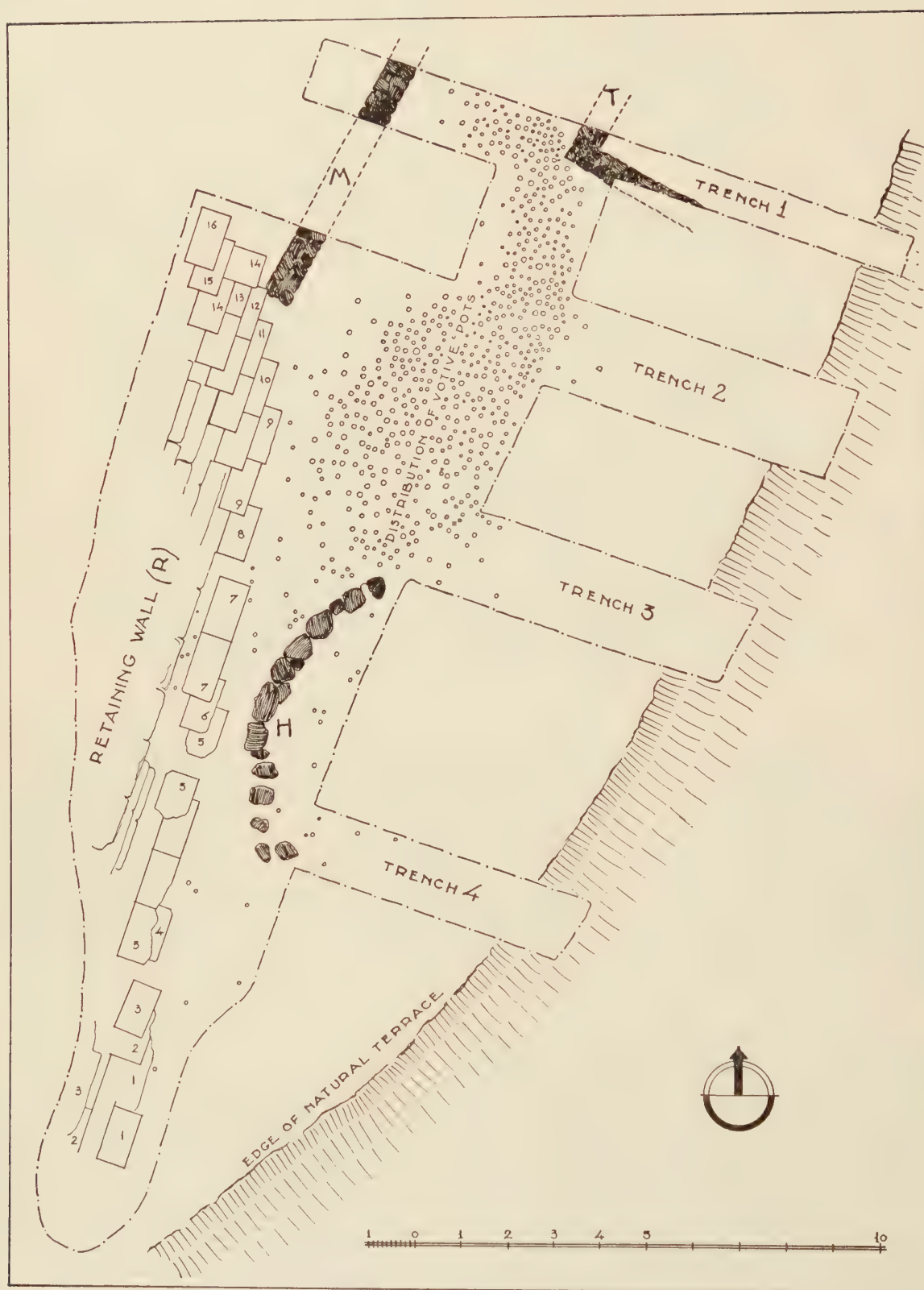


Fig. 1. Plan of the Area Excavated in 1949.

miniature pots, with a few terracotta figurines and other objects. Widening the trench, he uncovered and collected a great many of these, but discovered that the deposit was spread over an unexpectedly large area, and therefore halted the excavation for the moment.

In order to recover the rest of the deposit and to determine its stratigraphical relationships, it seemed desirable to resume and complete the task as soon as possible.<sup>3</sup> Permission was readily granted by the Ministry of Education, and the enterprise was undertaken jointly by the French and American Schools. P. Amandry represented the former, J. L. Caskey and Mrs. Caskey the latter.

For cordial interest and support in the undertaking we would express warm thanks to Professor A. K. Orlandos, Director of the Archaeological Service; to Mr. J. Papadimitriou, acting Ephor of the Argolid who took part in the excavation as our colleague and as representative of the Ministry of Education; to Mr. C. Karouzos, Director of the National Museum, who gave generous assistance in connection with the study of the material; and to Professor R. Demangel, Director at that time of the French School in Athens.

The digging, which occupied only five days in September 1949, was remarkably productive, yielding a multitude of the objects which P. Amandry had first seen in the spring and providing useful evidence of the sequence of layers in this part of the site. That was the limit of our undertaking, since the resources of both Schools were engaged elsewhere in much larger and more pressing obligations. Even in the small area of the sanctuary to which we restricted our attention there is more that could profitably be done, and it was not without regret that we resisted a temptation to expand the operation.

The present report comprises the contributions of two authors. P. Amandry describes and comments upon the small bronze kouros (pp. 176 ff.) and the terracotta figurines (pp. 184 ff.) which were found in this excavation; and for convenience his notes on certain inscriptions from other parts of the site are also included as an appendix (pp. 213 ff.). The rest of the article is contributed by J. L. Caskey.<sup>4</sup> The authors have consulted each other frequently but each assumes full responsibility for his own part of the work. The retaining wall which first led to the deposits here

<sup>3</sup> As it was, we were not quite quick enough: a few of the little pots, fruit apparently of some clandestine digging, have found their way into private collections in Athens.

<sup>4</sup> I would offer special thanks to several colleagues for further assistance: to the staff of the Agora Excavations in Athens, where the technical work on the pottery and other objects was done, and especially to Miss Alison Frantz for taking many of the photographs; to Miss Ellen Kohler for cleaning the bronzes; to Miss Marian Welker for making the drawings for Figures 2, 7-9 and to Mrs. Norman Herz for making drawings for Figures 3-6, 10-13; to Miss Rebecca Wood for drafting translations of Mr. Amandry's reports; and to other students of the American School for help with the inventory. The material has been seen in our workrooms by numerous visiting scholars, expert in Argive and Corinthian studies, who have given me the benefit of their valuable comments.—J. L. C.



described is dealt with by P. Amandry in his architectural study, which forms a separate article (*infra*, pp. 222 ff.); and an interesting fragment of pottery, contemporary with some of our material though not found with it, is published by Miss Shirley Hersom (*infra*, pp. 275 ff.).

### AREA EXCAVATED

The high ground occupied by the Heraion is a spur projecting southwestward from Mt. Euboea and bordered on either side by a deep ravine. On the east is the Glykia, to which the bank descends steeply from the acropolis and the plateau of the sanctuary. This slope is interrupted here and there by outcropping ledges of conglomerate rock, which hold the earth and form natural terraces, some five to fifteen meters wide. The terraces slope gently like ramps, rising from south to north.

A particularly steep bank just east of the East Building was solidified in classical times by a stepped retaining wall (P. Amandry, *Observations, infra* p. 263 and Pl. 70a), which we here call R. The area tested in our excavations is near the foot of this wall, on the southern end of one of the natural terraces. It is shown in plan in Figure 1, where numbers 1-16 on the blocks of the stepped wall indicate successive courses, beginning with the lowest, at the south. These numbers will serve also as points of reference in the following account of the excavation.

The entire face of Wall R, as preserved, was exposed to its foot in the brief excavation of April 1949. In September the trench that ran parallel to it, roughly north and south, was widened and four other trenches, 1 m. to 2 m. wide, were dug at right angles, extending eastward to the edge of the hill (Pl. 43 a, b). In these tests it was found that the strata of ancient debris followed approximately the configuration of the underlying rock, sloping downward from northwest to southeast. Limestone bedrock and a ledge of conglomerate were exposed in the area just east of the north end of Wall R (the courses numbered 9-16 in Fig. 1); elsewhere we made soundings but did not attempt to remove all the earth.

A succession of layers could be distinguished. At the top was an accumulation of debris 0.40 m. to 0.50 m. deep in most places but more than 1 m. deep toward the east where the hillside drops away steeply. It was firm and compact, apparently deposited in ancient times, and contained mixed sherds, principally of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. Immediately below lay a stratum averaging 0.30 m. in thickness, containing miscellaneous objects and fragments of metal, stone, and terracotta, in addition to a great number of small votive pots, many of which were unbroken, lying close-packed like eggs in a basket (Pl. 43 c, d). These objects are datable to the seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. It is to be noted that almost all the pieces of bronze and iron lay just above the pots, though a few were found at the bottom of the deposit.

Under the rich stratum of archaic objects we encountered here and there some sherds of late Geometric ware, but no continuous or undisturbed deposits of that age. The next clearly marked layer belonged to the Mycenaean period. It varied from 0.25 m. to 0.60 m. in thickness and held remains of house walls and large quantities of broken pottery, most of which was datable to Late Helladic III A and III B. The existence of still earlier remains, representing the Middle and Early Bronze Ages, was attested by sherds recovered from small soundings in the northern part of our area. Time did not allow investigation of these most ancient deposits, and we could not ascertain whether they indicated general layers of debris from habitation on this side of the hill or were merely pockets of rubbish that had come from the settlement on the level ground above.

Although the archaic deposit claimed our principal attention, we made an effort to isolate each stratum while digging and to preserve and store the objects in accordance with the contexts in which they were found. In the following account the periods represented are treated consecutively in chronological order: Early Helladic, Middle Helladic, Late Helladic, Geometric, Archaic, Classical. In each section a brief description of the ground, the architectural remains (if any), and the stratification, is followed by a relatively extensive catalogue. Few of the objects are either rare or beautiful, but their discovery in large numbers and in a series of layers gives them considerable importance. For this reason, and because no further report of the material is contemplated at present, it seems proper to list and illustrate a fairly generous selection. We do not attempt, however, to provide an exhaustive or definitive commentary; before that can be given, much new work must be done at the Heraion and at other sites.

### EARLY HELLADIC PERIOD

Fragments of Early Helladic pottery were found in small numbers wherever we probed below the level of the Mycenaean walls (Fig. 1, M, T, H), but principally at the west end of Trench 1 where our soundings were deepest. Neither walls nor floors were encountered, and it proved impossible in so small a space to determine whether there was an undisturbed layer.

Few joins could be made and no whole shapes could be reconstituted from the sherds, but several familiar types were distinguishable. All the vessels were hand-made. They appear to belong to late phases of the Early Bronze Age. The following pieces, illustrated on Plate 44, are representative:

**1, 2.** Dark gray and black burnished wares. The biscuit moderately coarse but firm in texture. No. **1** is from the rim of a bowl.

**3-7.** Slipped ware. The biscuit fairly soft, coated with semi-lustrous slip which tends to

flake off; red, brown, or black, according to the conditions of firing. No. **3** is from the spout of a sauceboat, Nos. **4** and **5** from the rims of plain rounded bowls, No. **6** from a crude broad-mouthed jug. No. **7** is a ring-base of an open vessel.



**8, 9.** Patterned ware. The biscuit firm, buff to tan in color; linear decoration in slightly lustrous reddish-brown to dark brown or black paint.

**10-14.** Coarse smeared ware. The biscuit very uneven, tan, light gray, or greenish-gray in color, containing many fine particles of dark

gray stone; the surface partially or wholly coated with dull brown or black wash, streakily applied. No. **10** bears an incised herringbone pattern; Nos. **11** and **12** are from the spreading rims of large jars; No. **13** from the rim of a deep basin, No. **14** a horizontal ledge-handle from the side of a large vessel.

### MIDDLE HELLADIC PERIOD

The Middle Bronze Age, like the Early, was represented by potsherds only. These came from deposits just below the Mycenaean layer, principally in Trench 1 and the space between Trenches 1 and 2. They were found with indeterminate coarse wares, and some of the Early Helladic sherds occurred at the same level. The principal fabrics are illustrated by the following selected pieces (Pl. 44):

**15-20.** Light gray Minyan ware, some bluish, some with a slight greenish tinge, all wheel-made and of good quality. Nos. **15** and **16** bear traces of painted decoration, the former having bands in lustrous red-brown, the latter in a paint that has worn off; either may conceivably have come from a Mycenaean vessel of buff clay, which was burnt gray by accident, but both seem to be of earlier Minyan fabric. Nos. **17-20** are from bowls or stemmed goblets with angular shoulders and small flat vertical handles. Also represented are bowls with splaying rim, the inner side of the lip slightly concave in profile.

**21-23.** Yellow Minyan ware, some fine, some coarse and gritty. Nos. **21** and **23** are from bowls with angular rims; No. **22** from a stemmed vessel with horizontal grooves on the lower part of the body.

**24-29.** Mattpainted ware. Clay yellowish-buff, greenish-buff, greenish-gray; linear patterns in dull purplish-brown to black paint. Nos. **24-26** are from cups with high-swung handles; No. **27** from a bowl with angular shoulder; No. **28** from a jar with incurving rim; No. **29** from a closed vessel of uncertain shape.

### LATE HELLADIC PERIOD

Traces of occupation in the Mycenaean period were discovered in almost all parts of the area under investigation. The layer of debris, containing much broken pottery and a few other objects, was 0.30 m. to 0.40 m. thick at an average and lay just below the archaic deposit, or about 0.80 m. to 1.20 m. below the modern surface of the ground. Architectural remains were slight, consisting of the foundations of a few narrow walls (Fig. 1). These resemble the Mycenaean house walls that have been discovered in other parts of the site,<sup>5</sup> and indicate that several small buildings were clustered along the terraced eastern slope. A path or narrow roadway may have

<sup>5</sup> *A. H.*, I, pp. 108-109; *Prosymna*, pp. 11 ff.

passed among these houses, ascending northward toward the summit of the acropolis. The terrace is somewhat narrower now than it was in ancient times, the eastern edge having suffered from gradual erosion in the course of centuries.

The first of the walls to be noted, M, was found at the north end of courses 11 and 12 of Wall R and was observed again a little further north in the western part of our Trench 1 (Pl. 43 e). Constructed of small stones of irregular shape, it is about 0.60 m. thick and is preserved to a maximum height of 0.55 m. On either side were deposits of earth containing Mycenaean pottery (e. g. Nos. **38-40, 42, 43, 45**). Further south, near Wall R, there were Mycenaean sherds beside Wall M and in the thin stratum that separated it from the underlying ledge of native rock. The latter indicate that the building was constructed not earlier than the end of Late Helladic III A.

Wall T, forming a right-angle corner in the eastern part of our Trench 1, is of similar masonry and belongs probably to the same phase. It is 0.45 m. to 0.50 m. thick, and was found preserved to a height of only one or two courses. A layer of small stones or pebbles, presumably a pavement, was noted in the corner, marking the floor level. On it were a few Mycenaean sherds. Below, there was debris of earlier periods, containing fragments of Middle Helladic and Early Helladic wares.

Just east of Wall R, opposite the courses marked from 9 to 4 on the plan (Fig. 1), the sloping stratum yielded Mycenaean pottery in abundance (e. g. sherds Nos. **36, 37, 47-51**). A curving row of stones came to light in this region, but it was not clear what purpose it had served. No distinct floor or ground level was observable.

On the basis of our limited investigation we can make no attempt to distinguish a chronological sequence within the Mycenaean layer. Sherds representing the styles of Late Helladic II, III A, and III B<sup>6</sup> were found in close proximity. Striations were not visible in the debris, and it seemed evident that the ground had been disturbed repeatedly in the Late Bronze Age; but scarcely any material of post-Mycenaean date was found to have intruded.

#### OBSIDIAN

**30** (M 49.4). L. 0.025, W. 0.014, Th. 0.003. Fragment of blade.

**31** (M 49.123). L. 0.027, W. 0.015, Th. 0.007. Found in corner formed by Wall T. Pointed at one end; perhaps an arrowhead.

#### TERRACOTTA

##### FEMALE FIGURINES

**32** (M 49.1). Pl. 44. Head. H. 0.047. Found in a trial pit 15 m. southwest of south end of Wall R. Very fine buff clay; dark brown lustrous paint. From the center of the

<sup>6</sup> These designations of the subperiods are used in their widely accepted sense. In the following catalogue we add references to Furumark's more detailed classification, which is indispensable in typological studies, though its chronological application is not yet wholly substantiated.



concave cup-like headdress rises a plastic strip which passes over the edge and continues down the back. Painted decoration: cross on interior, band on rim, and series of hanging loops on exterior of headdress; band on forehead, from which hang four strands on either temple; profile of face outlined, eyes indicated by dots; series of marks on plastic strip, suggesting a braid; neckline and folds of dress indicated.

**33** (M 49.121). Fragment of body. H. 0.028. Pinkish-buff clay, red lustrous paint. Spreading base and lower part of columnar body, widening above toward standard  $\Phi$ -shape. Three painted stripes descend to base.

**34** (M 49.122). Fragment of body. 0.022 by 0.033. Pinkish-buff clay, reddish-brown lustrous paint. From side of  $\Phi$ -shaped figure. Bit of plastic strip (braid) preserved. Curving painted lines represent drapery.

#### ANIMAL

**35** (M 49.11). Pl. 44. Fragment. H. 0.041, L. 0.06. Found near the Archaic stratum but apparently of Mycenaean fabric. Buff clay, brown slightly lustrous paint. Much worn on right side. Chest flat; body, neck, and forelegs cylindrical. Vertical and horizontal lines carelessly painted, possibly indicating trappings of a horse.

#### POTTERY

Slightly more than a basketful of Mycenaean sherds was recovered, the greatest number coming from the continuous stratum associated with Wall H. Few joins could be made, and no vessels could be restored. Only samples need be recorded here since the fabrics represented are all well known in the Argolid.

Fragments of fine ware make up fully three-fourths of the total, the rest being coarse domestic ware of gritty texture. The fine ware is of excellent quality, generally buff in color, some pieces verging toward yellow and greenish-yellow, some toward pinkish-tan and brown.

Recognizable shapes include stemmed cups, deep bowls, small three-handled jars, and stirrup-vases. About half the pieces are plain, the other half being wholly coated with bright red or brownish-black slip or bearing decorative patterns in lustrous red, brown, or black.

The earliest vessels represented may be dated stylistically to Late Helladic II, but the bulk of the material belongs clearly to Late Helladic III A and III B; none appears to be later than the end of the thirteenth century, insofar as our present knowledge allows us to judge.

The following sherds are illustrated on Plate 44:

**36** Cup. Clay gray, apparently from accidental burning; paint black. Spiral with broad border and solid center. L. H. I-II (*M.P.*, Motive 46).

**37** Stemmed cup. Clay buff; paint dark brown. Part of rosette decorates one side of the bowl, probably in the Ephyræan style. L. H. II (cf. *Korakou*, fig. 75).

**38** Cup. Clay gray at core, pinkish-tan at surface, coated with buff slip; brownish-black paint. Coarse, irregular stippling on interior and exterior. L. H. II (*M.P.*, Motive 77:1; Mycenaean II A-B).

**39** Cup. Clay buff; paint dark brown. Rim coated; close, regular stippling on exterior of bowl. L. H. II-III A (*M.P.*, Motive 77:2; Mycenaean II B-III A:2e).

**40** Squat jug or alabastron (shape, *M.P.*, fig. 11). Clay buff; paint brown to black. Horizontal bands at collar and side, continuous solid rock pattern in shoulder zone. L. H. II-III A. (*M.P.*, Motive 32:5; Mycenaean I-III B).

**41** Cup. Similar to No. 39; paint red. L. H. II-III A.

**42** Cup. Clay light reddish-tan; paint or slip bright red with tinge of orange. Whole surface coated, inside and out. L. H. III A (cf. *Prosymna*, fig. 296, No. 715).

43 Cup. Clay buff; paint bright orange-red. Rim coated; spiral (?) on side. L. H. III A.

44 Stemmed cup. Buff clay. Plain. Probably L. H. III A (cf. *M. P.*, Type 264 or 272; Mycenaean III: A: 1—III A: 2e).

45 Jar (?). Clay buff; paint fine red-brown. Probably L. H. III A.

46 Jar (?). Clay grayish-buff; paint gray-brown to black. Horizontal band, apparently just below rim; series of disconnected spirals on shoulder. L. H. III A-B. (Cf. *M. P.*, Motive 46: 53; Mycenaean III B).

47 Conical rhyton (?) (*M. P.*, Type 199). Clay buff; paint orange-red. Papyrus pattern. L. H. III A-B. (Cf. *M. P.*, Motive 11: 31-39; Mycenaean III A: 2).

48 Cup. Clay buff; paint brown to black. Rim coated; on bowl, Furumark's "Mycenaean III Flower (volute)." L. H. III B. (*M. P.*, Motive 18 A: 20, 21; Mycenaean III B).

49 Cup. Clay grayish-buff; paint brown to

black. Row of dots along edge of lip; on bowl, Furumark's "Mycenaean III Flower (hybrid)." L. H. III B. (*M. P.*, Motive 18 B: 44, 47; Mycenaean III B).

50 Cup or deep bowl. Clay buff; paint red to brown. Panelled zone with "triglyphs" and semicircles (?) above broad horizontal bands. L. H. III B. (Cf. *M. P.*, Motives 43, 75).

51 Jar (?). Clay buff; paint brown to black. Zone with running spirals and filling ornament of hatched lozenges, above broad horizontal bands. Probably L. H. III B. (*M. P.*, Motives 46, 73: 16).

52 Deep bowl. Clay pinkish-tan; paint deep orange. Lip coated; panelled zone with anti-thetic spirals, hatching, and dotted rosettes. L. H. III B-C. (Cf. *M. P.*, Motives 27, 50).

53 Closed vessel; jar or jug. Clay pinkish-buff; paint orange-red. Broad horizontal band and panelled zone with hatching and diagonal (?) pattern. Probably L. H. III B-C (*M. P.*, Motives 55: 3, 75: 23; Mycenaean III C: 1).

## GEOMETRIC PERIOD

Fragments of Geometric pottery were found at many places in the excavated area, but only in small numbers. They came not from a distinct stratum; so far as we could determine, almost all lay just at the bottom of the Archaic deposit; none were associated with the Mycenaean layer.

Most of the pieces are of local Argive manufacture. The fine non-micaceous clay is of a characteristic light tan or dusty buff color. Surfaces of the pots were probably slipped, but the coating is not easy to distinguish. The glaze-paint is only moderately lustrous at best, and sometimes fairly dull. Shapes represented include broad open cups or bowls, amphorae, kraters (some probably with large pedestals), a tubular stand (?), and what appears to have been a large openwork stand or other piece of furniture. The fragments being few and unrelated, it is not possible to reconstruct any shapes exactly. Most of the decorative motives are familiar from other examples found in the Argolid.<sup>7</sup> They indicate that this series in general is to be assigned to the latter part of the eighth century.

<sup>7</sup> E. g. *A. H.*, II, figs. 42, 43, pls. LVI-LVIII; Müller and Oelmann, *Tiryns*, I, pls. XV, XIX, XX; Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, figs. 218, 222.



The following representative pieces are illustrated on Plate 50:

**54** Rim of krater. Th. of wall 0.012. Interior glazed. Group of ten cross-strokes on top of flat lip. On exterior of rim, zone with zigzag and dotted lines.

**55** Rim of bowl. Th. of wall 0.007. Interior glazed; inner side of lip reserved. On exterior of rim, zone with dotted lozenges.

**56** Rim of bowl or small krater. Th. of wall 0.006-0.007. Rim projects outward. Whole interior and top of lip glazed. On exterior of rim, panel with jagged lines.

**57** Rim of bowl. Th. of wall 0.004-0.005. Splaying rim, rising at an angle from convex shoulder. Interior of body glazed. Four longitudinal lines on interior of rim, three on exterior. Group of vertical zigzags on shoulder.

**58** Rim of bowl or small krater. Th. of wall 0.006-0.008. Rim projects inward and outward. Broad band on interior just below rim. Two lines longitudinally on top of flat lip; vertical strokes on outer edge. On exterior of rim, zone with chain of cross-hatched lozenges.

**59** Shoulder of large amphora or other closed vessel. Th. of wall 0.01-0.018. Above, horizontal lines and chain of dotted lozenges. Below (in panel ?), man leading long-necked horse to left. A zigzag line descends to the man's right hand, perhaps the bridle from the horse's head, which towers above him. In the field, a bird and a fish. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. LVII, 4; Müller and Oelmann, *Tiryns*, I, pl. XV. 5.

**60** Shoulder of large amphora or other closed vessel. Th. of wall 0.008-0.013. Above, horizontal lines. Below, parts of two panels, divided by three vertical lines. At right, head and part of fore leg (?) of horse facing left. In field, column of M's.

**61** Body of krater. Th. of wall 0.009-0.011. Interior glazed. On exterior: above, zone or panel with long-legged birds or horses or both; below, three horizontal bands and zone with birds.

**62** Body of krater or amphora. Th. of wall 0.009-0.013. Clay slightly greenish; possibly Corinthian. Interior plain, smoothed. On exterior, horizontal bands and zone or panel with zigzags drawn in outline and hatched.

**63** Rim of bowl or small krater. Th. of wall 0.007-0.01. Interior glazed. Series of X's on top of flat lip. On exterior of rim, chain of dotted lozenges and three horizontal lines.

**64** Rim of pedestal for large krater (?). Th. of wall 0.007. Interior and surface of flat rim plain, unsurfaced. Exterior of rim glazed; above, horizontal plastic ridge with short vertical marks; then horizontal bands and a zone with chain of dotted lozenges. If not from a pedestal, this fragment may possibly be from the rim of an amphora, or, more probably, from a stand like that illustrated in *A. H.*, II, p. 118, fig. 43.

**65** Tubular pedestal for large krater (?). Th. of wall 0.014. Interior plain, rough. On exterior: above, a zone between horizontal bands; in it at left, a glazed area with a spiral or circle-and-dot in a reserved space; at right a panel with meander pattern, the elements drawn in outline and hatched; below, the upper ends of large rays, outlined at sides, truncated at top.

**66** Base of bowl or skyphos. Th. of wall near base 0.07. Interior glazed. Band around outside of base; series of short vertical strokes on rim; wheel pattern on concave underside.

**67** Openwork stand (?). Th. 0.014-0.016. Found in area between Trenches 1 and 2, immediately below the main Archaic stratum; a few Mycenaean sherds at the same level. Clay fairly fine, light dusty tan in color, smoothed or slipped on the outer surface; similar to that of figurine Nos. **130-131** (*infra*). Paint dark reddish-brown to black, slightly lustrous. Undoubtedly of Argive manufacture.

The original form is uncertain. The fragment preserved suggests part of a trellised sup-

port for a chair or table, possibly a portable altar or pot-stand, made as if with wooden boards *ca.* 0.07 m. in width. There was a projecting piece at the left of the fragment as seen in the photograph. The edges of the "boards" are painted where exposed. On the upright member, a twisting serpent, its body outlined on either side with rows of dots and bordered within each curve by an oval enclosing a dot; the head, portrayed as if from above, is roughly diamond-shaped, with tassels (horns ?) at either side; the eyes are shown as dots on a reserved ground; the jaws are open, seen as if from the side. Along the horizontal member at the left are zigzags drawn in outline and hatched.

68 Rim and shoulder of bowl or *deinos*.

Tan biscuit coated with orange-red slip. The rim curves sharply inward. On the rounded shoulder is a pronounced thickening, probably where a handle was attached, and a large horn-like projection. On upper surface of rim, a reserved band with hatched meander pattern.

69 Rim of bowl or small krater. Th. of wall 0.008. Light orange-tan biscuit and slip; paint black with a slightly metallic sheen. Interior coated; reserved band on inner side of lip; bands, vertical lines, and cross-hatched panel on exterior. The fabric is not Argive, and appears to be distinctly earlier than that of the pieces listed above; possibly Laconian (cf. *proteometric and geometric wares from the Amyklaion*, von Massow, *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, pls. III, IX).

## ARCHAIC PERIOD

A stratum varying in thickness from 0.20 m. to a maximum of 0.40 m. was encountered throughout the area which we investigated (Fig. 1). It followed a gradual downward slope from northwest to southeast, like that of the underlying Mycenaean layer, and dropped away at the east where the hillside descends steeply to the ravine. Tests made under and behind the displaced blocks of courses 8 and 7 of Wall R (Pl. 43 f) showed that the stratum had been laid down before the construction of this wall. The earth throughout was of the same color and texture as that observed elsewhere; it contained no signs of burning or successive accumulations, but was apparently deposited during a single short period of time. There were no architectural remains whatsoever.

The remarkable feature of this stratum was the number of objects that it held: a silver clasp, many small bronzes and fragments of iron, terracotta figurines, and, especially, small vases and potsherds in extraordinary profusion. The position of these objects shows the order in which they were deposited. At the bottom were some fragments of fairly large pots, including those of Geometric style. Next came the miniature vessels, in some places very closely packed together (Pl. 43 c, d), in others more sparsely distributed, as if they had been carried out by the basketful and poured onto the ground, where some rolled down the slope. Immediately above the miniature pots, and particularly along the outer edge of the terrace, were most of the objects and fragments of metal.

These divisions were of course not rigidly defined; a few pieces of bronze appeared deep in the stratum, and one or two Geometric sherds near the top. But the



relative sequence is clear: the small vases were deposited all at one time, after the Geometric fragments—and, presumably, the few large pieces of early Protocorinthian ware that have come to light—were already in place; finally came the bits of bronze and iron. We cannot say with certainty how long the intervals between these stages were; it seems probable that the scattering of the metal objects occurred immediately after the little pots had been discarded.

Although most of the objects are of minor artistic merit, their grouping within a series of stratified layers gives them a not inconsiderable archaeological importance. This is a “closed” if not actually a “sealed” deposit, and the date when it was made can be established without much doubt by the latest imported pieces, which belong to the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. The earliest are at least 100 years older, and not a few of those locally made preserve features that reflect a more remote antiquity. The collection provides points of contact with several well known sites, particularly in the Corinthian sphere, and at the same time illustrates with emphasis a number of Argive wares whose chronological relationships have not been sharply defined.<sup>8</sup> In one respect particularly, the extraordinary prevalence of the miniature hydriai, we have furthermore a feature not previously recorded.

An analytical and fairly detailed catalogue is therefore required. In the following lists the objects are classed by material: the metals, stone, faience, terracotta, and pottery. Under pottery, the principal examples of imported Protocorinthian and Corinthian wares are presented first; then follows a more extensive record of the local Argive wares, listed according to fabric and shape. Total quantities are mentioned, but of the whole collection only representative pieces have received inventory numbers, and many even of these are omitted from the catalogue. In general, fragments are noted in detail only when whole objects of the same class are lacking or scarce.

#### SILVER

##### CLASP

**70** (M 49.97). Pls. 46, 47. L. 0.025. Found with greenish incrustation but easily cleaned by brushing; metal sound and bright. Specific gravity 10.4; hardness 2.5+.<sup>9</sup> The tips, tapered and sharply pointed, are just over

2 mm. apart. On the shaft opposite them was a soldered attachment, apparently tubelike and made up of six small contiguous rings.

#### BRONZE

##### STATUETTE (by P. A.)

**71** (National Museum 16357). Pl. 45. H.

<sup>8</sup> Pieces similar to many of ours were recovered by the score in Waldstein's excavations at the Heraion, but the places of finding were noted only in a summary fashion. J. C. Hoppin, who was charged with the publication of the pottery, had to rely upon type and style as sole criteria for dating; his prefatory remarks show that he was aware of inadequacies in the presentation (*A. H.*, II, pp. 57-58).

<sup>9</sup> This and several of the following objects of metal and stone were tested for specific gravity, hardness, and other qualities by Dr. Norman Herz, whom we would thank for his cooperation. Complete analyses have not been undertaken.

pres. 0.14. Found in the archaic stratum at the level of the lowest course of the stepped retaining wall, R.

Fragment of a statuette of a nude man, broken at waist and ankles. Solid cast. Surface in excellent condition.

This fragment is comparable to the statues of Kleobis and Biton<sup>10</sup> and to no others. It has their thick-set and massive proportions,<sup>11</sup> indicating that these are a characteristic of Argive taste. The finding-place of the statuette and its kinship with the two Delphic statues exclude any doubt that it comes from the shop of an Argive bronze-worker.

Although its relationship with the athletes of Polymedes is evident, various details point to a more advanced stage of evolution for the Heraion bronze. The contour of the body of Kleobis, seen from the front, presents from chest to ankles a sinuous line of three convex curves (chest, thighs, calves) separated by two depressions (waist and knees). The joining of the legs to the body and the transition from thigh to calf are still conceived in the daedalic style<sup>12</sup> and display no anatomical accuracy; excessive thinness of waist and knee results.

In the Heraion statuette these two transitions are marked by a strong bulge at the hip (preserved on the right side) and a swelling at the inside and the outside of the knee. The pelvis is, therefore, relatively larger<sup>13</sup> and the narrowing of the thigh toward the knee is less pronounced, which augments the impression of massive power. The front of the thigh, almost completely flat in the statue of Kleobis, is rounded in the statuette from the Heraion. Although the rendering of the musculature has not escaped from the older convention (which was to last throughout the entire sixth century), at least it marks an advance over the statues of Delphi. The muscle of the thigh is no longer indicated by two rectilinear and almost vertical grooves, but by a wide depression hollowed diagonally from buttock to knee, below which it curves inward and flattens out. The stylization of the knee, with the patella surrounded by a deep groove, conforms to archaic usage but is less schematic than in the statue of Kleobis;<sup>14</sup> the projection of the fibula is also less sharp. In the Heraion statuette the left leg is only slightly advanced beyond the right, and the thighs are joined almost to the knees. The beginning of

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the reproductions of these statues in *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, Album, pls. I, II (front view, back and right profile); G. Richter, *Kouroi*, pl. XVIII, fig. 60 (front view), figs. 59, 61 (right and left profiles, from a cast); P. de la Coste-Messelière and G. de Miré, *Delphes*, figs. 34, 35 (front view).

<sup>11</sup> Detailed measurements of the Heraion statuette: I. Height: from the break at the right ankle to the upper bulge at the knee, 0.064; to the pubis, 0.115; to the bulge of the right hip, 0.137. II. Breadth (front view): waist at the break, 0.042; greatest width of the two thighs together, 0.051; calf, 0.02. III. Thickness (profile): waist at the break, 0.025; buttocks, 0.038; thigh, 0.031; calf, 0.022; ankle, 0.015. If the proportions of the statue of Kleobis are applied to the Heraion statuette, its total height should be about 0.25 m.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. for example the statuette from Dreros, *B. C. H.*, LX, 1936, pl. LXIII B, where the joining of the torso and the pelvis is still more schematic.

<sup>13</sup> It is still, however, narrow in relation to the breadth of the thighs. This detail, which is not peculiar to Argive art, is the more striking here since the rest of the anatomy is thick and massive. The same applies to the buttocks, which are rendered in precisely the same manner in the statues at Delphi and the Heraion. They are rounded in a pronounced projection, joined to the thighs with no transitional passage, and little developed in height or width in comparison to the bulk of the legs.

<sup>14</sup> The sinuous line of the bulge above the patella; the treatment, differing for the inside and the outside of the leg, of the extremities of the thigh muscles; and the modeling of the patella all indicate that the Heraion statuette belongs to the group of the Apollo of Tenea rather than to that of the Kleobis. Cf. P. Richer, *Le Nu dans l'Art, l'Art Grec*, pp. 60-66, fig. 84.



a swelling, visible at the break of the right leg, may indicate that the figure was booted, as K. Rhomaïos has observed of the Kleobis and Biton.

The Heraion statuette, then, is later by a generation than the statue of Kleobis. According to G. Richter's classification, it belongs to the Tenea group rather than to the Sounion or Orchomenos groups. The date assigned to it will depend on the dating of the kouroi of Polymedes. These kouroi belong to the end of the evolution of "daedalic" sculpture and the beginning of the development of "archaic" sculpture; their dating is subject to the variations in the chronological systems that have been proposed for the seventh as well as for the sixth century. The Argive statues of Delphi have been dated to around 600,<sup>15</sup> to the first decade of the sixth century,<sup>16</sup> or to the second decade. The latest dating is the most probable.<sup>17</sup> The Heraion statuette is to be dated,

then, to the second quarter, or rather toward the middle, of the sixth century, which makes it one of the latest objects discovered in the archaic stratum in the excavations of 1949.

Among the thousands of bronze ex-votos discovered at the Heraion, only four human figures have been counted thus far.<sup>18</sup> The sites of Mycenae, Tiryns and Epidauros have been no more productive, and the greater number of the terracotta figurines from these various excavations are too casually fashioned to give a fair idea of Argive art in the archaic period.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the terracottas are all female figurines or isolated heads; the kouros type is not represented. The definition of Argive style, at least for representations of nude male figures, is based on a very few documents,<sup>20</sup> to which the Heraion statuette must now be added. The scope of the present report does not permit us to take up the problems involved in the archaic art of Argos.<sup>21</sup> We must confine ourselves to

<sup>15</sup> R. J. H. Jenkins, *Dedolica*, p. 75.

<sup>16</sup> G. Richter, *Kouroi*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>17</sup> In his book *Au Musée de Delphes* (1936) p. 6, n. 5, P. de la Coste-Messelière does not decide between the years immediately before and those following the first sacred war. In *Delphes* (1943), p. 318, he favors the decade 590-580, and even considers the precise date 582 to be very probable. In communicating to me various observations used in the preceding lines, he has been kind enough to inform me that he now rejects any date before 600 because of the post-daedalic style of the statue of Kleobis, and that a date between 600 and 590 is difficult to accept because of the sacred war; the second decade of the sixth century is thus the most probable date. We know that in 586, 582 and 578 the Argives competed successfully at the Pythia; it was in 582 that the games were reorganized by the Amphiktyons who had conquered Kirrha.

<sup>18</sup> *A. H.*, II, pp. 194-197, pls. LXX-LXXI; *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 430-432, fig. 17.

<sup>19</sup> For the Argive terracottas cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, *B. S. A.*, XXXII, 1931-1932, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>20</sup> On the development of Argive sculpture in the archaic period cf. Th. Homolle, *Fouilles de Delphes*, IV, 1, pp. 13-17; E. Langlotz, *Frühgr. Bildhauerschulen*, pp. 57 ff.; H. Payne, *J. H. S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 171-174. The list of works attributed to Argos by E. Langlotz is based on very subjective principles of classification. The rarity of documents whose Argive origin is certain has recently been re-emphasized by G. Karo, *Greek Personality in Archaic Sculpture*, p. 110. Apart from the statues of Kleobis and Biton, the only male figures whose Argive origin is very probable are the ephebe of Ligourio and the Herakles figures in the Louvre, the Museum of Thebes, and the Benaki Museum. To these may be added a bronze statuette of a warrior (Y. Béquignon, *B. C. H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 175, pl. X), which M. Gjødesen has assigned with considerable probability to Argos, comparing it with the local terracotta figurines (*Acta Arch.*, XV, 1944, p. 187, fig. 25).

<sup>21</sup> These problems are, on the one hand, to determine what products of the workshops of northeastern Peloponnesus come from Argos, and on the other hand, to distinguish Argive works from those of Arcadia. Therefore the inclusion by E. Langlotz of bronzes generally considered

noting that the Heraion bronze proves that in the first half of the sixth century Polymedes was not an isolated figure, and that the tradition of a sculptural type with strongly marked characteristics was still alive in Argos towards the middle of the century. It is from this that the new document derives all its interest; but the rarity of Argive works preserved and the quality of this fragment make us regret still more keenly that the upper part of the figure was not found.

## BOWL OR KETTLE

72 (M 49.66). Pl. 46. L. pres. 0.292. Fragment of rim of fairly large vessel similar to *A. H.*, II, pl. CXVI, 1983, 1984. Lip thickened.

chora is recorded with commentary and references by T. J. Dunbabin in H. Payne, *Pera-chora* (1940), pp. 148-156. Our phialai correspond with Dunbabin's later type, and should be dated in the first part of the sixth century.

73 (M 49.64). Fig. 2. H. 0.023, D. 0.118, Th. of wall *ca.* 0.0005. Lip thickened and flat on top. On outer surface of rim, band of tiny tangent circles made with puncheon and, below, band of slanting strokes. On the side and bottom, a punched pattern of lotus with radiating petals, single dots between the tips. Two incised lines around the central boss. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CXIV, 1975; pl. CXV, 1976, 1991.

74 (M 49.65). Orig. D. *ca.* 0.15. Plain, rounded, the lip turned outward.

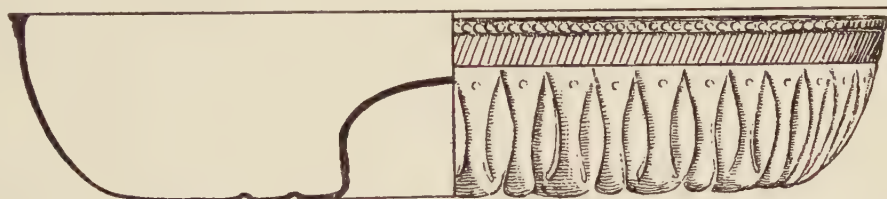


Fig. 2. No. 73. Bronze Phiale Mesomphalos (1:1).

## PHIALAI

Five examples of practical size (as distinguished from the miniatures) were found nearly enough complete to be recognizable. Among the hundreds of fragments of thin bronze recovered from the deposit other phialai are undoubtedly represented. Two of our five, both mesomphalic, were too badly corroded to be cleaned. Great numbers of similar vessels were found in Waldstein's excavations (e. g. *A. H.*, II, pls. CXV-CXVII), and several came to light in a shrine west of the sanctuary (C. W. Blegen, *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 414, fig. 5, p. 419, fig. 8). Abundant material of the same sort from the temenos of Hera Limenia at Pera-

75 (M 49.95). Pl. 46. H. 0.018, orig. D. *ca.* 0.10. Half of rim and side missing. Flat bottom, sharply curving side, horizontal rim projecting outward. Elongated hole in center, punched from above. On the bottom is a ring of discoloration, 0.04 m. in diameter, with traces of another metal, perhaps silver or a soldering material, where the vessel rested on a stand or tubular object.

## MINIATURE PHIALAI

Ten examples, 0.03 m. to 0.07 m. in diameter, were recognizable. Almost all are mesomphalic and have a small hole near the rim, by which presumably they were hung up as dedications.

Arcadian (e. g. by W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 88, n. 1; *B. S. A.*, XXVII, 1925-1926, pp. 133 ff.) in his Argive group has roused lively objections: H. Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 171, n. 25; P. de la Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes*, p. 215, n. 6, and p. 216, n. 5.



Some have incised and punched decoration, clearly in imitation of the larger vessels. Many of the same type are illustrated in *A. H.*, II, pls. CXIII-CXIV; cf. also *Perachora*, pl. 57.

**76** (M 49.75). Pl. 46. H. originally *ca.* 0.01, D. *ca.* 0.065. Mesomphalic. Around the boss, a band of radiating lines, two rings of dots, and a series of rays, all punched from interior. Hole near rim.

**77** (M 49.80). D. *ca.* 0.06. Flattened; nearly half missing. Mesomphalic, like No. **76**; radiating lines, single ring of dots.

**78** (M 49.47). Pl. 46. H. *ca.* 0.007, D. 0.045. Part of rim missing. Plain. Tiny boss at center. Hole near rim.

**79** (M 49.48). Pl. 46. D. 0.032. Flattened. Like No. **78**.

Another diminutive piece had a crimped or fluted rim, like *A. H.*, II, pl. CXIV, 1961, 1970.

#### DISKS

About a dozen thin flat disks, varying from 0.025 m. to 0.10 m. in diameter, were noted, as well as fragments of other similar objects. Some are plain, others decorated with punched patterns. Many are perforated at the center, where a small ring-handle may have been fastened, making them serviceable as lids (see No. **110**, *infra*). Disks with pierced projections at the side, like No. **83**, may have been sewn to clothing, as indeed may some of the simpler pieces. In general we must assume that most of these objects, like the small phialai which they resemble, were made and sold to be dedicated rather than to serve a practical purpose. They were found in great numbers by Waldstein (*A. H.*, II, pls. XCIX-CI).

**80** (M 49.81). Pl. 46. D. 0.095, Th. 0.0003. Hole at center, D. 0.005. Similar disks with small ring attached at center were used as lids for bronze hydriai at least as early as the sixth century B.C. (One, unpublished, in the museum at Volo. Cf. also D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*,

X, pls. LXXVII-LXXIX.) Our piece cannot be dated independently but, being found with the rest of the archaic deposit, is presumably not later than the middle of the sixth century. As a dedication it is paralleled by the pottery lids of Corinthian style (p. 191), and the association with hydriai (p. 211) is of interest.

**81** (M 49.54). Pl. 46. D. 0.025. Like No. **80**, in miniature.

**82** (M 49.55). D. 0.10. Much damaged by corrosion. Decorated with four concentric rings of punched dots.

Five miniatures with rings of punched dots near the rim: Inv. M 49.50—M 49.53 perforated at center, M 49.49 not perforated.

**83** (M 49.73). Pl. 46. D. 0.058. Specific gravity 8.66. Pierced projections at two opposite points on rim. Rosette and boss at center, two rings of punched dots at border. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CVIII, 1851.

#### MIRRORS

The handle of a large mirror and most of one miniature were found. One small handle belonged probably to a mirror and some miscellaneous fragments may come from the disks of others. The type is simple and well known (e. g. *A. H.*, II, pls. XCIII, XCIV; *Perachora*, pl. 80, 9-14).

**84** (M 49.94). Pl. 46. Fragment. L. pres. 0.18. Edges of handle thickened. Plain.

**85** (M 49.77). Pl. 46. D. of disk 0.063. Bit of rim and end of handle missing. Decorative border of punched dots.

**86** (M 49.63). Pl. 46. L. 0.064. Handle only; one end round and perforated (cf. *Perachora*, pl. 80, 11).

#### RINGS

The deposit yielded six rings, three of a size to fit the finger, three larger. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pp. 250 ff., pls. LXXXVIII-XCI.

**87** (M 49.83). Pl. 46. D. 0.022. Plain, round in section.

**88** (M 49.118). D. 0.024. Plain, elliptical in section.

**89** (M 49.100). Pl. 46. D. 0.02, W. 0.009. Plain band.

**90** (M 49.125). D. 0.038. Plain, round in section.

**91** (M 49.74). Pl. 46. D. 0.031. Specific gravity 7.98. Grooved longitudinally.

**92** (M 49.71). Pl. 46. D. 0.04. "Structural ring" (*A. H.*, II, pp. 263 f.). Bottom flat; top flat and bevelled on either side. Joint open. On top are three flat sinkings, each 4 mm. wide, evenly spaced, designed perhaps to hold legs of a small tripod.

#### PINS

Twenty-five pins more or less nearly complete and fragments of two or three times that many were recovered. Only a selection need be recorded to illustrate the types, since this well-known form is abundantly represented at the Heraion and other sites.<sup>22</sup> For typology see *A. H.*, II, pp. 207 ff., pls. LXXVIII-LXXXIV. Included in the following list are a few long pieces of the type that De Cou and others have called spits (*A. H.*, II, pp. 300 ff., pls. CXXVII-CXXXIII). In our collection at least part of every shaft is round in section and therefore not well designed to turn meat over a fire.

Pins of this sort cannot be dated precisely. The long type appears on the Greek mainland with Geometric pottery at least as early as the middle of the eighth century, and both long and short occur in profusion throughout the archaic period.

**93** (M 49.70). Pl. 46. L. pres. 0.03. Simple biconical head. Top of shaft square.

**94** (M 49.107). Pl. 46. L. 0.102. Disk head and five bulbs. Shaft round.

**95** (M 49.108). L. 0.098. Point missing. Like No. **94**.

Heads of two others, similar, one with five bulbs, one with three.

**96** (M 49.126). Pl. 46. L. pres. 0.04. Type: *A. H.*, II, pl. LXXXII, 585.

**97** (M 49.84). Pl. 46. L. as bent 0.278. Complete. Yellow brass-colored. Top of head has small transverse groove, probably accidental. Flat flange and single biconical bulb. Top of shaft square, with zigzag tooling. Cf. drawings, *A. H.*, II, pl. LXXXIV.

**98** (M 49.101). Pl. 46. L. pres. as bent 0.105. Specific gravity 8.60. Head complete. Like No. **97** but bigger; red copper-colored. Bulb rounded-biconical.

**99** (M 49.90). L. pres. as bent 0.072. Brass-colored. Like No. **97**. Five grooves around shaft above flange.

**100** (M 49.86). Pl. 46. L. pres. as bent 0.085. Specific gravity 8.47. Like No. **97**. Bulb rounded-biconical.

**101** (M 49.91). L. pres. 0.051. Like No. **97**.

**102** (M 49.105). L. pres. as bent 0.143. Red copper-colored. Parts of fine original surface preserved. Shaft above bulb octagonal in section; below, square for 0.015 m., then round.

Others of the same type as No. **97**: Inv. M 49.79, 85, 87, 88, 89, 102, 103, 104, 106, 109, 110, 112, and uncatalogued fragments.

**103** (M 49.113). Pl. 46. L. pres. (measured along shaft) 0.315. Two biconical bulbs in square part of shaft, lower end of which is round.

<sup>22</sup> C. W. Blegen, *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 413, fig. 3, p. 439, fig. 27; A. Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV, pl. XXV; Ch. Dugas, "Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée," *B. C. H.*, XLV, 1921, pp. 375 ff.; R. M. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, pls. LXXV, LXXXVI; H. Payne, *Perachora*, pls. 17, 74-76; A. Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pls. 114, 115; C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, pl. 12.



## PIN HEADS

**104** Found by J. Papadimitriou on terrace of later temple and noted here for comparison. (Inventory M 49.119). Pl. 46. L. 0.051, D. of flange 0.046. Socket at lower end to hold round shaft *ca.* 0.004 m. thick. No examples of this large type were discovered in the area of our excavation but many are recorded by De Cou (e. g. *A. H.*, II, pl. LXXXI). Cf. *Perachora*, pl. 75, 11, and pp. 172 f.

**105** (M 49.116). Pl. 46. H. 0.025, D. 0.021. Head in form of cube with rounded corners, surmounted by knob in which a small bead was held by claws; haft below with socket for shaft of (iron ?) pin. Type: *A. H.*, II, pl. LXXXIII, 708, 710-712; cf. *Perachora*, pl. 76, 32, and p. 174.

**106** (M 49.72). Pl. 46. H. 0.013, D. 0.017. Specific gravity 8.27. Melon-shaped, with eight segments. Pierced vertically, possibly as a bead for stringing but more probably for shaft of pin. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. LXXXIII, 715, 716.

**107** (M 49.92). Pl. 46. H. 0.026, D. 0.02. Specific gravity 8.74. Found slightly above the archaic deposit, not necessarily contemporary. Ovoid head surrounded by 3 ridges. Socket 0.0045 in diameter; haft pierced horizontally to hold toggle. Very neat and regular. Designed perhaps for lid of box or other object rather than as head of pin.

## PLAQUE FIBULA

**108** (M 49.76). Pl. 46. L. as pres. 0.065, L. of backing for plaque 0.045. Specific gravity 8.83. Type: *A. H.*, II, pl. LXXXIV, 813, 814. Cf. also *Artemis Orthia*, pls. LXXXII, XCI ff.

## HANDLES

**109** (M 49.114). L. 0.065. Reel not preserved. Type: *A. H.*, II, pl. CXXII, 2165.

**110** (M 49.78). Pl. 46. D. 0.016. Nearly circular loop of wire, the ends flattened and turned outward. Handles of this sort may have

been inserted in the rims of small phialai (*supra*, Nos. 76-79) or in the center of pierced disks that served as lids for hydriai (*supra*, Nos. 80-83).

## PYXIS (?)

**111** (M 49.82). Pl. 46. D. 0.071. Disk very slightly convex, pierced with 8 small holes, probably for rivets, regularly spaced near border. Wall of vessel rises at acute inward angle, as in concave-sided clay pyxis (e. g. No. 167, *infra*). Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CXXVI, 2240 (which, however, is not identical). On exterior of disk is a ring of discoloration *ca.* 0.048 m. in diameter where a circular object was once in contact.

## BOSS

**112** (M 49.67). Fig. 3, Pl. 46. H. 0.021, D. 0.081. Metal light brass-colored under the



Fig. 3. No. 112. Bronze Boss. Section (1:1).

greenish corrosion. Round boss; flat rim with crimped edge. Originally not perforated; otherwise comparable to *A. H.*, II, pl. CXXVI, 2258, 2259 (cf. *Perachora*, pl. 73, 3-4).

## DECORATIVE ATTACHMENT

**113** (M 49.99). Pl. 46. H. 0.01; diagonal, corner to corner, 0.109. One corner missing. Found in loose earth immediately over the archaic deposit; apparently somewhat later in date. Stepped central part with oblong opening; corners drawn out to end in volutes and 9-leaved palmettes, each pierced by a short rivet, two of which are preserved in place. The object was evidently fastened to a flat metal backing not more than 0.0015 m. in thickness. A

very similar piece, attached to a bronze disk and much worn in the central opening, was found at Olynthos and interpreted as a latch-string plate (D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, X, pl. LXXXII, 1248). Ours has volutes of a form assignable to the fifth century. It shows no signs of wear.

## TUBE

**114** (M 49.93). L. pres. as bent 0.188, D. 0.007. Broken at both ends. Made of strip of bronze nearly 1 mm. thick, tightly rolled to form a pipe, the seam not soldered.

## MISCELLANEOUS

Among the hundreds of fragments of sheet bronze recovered there are many which cannot be explained or classified. Besides the pieces referred to above these include small strips with rivets (cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CV, 1831); rectangular "coatings" with punched patterns, some folded or rolled (cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CII, 1754-1772), and sheets cut into decorative patterns. No inscriptions were found.

**115** (M 49.61). Pl. 46. L. 0.136 (originally *ca.* 0.14). Partly corroded. Thin strip, pointed at one end, square at the other. Border of punched dots. Single perforation, if any, near flat end.

**116** (M 49.62). L. 0.138. Like No. **115**.

**117** (M 49.69). Pl. 46. L. pres. 0.09. From figure of bird or sphinx (?). Cf. *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 419, fig. 7.

**118** (M 49.58). Pl. 46. L. pres. 0.095, W. 0.04. Roughly rectangular. Four rows of punched dots.

## LEAD

One shapeless fragment, fairly flat, once used apparently as bonding between two blocks of rough stone.

## IRON

Fragmentary implements of iron were found in great numbers in our small area of excava-

tion, as elsewhere at the site (*A. H.*, I, p. 61). All the pieces were heavily oxidised. By far the greatest number were from long bars, approximately square in section, from 0.005 m. to 0.015 m. across, which are generally believed to have been spits, *ὀβελοί*, *ὀβελίσκοι*, of the type dedicated by Pheidon. Other pieces found include disks, rings like washers, hooks, loops, and, apparently, blades of knives and chisels. None can be identified with certainty. A selection is illustrated on Plate 47, A-K. Cf. *Perachora*, pl. 86 and pp. 187-190; *Artemis Orthia*, pp. 391-393.

## STONE

## SEALS

**119** (M 49.30). Fig. 4, Pl. 47. D. 0.0155 to 0.0165, maximum Th. 0.0055. Dark slate-gray magnetite. Specific gravity 5.2; hardness 6. Lentoid, edge ground at top and bottom; perforated from side to side. Possibly bezel



Fig. 4. No. 119. Sealstone (2:1).

for a ring. One face plain. On the other, in intaglio, a bull heading right; above its back, two bucrania, a crescent, and a straight bar with spherical tips; scratches below the chest and hindquarters. Eighth or seventh century. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CXXXIX, 52-54; *Perachora*, pl. 18, 30-32.

**120** (M 49.31). Fig. 5, Pl. 47. Flat face 0.0245 by 0.0265, maximum Th. 0.0125. Dark purplish-brown serpentine, slightly soapy to the





Fig. 5. No. 120. Sealstone (2:1).

touch. Specific gravity 2.2; hardness 2.5. Roughly hemispherical; perforated from side to side. On the convex surface, a circle with central dot and a series of five scratched lines around the border. On the flat surface, a design in intaglio consisting of a human figure with birdlike head and long arms ending in three-fingered hands; curving lines as filling ornament above and below the arm on the right and above that on the left; single line around border. Cf. *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 433, fig. 19, 2.

#### FAIENCE

##### SCARAB

**121** Found on surface near east wall of South Stoa. (Inventory M 49.117). Fig. 6, Pl. 47. L. 0.0127, W. 0.009, Th. 0.006. Unglazed. Quadruped heading right toward spray of lotus (?); above, crescent; line around border. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pl. CXLIII.



Fig. 6. No. 121. Scarab. Side View (4:1)

#### TERRACOTTA

##### FIGURINES (by P. A.)

Forty fragments of archaic terracotta figurines were discovered. Most of them are poorly preserved and belong to the classes largely represented in the finds from the Heraion itself, from Tiryns, from Epidauros and from Perachora. It has seemed unnecessary, therefore, to mention them all.

##### FIGURINES OF ANIMALS

**122** (M 49.29). Pl. 48. Fore-part of a horse. H. 0.072. Perhaps the right-hand horse of a team. The head and neck are turned to the right; the left side of the animal is cut almost vertically and shows traces of having been broken away from something.

**123** (M 49.23). Pl. 48. Dog (?). L. 0.045. Eyes *en pastille*.

**124** (M 49.5). Bird (?). L. 0.05. Head missing.

##### FEMALE FIGURINES

Only a few fragments will be cited here as examples of the well-known type of hand-modelled female figurine, generally seated, and lavishly ornamented with crown, earrings, and necklaces:

**125** (M 49.26). Pl. 48. "Bird-face." H. 0.026. Eyes *en pastille*.

**126** (M 49.17). Upper part of a figurine. H. 0.062. Eyes *en pastille*.

**127** (M 49.16). Torso. H. 0.05. Traces of a necklace on left shoulder and of a lock of hair behind right shoulder.

**128** (M 49.28). Pl. 48. Body of a seated figurine. H. 0.08. The bottom of the garment and the two back legs of the throne are broken, as are the head and the right half of the upper body. Traces of two necklaces on the breast.

**129** (M 49.25). Pl. 48. Body of another figurine in almost the same state of preservation. H. 0.08.

Fifteen fragments (M 49.32 to M 49.46) must come from a large figurine of the same type. Several flat rods, 0.07 to 0.092m. long, probably made up the uprights and cross-bars of the throne.<sup>23</sup> Two of these fragments de-

serve mention:

**130** (M 49.32). Pl. 48. L. 0.08. Nearly cylindrical object ending in recurved projections like fingers. Three rosettes and another plastic element in relief. Probably the left arm and shoulder of the female figure, which had a necklace hanging across the breast.<sup>24</sup>

**131** (M 49.34). Pl. 48. Total L. 0.105, total H. 0.09. Flat rod 0.03 wide and 0.015 high, terminating in an animal (?) head, incised with striations and painted red on the upper surface. The wide-open jaws, whose upper edge is broken, display a long tongue, painted red like the inside of the mouth. This head rests on a vertical support which seems to be modelled in the form of the head of a bull whose horns turn backwards. At several points traces of red paint are visible.

Other objects found include a standing figurine (M 49.18) 0.052 high, coarsely hand-modelled; the lower parts of two standing statuettes, one cylindrical (M 49.19), the other semi-cylindrical (M 49.21); and a head made in a mold, **132** (M 49.27), 0.039 high,

so worn that no features are distinguishable (Pl. 48).

#### PLASTIC HEADS

**133** (M 49.22). Pl. 49. Head and shoulders of a female figurine fixed to the rim of a stemmed cup or miniature *deinos* on a pedestal. Total H. from foot of vase to top of head 0.13. H. of face 0.015. Depth of face from forehead to ear 0.005. Diam. of mouth of vase about 0.055. Reddish-brown paint covers the entire surface of the vase.

The hair makes a fringe over the forehead, and on each side of the face is parted into three beaded locks, falling vertically on the left and twisted into a loose ringlet on the right. Behind, the hair falls to the rim of the vase in three large ringlets. A thick roll is set like a crown on top of the head; a necklace made of a roll of clay crosses the breast from shoulder to shoulder.

**134** (M 49.24). Pl. 49. Head and shoulders of a female figurine attached to a fragment of a vase. Total H. 0.068. H. of face 0.015. Black paint, with traces of purple, on hair and breast.

The arrangement of the hair on the forehead, to right and left of the face, and behind the head is the same as on the preceding example. The crown on the head is less thick. Traces of a necklace are visible on the breast. On the back are traces of the rim of the vase, which is missing.

That these two figurines are from the same mould is proved by the identical dimensions, the appearance of the faces, and the arrangement of the hair. The slight differences observable in the height of the crowns and in the modelling of the large locks behind are due to the regular Argive practice of adding these parts, as well as

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Tiryns*, I, pl. II.

<sup>24</sup> Comparable material: *A. H.*, II, p. 25, nos. 83, 84; *Tiryns*, I, pl. III, 8; *Perachora*, I, p. 244, no. 245, pl. 110. Attempts at interpretation: K. Hadaczek, *Oest. Jahresh.*, V, 1902, pp. 211-212; A. Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, pp. 121-125.



other decorative elements such as necklaces, earrings, etc., by hand after the molding of the head.<sup>25</sup>

One would have no hesitation in attributing these two figurines to the same vase, because of their similarity and because of the identical curvature of the attached rim, if the color of the glaze were the same. Cases are not unknown in which part of a vase turned red in the firing and part black. If these two figurines did not decorate the same cup, they were at any rate affixed to two identical vases.

There was constant exchange of ceramic products between the Argolid and Corinth. Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases have been found in great numbers at the Heraion of Argos, while an important group of Argive terracottas comes from the Heraion at Perachora.<sup>26</sup> But the Argive origin of the two figurines studied here cannot be doubted. The hand-modelling in coarse strips of clay of the crown, locks of hair, and necklace is enough to establish this; furthermore, the grayish-tan clay is not Corinthian.

Although the surface is very worn, the two heads have certain characteristics which permit their classification and approximate dating. The nearly rectangular faces, still very flat, with

large eyes and flat noses, belong at the end of the daedalic style or immediately thereafter, that is to say, about the first quarter of the 6th century B.C.<sup>27</sup> One may note the Argive taste for beaded locks<sup>28</sup> and ringlets<sup>29</sup> at a time when the other centers of daedalic art preferred the layered arrangement. The fringe of hair in an arc over the forehead is a trait common to both Argive and Corinthian figurines.

The two plastic heads from the Heraion, in spite of their poor state of preservation, are interesting for several reasons.

Among the many Argive terracotta figurines, most of which have crudely hand-modelled heads and have no stylistic or chronological significance,<sup>30</sup> heads made in a mould are on the whole later than the daedalic period, and for the most part are not to be dated earlier than the second half of the 6th century.<sup>31</sup> The daedalic schools of Corinth, Laconia, Crete and Rhodes are represented by a far greater number of mould-made heads.

Examples of plastic heads used as ornaments on vases are particularly numerous at Corinth, where they appeared most frequently on Protocorinthian aryballoi and Corinthian pyxides.<sup>32</sup> The same use of plastic heads is attested at Sparta and in Crete,<sup>33</sup> and in other centers of

<sup>25</sup> Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins, *B. S. A.*, XXXII, 1931-1932, p. 27; *Perachora*, I, no. 238 ff., pp. 242 ff., pls. 109-110.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. H. Payne, *J. H. S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 173; *Perachora*, I, p. 196.

<sup>27</sup> Classes B and C of Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the statues of Kleobis and Biton; a terracotta head from Argos: Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 26, pl. 12, 1.

<sup>29</sup> The same arrangement, though more carefully executed, occurs in the locks on the back of a head of about the same date from the Heraion: Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, 2 and 2a. On the ringlet coiffure in the art of the 7th and 6th centuries, cf. P. Amandry, *Syria*, XXIV, 1944-45, p. 158, n. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>31</sup> In Jenkins' classification, *loc. cit.*, the first phases of the daedalic style are represented by four heads only (pp. 24-26; the head from Aegina mentioned there is reproduced by Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. I, 2), and the last phase of this style is represented by seven pieces (pp. 27-28). In class C (first third of the 6th century) six heads are cited (pp. 28-30).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 232-240, pls. 47-48; *Perachora*, I, pp. 240-241, pls. 107-108; G. E. Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XLIV 1940, pp. 188-189; D. A. Amyx, *Univ. of California Publ. in Classical Arch.*, I, 9, 1943, pp. 213-215, pl. 32.

<sup>33</sup> *Artemis Orthia*, p. 95, fig. 65, p. 98, fig. 70g, pp. 147-148, pls. VII-VIII, XXVIII, 5, XXIX, 5, 7; E. A. Lane, *B. S. A.*, XXXIV, 1933-1934, pp. 118, 126, 145, 156, pls. XXXI d, f, XXXIII; P. Amandry, *B. C. H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 322-329; D. Levi, *Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete*, p. 15.

art.<sup>34</sup> The cup from the Heraion furnishes the first certain example for Argos, so far as I know, of attached vase ornament in the form of a human figure.<sup>35</sup>

This decoration indicates that the stemmed cup is to be dated in the beginning of the sixth century B.C., whereas by its shape alone the vase might have been dated to the submycenaean period.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that in the Argolid, the great center of Mycenaean culture, traditions of the Mycenaean period may have been maintained longer than elsewhere, at least in ordinary pottery.<sup>37</sup>

#### WHORL

**135** (M 49.3). Pl. 47. H. 0.014, D. 0.02. Light brown clay with traces of darker coating. Fattened sphere. On side, three circles with central dots, incised and filled with glass paste which is white but shows traces of blue-green glaze.

#### PIERCED DISK

**136** (M 49.9). D. 0.042 to 0.047, Th. 0.014. Irregularly cut from sherd of coarse tan ware. Hole at center drilled from both sides.

#### SPOOLS

Four examples were found, two with flat ends, the other two smaller and with rounded ends. Cf. *A. H.*, II, p. 44, Nos. 286-289; *B. C. H.*, XXX, 1906, p. 37, fig. 61; *Perachora*, pl. 111, 268.

**137** (M 49.6). L. 0.048, D. at end 0.045, D. at center 0.027. Pinkish-buff clay. Ends flat.

**138** (M 49.124). Found in dump but probably contemporary. L. 0.046, D. at end 0.043, D. at center 0.025. Light greenish-buff clay. Ends flat.

**139** (M 49.2). Pl. 47. L. 0.043, D. at end 0.03, D. at center 0.018. Pinkish-tan clay. Ends rounded.

**140** (M 49.7). L. 0.054, D. at end 0.033, D. at center 0.021. Light tan clay. Ends rounded.

#### POTTERY

The pottery recovered from the Archaic stratum comprises in all some 900 small vases, more or less nearly complete, and five basketfuls of sherds representing, at a conservative estimate, 400 to 500 others of the same sort. About five per cent of the total are imported pieces, the rest being of local Argive manufacture.

#### PROTOCORINTHIAN

A late Protocorinthian pointed aryballos and a miniature squat oinochoe, somewhat earlier in date, are among the whole pots found in the deposit. Sherds of Protocorinthian fabric number about a score; these include a few pieces that go back to the end of the eighth century and are thus contemporary with, or even a little

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the information given by G. E. Mylonas, *op. cit.*, p. 188, n. 3. The origin of the vase in Berlin reproduced by F. R. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, fig. 44, is questioned: cf. D. A. Amyx, *op. cit.*, p. 229, n. 55.

<sup>35</sup> A plastic head from Perachora, *Perachora*, I, p. 248, no. 270, pl. 109, is considered, with some probability, to be Argive; it was attached by the neck, like the Heraion heads, and thus did not decorate a pyxis. In Argive pottery the little vases decorated with animal protomes may be cited: *infra*, Nos. 243-245; *A. H.*, II, p. 98, fig. 34.

<sup>36</sup> Unless we admit that the shape of the vase is inspired by that of bronze cauldrons set on a support. As in the little vases mentioned in the previous note, plastic heads may have been fixed on the rim of a vase in the manner of the animal protomes on bronze cauldrons.

<sup>37</sup> P. Demargne, *La Crète Dédalique*, pp. 341-342, expresses his surprise that Mycenaean survivals in the Argolid are not more important than they appear to be, among the pieces that are known at present.



earlier than, the latest Argive Geometric sherds listed above.

## KOTYLAI

Fragments of about six.

**141** (49.85). Pl. 50. Rim fragment; fine lines in red-brown paint. Shape and decoration like *Corinth* VII, i, No. 123; *V.S.*, pl. IX, 5-7. Early Protocorinthian.

## POINTED ARYBALLOI

**142** (49.48). Pl. 51. H. 0.066, D. 0.038. Buff clay; black paint, reddish on one side. Rays between bands on lip; two hounds and dotted rosette on shoulder; on side, zone with three hounds, swan, and dotted rosettes, between two bands of fine horizontal lines; rays at foot. Careless drawing. Late Protocorinthian.

**143** (49.86). Pl. 50. Fragment of aryballos similar to No. **142**, in light greenish clay, most of the paint lost. Perhaps Argive.

**144** (49.87). Pl. 50. Fragment. Yellow clay; paint brown to black. Base relatively broad (D. 0.021). Fine horizontal lines above solid band.

**145** (49.88). Pl. 50. Fragment of shoulder. Yellow clay; black paint. Hanging spirals and fine horizontal lines.

**146** (49.89). Pl. 50. Fragment. Yellow clay; brownish-black semi-lustrous paint. Solid spreading base (D. 0.025); shape of body uncertain. Band of uneven horizontal lines. Shape of foot unusual; possibly Argive, but the clay appears to be Corinthian.

## CONICAL OINOCHOAI

A few fragments.

**147** (49.90). Pl. 50. Fragment of shoulder of moderately large vessel. Buff clay; black paint. Fine horizontal lines.

## BROAD-BOTTOMED OINOCHOE

**148** (49.91). Pl. 50. Fragment of base. Buff clay with light slip; brownish-black paint. Sprawling pattern on under side; rays on side.

## SQUAT OINOCHOE

**149** (49.50). Pl. 51. H. to rim 0.0515, D. 0.064. Handle and bits of rim missing. Pinkish-buff clay; red-brown glaze. Band of red in throat of vessel. On exterior, bands with groups of zigzags in added white.

## RING-VASE

**150** (49.92). Pl. 50. Fragment. D. of opening *ca.* 0.075. Yellow clay; black paint. On either side, rays.

## CORINTHIAN

Pots and fragments of Corinthian ware are much more numerous than the Protocorinthian, including over 40 vessels complete or nearly complete. Most of these pieces are assignable on stylistic grounds to the Early Corinthian period and belong to the latter part of the seventh century; Middle and Late Corinthian styles are represented but are relatively infrequent. The latest pots in the deposit (e. g. No. **166**) are to be dated not far from the middle of the sixth century.

## SKYPHOS

**151** (49.76). Pl. 51. H. 0.061, D. 0.105. Buff clay; red-brown glaze unevenly applied, blackened in places. Handle zone, inner side of handles, and under side of base reserved; the rest coated. Early Corinthian. Cf. *Corinth* VII, i, No. 278.

## KOTYLAI

**152-154** (49.93-95). Pl. 50. Numerous fragments, chiefly of small and miniature vessels. Early and Middle Corinthian.

## ROUND ARYBALLOI

Three examples (cf. imitations of the shape in Argive Monochrome fabric, Nos. 268-270).

**155** (49.47). Fig. 7, Pl. 51. H. 0.062, D. 0.054. Complete. Yellow-buff clay; brownish-black paint with added purple. Rays on top surface of rim, which slopes inward to opening. On outer face of rim, dots; on handle, zigzag; band of drops around neck. Most of the body is covered by a swan, centered on front of pot, its wings outstretched and nearly meeting under

compressed. Band of drops around neck; large rosette with impressed center at bottom. In body zone, two lions facing. Behind them, under handle, a bearded siren. In the field, incised rosettes. Purple on shoulders of lions, on wings of siren. Early Corinthian.

**157** (49.96). Pl. 50. H. to neck 0.05, D. 0.061. Fragments, making up less than half of body. Pinkish-buff clay; black paint with added red. Radiating strokes on shoulder; rosette at bottom; front of body covered with large

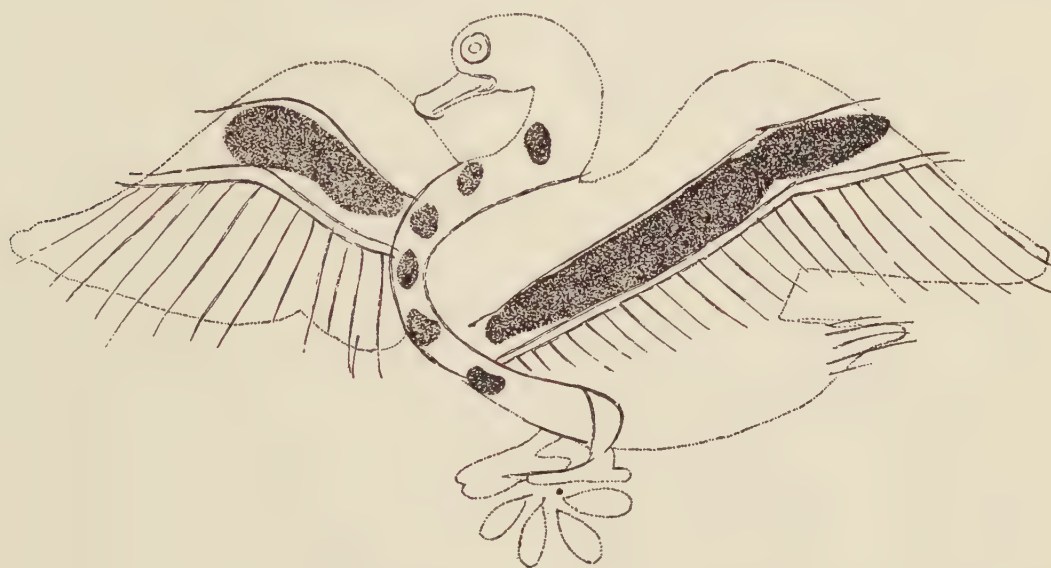


Fig. 7. No. 155. Early Corinthian Round Aryballos. Design Developed (1:1).

the handle. Pinions and principal divisions marked by incised lines. Six large purple dots along breast; broad line at center of each wing. The bird's feet crowd out most of the rosette at the bottom. No filling ornament. A bold and pleasing design, not rare in this period. Early Corinthian. Cf. *Corinth*, VII, i, No. 194; *NC*, No. 585; *Perachora*, pl. 31, 4.

**156** (49.46). Fig. 8, Pl. 51. H. 0.058, D. 0.058. Handle, most of rim, and chips missing. Buff clay, much of surface burnt gray by accident; black paint with added purple. Body

quatrefoil pattern of late type (cf. *NC*, fig. 54, h). Possibly of local Argive manufacture.

## CONICAL OINOCHOAI

Nearly a dozen examples recognized. One large:

**158** (49.97). Pl. 50. D. of base *ca.* 0.12. Buff clay; black paint with added purple and white. Short rays around base.

Seven small oinochoai (H. 0.08 to 0.10, D. of base *ca.* 0.075) were found moderately well



preserved and there were fragments of two to four others. The clay varies from grayish-to pinkish-buff, the paint from dark brown to black, and there are traces of added purple and white. All belong to the familiar black-polychrome class, examples of which occur at many sites (e.g. *Corinth*, VII, i, No. 200; *NC*, No. 758). They are assignable to the Early and Middle Corinthian periods. Most if not all of the present group appear to be of Corinthian manufacture, although one or two may be local; the distinction is very difficult to make. The following examples are typical:

**159** (49.116). Pl. 51. H. to top of handle 0.097, D. of base 0.0715. Buff clay; black glaze with bands of added purple, mostly lost. Vertical incisions on shoulder.

**160** (49.98). Pl. 50. Fragment, comprising most of body. Like No. 159; paint well preserved.

#### BROAD-BOTTOMED OINOCHOAI

**161** (49.115). Pl. 52. Neck and handle only. H. pres. 0.055. Grayish-buff clay; most of paint lost. Vertical incised lines on shoulder. Early Corinthian. Cf. *Corinth*, VII, i, No. 198.

**162** (49.112). Pl. 51. H. to top of handle 0.081, D. 0.069. Most of trefoil rim missing. Buff-tan clay with slip of finer texture, chalky; black glaze paint with bands and stripes of added purple and white, much worn. High-swung flat handle (cf. *Corinth*, VII, i, No. 224). On shoulder, tongues separated by double incised lines, every fourth tongue having a purple stripe. Early Corinthian.

**163** (49.63). H. to neck 0.032, D. 0.049. Neck and handle missing. Pinkish-buff clay; black paint with broad band of red. Body squat and rounded, contracting slightly to disk-base. Radiating lines on shoulders; dotted checkerboard; rays. Early or Middle Corinthian.



Fig. 8. No. 156. Early Corinthian Round Aryballos. Design in Main Zone Developed (1:1).

## AMPHORA

One fragmentary miniature.

**164** (49.99). Pl. 50. Fragment; full D. at shoulder was *ca.* 0.06. Clay yellowish-buff; paint black and purple. Shape probably like *NC*, No. 1074 or 1076, but without the collar-like rim. Bands on lip and shoulder; dots on neck; radiating lines in handle zone. Apparently of Corinthian manufacture.

## PYXIDES WITH CONVEX SIDES

Two examples.

**165** (49.100). Pl. 50. Fragments of rim and underbody. Buff clay; black paint with added purple. Bands, drops, checkerboard, rays. Early Corinthian.

**166** (49.135). Pl. 52. H. 0.0525, D. 0.076. Yellowish-buff clay; black paint with added purple. Top of flat rim coated; rays around base; concentric rings on under side. In principal zone, file of eight soldiers with shields and spears, marching left; procession interrupted once by pair of cross-rosettes. Centers of shields purple. Painting and incision careless. Late Corinthian, near middle of sixth century (one of the latest datable pots in the entire deposit). The squad of infantry is found frequently on round aryballoi (*NC*, Nos. 1244-1249, etc.), rarely on pyxides.

## PYXIDES WITH CONCAVE SIDES

Fragments of at least two.

**167** (49.151). Pl. 50. D. at base originally *ca.* 0.07. Buff-tan clay; black paint with added purple and white. Early Corinthian. Cf. *Pera-chora*, pl. 33, 14; *NC*, Nos. 665-667.

## LIDS

Fragments of a score of lids of Corinthian fabric were found. A few are trefoil, designed to fit the mouths of oinochoai. The greater number are of the common flat type, slightly

convex on the upper surface, with knob at top and short flange below, designed for pyxides. Some of these lids may have been offered with their pots (to which they cannot be assigned), but many are larger than any vessels recovered from this deposit. One must assume that these were dedicated alone (cf. bronze hydria lid No. **80**). Most of our pieces are assignable stylistically to the Early Corinthian period. The following are a selection:

*Trefoil*

**168** (49.125). Pl. 52. H. 0.036, D. *ca.* 0.106. One edge restored. Yellow-buff clay; originally coated with black glaze on rim and most of interior. Spindle-shaped knob at center. Cf. No. **253**.

*Flat*

**169** (49.78). Fig. 9, Pl. 52. Fragment. H. pres. 0.03; D. pres. 0.182, originally *ca.* 0.215. Buff clay; traces of brown-black paint and added purple, mostly lost. On top, goat, goose, lion, and filling ornaments; elegantly drawn. Checkered pattern on border; dots along outer edge of rim. Early Corinthian.

**170** (49.79). Pl. 52. Fragment. H. pres. 0.016; D. pres. 0.10, originally *ca.* 0.106. Pinkish-buff clay; black paint with added red. On top, broad zone with panther, goat, and filling ornament. Shoulders and underbodies of animals red. Hasty drawing. Early or Middle Corinthian.

**171** (49.80). Pl. 52. H. without knob 0.02, D. 0.15. Knob and chips missing. Buff clay; traces of black paint and added purple, mostly lost. On top, rays around knob and broad zone with lion, panther, two goats feeding, and filling ornament of incised rosettes. Drawing hasty but competent. Early or Middle Corinthian.

**172** (49.81). Pl. 52. H. without knob 0.016, D. 0.124. Knob and chips missing. Buff clay; black paint with added purple. Linear





Fig. 9. No. 169. Fragment of Early Corinthian Lid. Design on Upper Surface (1:1).

pattern. In the main zone are four groups of five vertical panels divided by incised lines, the second and fifth panel purple in each group; and a lone purple panel completes the field. Early Corinthian.

**173** (49.82). Pl. 52. Fragment. H. with knob 0.035, D. ca. 0.066. Buff clay; brownish-black paint. Linear patterns. Early Corinthian.

**174** (49.152). Pl. 52. Buff clay; red paint. Early Corinthian or Protocorinthian.

**175** (49.153). Pl. 52. Buff clay; black paint with added purple. Early Corinthian.

**176** (49.154). Pl. 52. Conical knob. Grayish-buff clay; black paint.

**177** (49.155). Pl. 52. Flanged knob. Buff clay; red paint.

#### STOPPERS

**178** (49.126). Pl. 52. H. 0.047, D. pres. 0.036. Chips missing. Buff clay; traces of paint, apparently black with added purple. Rays descend from top. Designed for mouth of oinochoe (cf. *V. S.*, pl. XIX, 4), but too large for our largest. Probably Early Corinthian.

**179** (49.156). Pl. 52. H. 0.007, D. 0.018. Buff clay; black paint. Bevelled disk, to fit mouth of a miniature oinochoe.

#### EAST GREEK OR CYCLADIC

One sherd in the collection, obviously from an imported vessel, is reminiscent of the Rhodian style but has not been certainly identified.

#### KRATER

**180** (49.157). Pl. 52. Th. 0.007. From lower side of bowl. Dusty grayish-buff clay, unslipped or treated with thin coating of same clay as makes up the biscuit; black and purple paint, much worn. Interior painted black. On exterior, above, part of principal zone with three legs of stag or wild goat walking right,

and large dotted rosette; below band, floral pattern. Late seventh or early sixth century. For similar design cf. oinochoe from Nisyros, *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII (1932-33), p. 509, fig. 36.

#### ARGIVE

Of the pots that made up the Archaic deposit by far the greater number were of local manufacture. The shops which produced them have not been discovered, but it would not be surprising to learn that they were near the sanctuary, where their products could be offered conveniently for sale to visitors. Few of the pots appear ever to have been used; almost all indeed are miniatures that could serve no household purposes.

In the following catalogue, shape is used as the principal factor in classification. The wares might be subdivided into many groups if one made close distinctions among the colors of the clay, the fineness and coarseness of the biscuit, the treatment of the surfaces, and the types of decoration; but these differences are not of primary significance, and to take account of them under many separate headings would obscure the facts that are of interest. Therefore we divide the wares into only two groups, listing in one series of pots of types which always or frequently bear painted patterns or are wholly coated, and in another those whose buff or tan surface is left unpainted (the "Argive Monochrome" fabric).

#### DECORATED WARES

A total of about 575 vases, whole or nearly enough complete to make identification of the shape certain, are of types that normally had painted decoration. The clay varies in color from light buff, sometimes with greenish or pinkish tinges, through warm light tan to darker orange, brown, and grayish-brown. It is in general non-micaceous, though a magnifying glass reveals here and there a tiny particle of some shiny substance. The biscuit in most instances is moderately fine in texture, occasion-



ally very fine, sometimes gritty and rather porous. Very few of the pieces are carefully made; most are hastily turned, on the wheel or in the hand, and there are many irregularities. The paint, which appears in shades of red, orange, brown, and black, is rarely lustrous; added red, purple, and white, in the Corinthian manner, are always dull. Incised lines occur very seldom, impressed patterns scarcely at all.

Many of the shapes are familiar in other parts of the Greek world and are particularly typical of Corinth. Indeed a few of the pieces listed below may have been made in Corinthian shops; when in doubt (and even those experts who are most familiar with Corinthian clay sometimes hesitate to speak), we have tended to call the pot local and Argive. The very number of the pieces, and the slightness of the gradations among them, indicate that this is the only prudent course to follow until more exact methods of testing the fabrics can be applied.

#### SHALLOW DISHES OR SAUCERS

Miniature vessels of this sort, which served as votive offerings and perhaps as toys, were more or less common in all ages but especially in the Geometric and Archaic periods.<sup>88</sup> They were undoubtedly dedicated as substitutes for bronze bowls or phialai of similar form. The shape is not standardized but shows numerous variations.

Twelve examples were found in the Archaic stratum. The form in general is broad and shallow; the rim plain or flattened on top. Most are handmade. Four of our twelve have opposed horizontal reflex handles at the rim. Two have small holes near the rim, like the miniature bronze phialai noted above (Nos. 76-79). Four are decorated with crosses painted on the interior from side to side, and two of these have crosses on the exterior also. On six, in-

cluding the coarser pieces, no trace of paint has been preserved.

**181** (49.122). H. 0.015, D. 0.059. Chalky orange-tan clay, unpainted. Pan-shaped. Handmade.

**182** (49.123). H. 0.018, D. 0.069. Chalky light buff clay; orange-red paint. Pan-shaped. Band on flat rim, cross on interior. Wheelmade.

**183** (49.65). Pl. 53. H. 0.018, D. 0.046. Tan clay, light red paint. Small hole near rim. Cross on interior. Handmade.

**184** (49.128). Pl. 53. H. 0.02, D. 0.054. Buff clay, unpainted. Reflex handles at rim. Handmade.

**185** (49.129). Pl. 52. H. 0.025, D. 0.058. Tan clay; black paint. Reflex handles at rim. Crosses on interior and exterior. Handmade, crude.

**186** (49.156). Pl. 53. Fragment of bottom with cross-hatching of lines in black paint on interior and exterior. Handmade.

#### BOWLS

Fragments of half a dozen open vessels which cannot be classified elsewhere may be noted under this heading. They include the following:

**187** (49.157). Pl. 52. Fragment of rim and side. Original H. *ca.* 0.05, D. *ca.* 0.15. Fine light tan clay, well baked; lustrous paint shading from red-brown to black. Body shallow, sharply rounded at side; rim flaring to flat sloping lip. On lip, running spiral formed by repeated impressions of puncheon. Inner side of rim painted; on interior, fine horizontal lines below rim and around bottom; on exterior,

<sup>88</sup> *A. H.*, II, pp. 96 f.; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, pl. XXVII b; Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, fig. 282; P. E. Legrand, "Antiquités de Trezène," *B. C. H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 310; *Corinth*, VII, i, Nos. 14, 15, 50; C. Dugas, "Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée," *B. C. H.*, XLV, 1921, fig. 48, Nos. 215, 216, fig. 61, No. 241.

broad band bordered by fine lines on lower part of side. Early seventh century.

**188** (49.158). Pl. 52. Fragment of rounded shoulder. Tan clay; reddish-brown paint. Horizontal straight and wavy bands, reminiscent of Submycenaean style. Seventh century.

**189** (49.159). H. 0.046, D. 0.073. Buff-tan clay, orange-tan paint. Flat bottom, angular sides drawn in at shoulder, plain rim flaring slightly. Two handles (now lost) were attached horizontally on shoulder. Whole interior and exterior of rim coated; vertical strokes on side between handles. A similar bowl, somewhat broader in proportions, is illustrated in *A. H.*, II, fig. 65.

#### KALATHOI

Four small or miniature examples with solid sides and fragments of another with a network of triangular openings. All wheel-made. Cf. *A. H.*, II, pp. 124-125; *Corinth*, VII, i, Nos. 148-150, 169; *Perachora*, pl. 30, 12, 19-23, pl. 31, 6.

**190** (49.74). Pl. 53. H. 0.045, D. at rim 0.093. Fine buff clay; black paint, reddish on interior, with bands of added white. Flaring base, the under surface slightly concave; sides curve outward to overhanging rim. Interior and lip coated; exterior plain.

**191** (49.62). H. 0.039, D. 0.085. Greenish-gray clay. Like No. **190** but simpler.

**192** (49.133). Pl. 53. H. 0.039, D. of base 0.03, original D. at rim *ca.* 0.055. Buff clay; purplish and orange-red paint. Plain flaring sides. Horizontal bands on interior and exterior.

**193** (49.61). H. 0.035, D. at rim 0.056. Like No. **192**, but pattern includes rows of dots and reserved band with vertical strokes.

In addition, there is one small vessel of the

same shape, painted black with a band of added purple at the base, which had a handle set vertically from rim to side.

#### CUPS

Fragments of two simple cups, hastily daubed with dull paint of poor quality, mottled black and red. The bottoms are flat, the sides spread in a convex curve to plain rims. Each piece preserves a single vertical handle, its upper part projecting flatly from the rim, like those of the kantharoi listed below.

**194** (49.160). Pl. 53. H. 0.046. Buff clay, black paint. Wheel-made.

#### SKYPHOI

Six miniature examples: four wholly coated with brownish black paint, one with light red, one decorated with bands and strokes of reddish-brown. The following are typical:

**195** (49.161). Pl. 53. H. 0.033, D. 0.052. Part of rim and handle missing. Buff clay, wholly coated with slightly lustrous brownish-black paint, some of which has been lost. Flat disk base; lower sides gently convex, sharply drawn in at shoulder, above which is flaring offset rim. Two small handles, horizontally attached, project and rise slightly from shoulder. Wheel-made.

**196** (49.162). Pl. 53. Like No. **195** but smaller and squat, with flat bottom.

#### KOTYLAI

Five examples, and fragments of six or eight others, all miniatures. Crude and hastily made, with simple linear patterns in red, brown, purple, and black paint, they resemble the thousands of diminutive kotylai that have been found at almost every sanctuary of the archaic period.<sup>39</sup> They cannot be closely dated but are

<sup>39</sup> *A. H.*, II, p. 133; Müller and Oelmann, *Tiryns*, I, fig. 40; C. W. Blegen, "Excavations at Nemea," *Art and Archaeology*, XXII, 1926, pp. 131-133; Dugas, *Délos*, XVII, pls. LV, LVIII, Nos. 87-109; etc.



at home in the seventh and sixth centuries, as well as later.

**197** (49.132). Pl. 53. H. 0.032, D. 0.05. One handle and part of rim missing. Light buff clay; black paint, much worn. Disk-like base; sides slightly convex; arched horizontal handle. Interior and base coated; vertical lines on rim, horizontal bands on body. Wheel-made. Possibly imported from Corinth.

**198** (49.130). Pl. 53. H. 0.018, D. 0.03. One handle and part of rim missing. Tan clay, brownish-black paint. Decoration like that of No. **197** but cruder. Handmade.

#### KANTHAROI

Five examples, all wholly coated with dull paint: four black (one red on the interior), and one light orange-tan. The bases are disk-like, slightly concave on the under side. The lower body is nearly conical and is drawn in sharply at the shoulder, above which is a relatively high concave rim. The upper part of the handle is flat and horizontal, not rising above the rim.

**199** (49.73). Pl. 53. H. 0.053, D. at shoulder 0.059. One handle restored. Grayish-buff clay; black paint partly worn off.

#### ROUND ARYBALLOI

Two examples, made in imitation of the Corinthian type:

**200** (49.45). Pl. 53. H. pres. 0.057, D. 0.055. Rim and handle missing. Greenish-buff clay; brownish-black paint. Radiating tongues on shoulder; on body, four horizontal bands marked with vertical incised lines and, in the topmost, two cross-hatched triangles; on the bottom, petal rosette around central indentation. Wheel-made. Careless workmanship.

**201** (49.49). Pl. 53. H. 0.06, D. 0.048. Intact. Light buff clay; brown paint. Relatively high concave neck. Ring of dots on top of rim; zigzag on handle; radiating tongues on shoulder; on the body, four bands, a zone

with single row of dots, second zone with three rows of dots suggesting checkerboard pattern; bottom like No. **200**. Cf. *Perachora*, pl. 30, 25.

#### OINOCHOAI

Only two miniature examples of the plain trefoil oinochoe were noted:

**202** (49.163). Pl. 53. H. to top of handle 0.067, D. of body 0.053. Part of handle missing. Pinkish-tan clay; exterior coated with light orange-brown paint, worn. Well formed trefoil rim, cylindrical collar neck, low ovoid body, flat base. Wheel-made.

**203** (49.164). Pl. 53. H. 0.052, D. 0.052. Part of rim missing. Coarse buff clay; red-brown paint. Bands on neck and on low piriform body. Handmade.

#### SQUAT OINOCHOAI

Four examples, of varying contours, all with trefoil rims:

**204** (49.53). Pl. 54. H. to top of handle 0.089, D. 0.075. Light greenish-yellow clay; black glaze paint with three bands of added red, much worn. Flat handle. Body swells to greatest diameter near the bottom, then contracts to low ring base.

**205** (49.113). Pl. 54. H. to top of handle 0.09, D. 0.077. Intact. Buff clay; whole exterior daubed with red-brown paint. Small neat mouth, high-swung handle, torus moulding at base of neck, squat piriform body, flat disk base.

**206** (49.164). H. to top of rim 0.046, D. 0.053. Handle and part of rim missing. Light tan clay; red paint fired black on one side. Disproportionately large rim grows from shoulder of very small squat body.

**207** (49.52). Pl. 54. H. to top of rim 0.064, D. 0.062. Handle and part of rim missing. Buff-tan clay; black glaze paint with two bands of added purple. Shape like that of No. **204** but lower. The throat of the vessel was closed,

then pierced with four holes, one at the middle and three symmetrically at the edge, to form a sort of strainer.

#### CONICAL OINOCHOAI

One or more of the pieces listed above under Corinthian wares (pp. 189 f.) may have been manufactured in the Argolid.

#### ROUND-MOUTHED OINOCHOAI

This heading is used loosely to include seven small jugs or pitchers, five of which certainly, two probably, had plain round horizontal rims.

**208** (49.165). H. to rim 0.079, D. 0.087. Like No. **205** but cruder.

**209** (49.166). H. of body 0.055, D. 0.07. Narrow neck and round handle missing. Pinkish-tan clay; brown-black paint with bands of added purple and white. Body globular.

**210** (49.167). H. of body 0.045, D. 0.064. Broad neck and round handle missing. Like No. **209**.

**211** (49.114). Pl. 54. H. 0.068, D. 0.05. Handle and part of rim missing. Light pinkish-tan clay; wholly coated with glaze paint of poor quality, mottled red and black, much worn. Baggy shape like that of Nos. **204**, **207**, though relatively taller. Wheel-made.

**212** (49.168). Pl. 54. H. 0.06, D. of rim 0.043, D. of body 0.053. Part of handle missing. Tan clay; red-brown paint. Disk base, ovoid body, broad flaring neck, handle swinging up from rim. Paint on handle and lip; three groups of three vertical strokes on shoulder. Wheel-made. Like some of the much commoner hydriai (*infra*) but lacking the side handles.

**213** (49.77). Pl. 54. H. to rim 0.125, D. 0.08. Restored; fragments missing. Clay varies from light pinkish-tan to greenish-gray; paint from dull reddish-brown to black; three bands

of added purple. High-swung flattened handle; concave collar-neck; rounded shoulder and tall body, tapering slightly to flat bottom.

**214** (49.118). Pl. 54. H. 0.033, D. 0.036. Handle and part of rim missing. Buff-tan clay; dull red paint. Tiny miniature. Squat piriform body, wide flaring rim. Band around neck; radiating lines on rim and shoulder. Handmade.

#### HYDRIAI

Not less than 475 miniature three-handled vessels were found nearly enough complete to be counted individually, and at a most conservative estimate half that many again were represented by smaller fragments. This category thus makes up more than 50 per cent of all the pots recovered from the Archaic deposit, local and imported, decorated and monochrome together.

With few exceptions the vessels were hastily made, and some are very crude indeed. At first glance they appear monotonous, but closer inspection and analysis reveal a not inconsiderable variety of form and decoration; even in mass-production of humble, inexpensive articles like these the Argive craftsman, as Greek as any, showed his impatience of standardization. We shall not attempt to classify them here; the types are local, and a new nomenclature would not be applicable elsewhere. The distinguishing features are the handles, one set vertically from rim to shoulder, the other two horizontally on the sides of the body.

Almost all are wheel-made, though a dozen or so resemble those of the handmade monochrome fabric (p. 205). The clay is fairly well refined; in some instances it is baked hard and firm, in others it has become soft and friable. In color the biscuit is light tan or brownish-buff, with a few variations toward yellowish- or greenish-gray or white and toward darker brown and red-brown. Slip was rarely if ever applied. The paint is black, brown, or brownish-red and is only slightly lustrous at best. In



a few cases the pattern is enlivened by bands of added red or purple.

In nearly 90 per cent of the total number the body is roughly ovoid, its greatest diameter coming well above the mid-point, the lower sides tapering in a convex curve to the base. Next commonest (*ca.* seven per cent) is a globular body of spherical or depressed spherical shape. A few of the vessels are piriform, with greatest diameter below the mid-point. Finally there are some with broad mouth and squat contour, jars rather than hydriai except for the persistent appearance of the three characteristic handles. The bases of more than 80 per cent are flat disks projecting slightly in a torus; very rarely the center was pressed up to leave a standing ring. Less than one-fifth of the total have plain flat bottoms; and these pots usually, though not invariably, have a broad neck and mouth. The necks, clearly set off from the shoulder, are of three general types: A, flaring outward in a slight curve, often with a plain unmoulded rim (*ca.* 60 per cent); B, more or less concave, tapering inward from the shoulder and then curving out sharply to a thickened rim (*ca.* 30 per cent); C, approximately cylindrical, curving outward at the top to a thickened rim (*ca.* 10 per cent). In a very few instances there is a narrow ledge at the base of the neck. The handles are normally round in section or slightly flattened. One of them runs out and curves down to the shoulder, rising little if any above the level of the rim (contrast the Late Corinthian type, *NC*, fig. 188). The side-handles, often crudely fashioned, are set horizontally, low on the shoulder; a few project straight outward and a few stand almost upright, but the greater number rise obliquely.

Twenty-four of the hydriai are completely or almost completely coated on the outside with

semi-lustrous glaze paint, which was applied with a brush. In six instances this was fired red, in 18 black, though the ingredients were presumably the same.

All the rest of the pots in the present group bear linear patterns of a simple sort. These are composed of horizontal bands, short vertical strokes, zigzags and wavy lines, and rows of dots; occasionally there are fields of dots, dotted rosettes, quirks, crosses, and rays. Decoration of this sort occurs rarely on the neck (which in a few instances is wholly coated), more commonly on the body. The latter was often divided into three zones, one on the shoulder above the handles, a second at the level of the side-handles and the lower end of the vertical handle, the third on the side of the pot below the handles. One or another of these zones might be left blank, or the first and second, or the second and third, might be combined. Rarely one or more of the zones were divided into panels. Bands occur not infrequently on and inside the rim. The handles are generally marked with straight or wavy lines, occasionally with dots; on one flat handle there is an X in a reserved space between horizontal lines.

The best of these little pots have pleasing qualities, their contours trim, the patterns neat and restrained; and there is a certain humorous charm about reproductions of familiar objects at miniature scale. More praise they do not deserve. They are works of mediocre craft, made at a time when artists were producing works of much greater excellence.

Hydriai of the same sort were recovered by the score in Waldstein's excavations, but the finding places are not recorded and few are illustrated in the publication.<sup>40</sup> At other sites the *hydriskai* seem always to have been of different form.<sup>41</sup> Closer parallels come, surprisingly, from late Mycenaean times.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *A. H.*, II, pp. 100-101 ("Three-handled Jugs").

<sup>41</sup> E. g., those from Laconia: *Ath. Mitt.*, LII, 1927, p. 59; *B. S. A.*, XLV, 1950, p. 273.

<sup>42</sup> *B. S. A.*, XLII, 1947, pl. 15, Nos. 7, 11; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 8, fig. 7. Cf. also a Proto-corinthian Geometric example from Delphi, *V. S.*, pl. XIII, 4.

The following are typical of the present lot:

**215** (49.22). Pl. 54. H. 0.072, D. 0.055. Intact. Buff-tan clay; red-brown paint.

**216** (49.26). Pl. 54. H. 0.088, D. 0.072. Chips missing. Buff clay; paint brown to black, with two stripes of added purple.

**217** (49.169). H. 0.079, D. 0.071. Bits missing. Like No. **216**.

**218** (49.101). Pl. 54. H. 0.085, D. 0.07. Tan clay, the surface apparently coated with a thin wash of lighter color; light brown paint. Handle rises slightly above level of rim.

**219** (49.108). Pl. 54. H. 0.057, D. 0.049. One handle missing. Grayish-buff clay; wholly coated with brownish-black paint. For the shape cf. the miniature amphora No. **235**.

**220** (49.17). Pl. 55. H. 0.095, D. 0.085. Side-handles and most of rim missing. Light tan clay; paint brown to red. On front in upper zones, zigzags, dot-rossette, dependent rays; X on top of flat vertical handle.

**221** (49.109). Pl. 55. H. 0.092, D. 0.082. One handle missing. Light grayish-tan clay; black paint. Cluster of dots on front of shoulder.

**222** (49.24). Pl. 55. H. 0.074, D. 0.074. One handle and bit of rim missing. Buff-tan clay; red-brown paint. High shoulder.

**223** (49.107). Pl. 55. H. 0.061, D. 0.058. One handle and bit of rim missing. Light greenish-buff clay; purplish-brown paint. Handmade.

**224** (49.21). Pl. 55. H. 0.047, D. 0.054. One handle and bit of rim missing. Buff clay; somewhat lustrous black paint. Pronounced ridge on shoulder; body very squat.

**225** (49.19). Pl. 55. H. 0.052, D. 0.052. Two handles and parts of rim missing. Tan clay; wavy band in orange-red paint. Jar shape.

**226** (49.104). Pl. 55. H. 0.072, D. 0.064 to 0.07. Two handles missing. Orange-tan clay; wavy band in red paint. Wheel-made but very crude and irregular.

**227** (49.29). Pl. 55. H. 0.098, D. 0.078. One handle missing. Tan clay, possibly slipped; black paint. Flat vertical handle.

**228** (49.30). Pl. 55. H. 0.092, D. 0.078. Chips missing. Buff clay; paint red-brown to black, with stripes in added purple. On shoulder, zone with row of dots.

**229** (49.170). Pl. 55. H. to neck 0.039, D. 0.045. Neck and handles missing. Like No. **228**; diminutive.

**230** (49.31). Pl. 55. H. 0.09, D. 0.07. Intact. Buff-tan clay; dark brown paint.

**231** (49.27). H. 0.073, D. 0.061. Intact. Buff clay; light brown paint. Narrow neck; squat body; concave base.

**232** (49.110). H. 0.063, D. 0.053. Handles missing. Buff clay; brown paint with added purple.

**233** (49.111). H. pres. 0.041, D. 0.043. Rim and handles missing. Pink clay; deep red paint. Handmade.

**234** (49.18). H. pres. 0.09, D. 0.072. Two handles and rim missing. Tan clay; orange-brown paint.

#### AMPHORA

One miniature:

**235** (49.69). Pl. 55. H. 0.058, D. 0.043. Part of one handle restored. Buff-tan clay; black paint.

#### COLUMN-KRATERS

Fragments of one large vessel and one miniature:

**236** (49.171). Pl. 53. Handle plaque. W. 0.058, projection from rim 0.035. Handle was attached below extreme edge of plaque. Red-



dish-tan clay, coated with brownish black glaze of poor quality; four bands of dull red and, apparently, one of white, added on top of rim.

**237** (49.172). Handles of miniature, one shown on Pl. 53. Original height of krater estimated 0.06. Arched handle attached below outer edge of small plaque. Pink biscuit with buff surface; red-brown paint. Bands on rim, neck, and shoulder; strokes on handle.

#### DEINOI

Eighteen miniatures were found complete or nearly complete and there were fragments of three or more others.<sup>43</sup> They range between 0.023 and 0.035 in height and between 0.043 and 0.061 in diameter. Almost all have a small rim, flat on top and projecting outward slightly to form a ledge. The bottoms are usually rounded, sometimes flattened, rarely quite flat. In two there is a small hole in the shoulder just below the rim (cf. the Dishes, p. 194). Two are handmade, the rest roughly turned on the wheel. Eight bear simple painted patterns: bands, wavy lines, dots. The following are characteristic:

**238** (49.43). H. 0.024, D. 0.043. Tan clay; brown paint. Pierced below rim. Wavy band on shoulder.

**239** (49.42). Pl. 56. H. 0.033, D. 0.047. Tan clay; red-brown paint. Pronounced rim. Wavy band on shoulder.

**240** (49.149). Pl. 56. H. 0.032, D. 0.053. Grayish-tan clay; black paint, with trace of dull purple on rim. Flat bottom. Narrow bands and row of dots on shoulder.

**241** (49.40). H. 0.028, D. 0.043. Reddish-tan clay; two spots of red paint, apparently accidental. Pierced below rim.

**242** (49.173). H. 0.023, D. 0.048. Buff clay; undecorated. Plain incurving rim.

#### DEINOI WITH ANIMAL PROTOMES

Three diminutive deinoi are precisely like those of the preceding group in shape but each had three small plastic heads of animals, presumably cows, rising and looking outward from the shoulder. These miniatures are humble versions of the great bronze vessels that bore heads of griffins or other monsters. Miniatures like ours are not rare in the Argolid.<sup>44</sup>

**243** (49.121). Pl. 56. H. to rim 0.026, D. 0.044. Tan clay, unpainted. Two of the heads are intact, one was broken off but seems to join. Each consists of an elongated muzzle and two large ears or horns curving forward.

**244** (49.119). Pl. 56. H. to rim 0.025, D. 0.043. Almost identical with No. **243**. One head missing.

**245** (49.120). H. to rim 0.029, D. 0.042. Almost identical with No. **243**. Heads missing.

In addition, there are three heads (M 49.8, M 49.12, M 49.20) that belonged to other vessels of the same type; two considerably larger, one slightly larger, than those listed above. One bears traces of brown paint, another has remains of a white coating.

#### STEMMED DEINOS WITH HUMAN PROTOMES

A small deinos, similar to those listed above but mounted on a tall hollow pedestal and bearing plastic figures of women's heads on the shoulder, is discussed under Terracotta Figurines, No. **133** (p. 185).

#### PYXIDES WITH CONCAVE SIDES

Fragments of two were found, clearly of

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *A. H.*, II, p. 98 ("Bowls").

<sup>44</sup> *A. H.*, II, p. 98, fig. 34; C. W. Blegen, *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 424, fig. 12, 1227. Mr. John Cook has shown me a number of similar pieces—some slightly larger than ours—that were found recently at a shrine at Mycenae.

local manufacture and somewhat different from the normal flat-bottomed Corinthian type.

**246** (49.174). Pl. 56. H. pres. 0.055, D. 0.072. Upper part missing. Buff clay; black paint with reddish streak. The sides are gently concave but contract at the bottom to a low ring base. On one side there was a small horizontal handle, now lost. Interior and exterior decorated with horizontal bands; just above the handle, a row of dots.

**247** (49.175). Pl. 56. Similar to preceding; slightly smaller.

#### SQUAT PYXIDES

Two examples, low and broad, designed for flat lids; apparently an Argive type.

**248** (49.150 a, b). Fig. 10, Pl. 56. Pyxis (a): H. 0.023, D. 0.058. Lid (b): H. 0.011, D. ca. 0.062. Half of lid missing. Pinkish

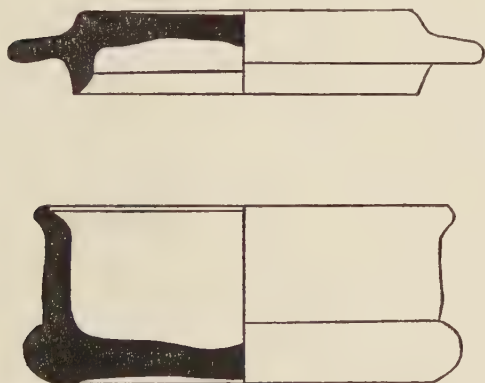


Fig. 10. No. 248. Argive Squat Pyxis and Lid (1:1).

buff clay; paint slate-gray with added red. Pyxis has large torus base, cylindrical body, outturned lip. Lid is flat but with raised center; flange on under side fits inside the rim of the pyxis. Painted horizontal bands on interior and exterior of pyxis; concentric rings on top of lid.

**249** (49.60). Pl. 56. H. 0.026, D. 0.07.

Buff clay, red-brown paint. Pyxis only; similar to No. 248.

#### TRIPOD PYXIS

One fragmentary example. For the shape cf. NC, fig. 149 (Middle Corinthian); cf. also the large tripod vessel published by Miss Hersom (pp. 275-278).

**250** (49.127). Pls. 53, 56. H. 0.052, D. ca. 0.11. One leg and part of bowl preserved. Soft buff clay; black and red-brown paint. Bands and dots. Probably Argive, possibly Corinthian.

#### PLASTIC VASE

Fragment of one example:

**251** (49.176). Pl. 53. H. pres. 0.046, D. of rim 0.036. Pinkish-tan clay; glaze paint mottled brown and black, with added purple. Rim, neck, and handle are those of an aryballos. Immediately below, the body widened in an irregular shape (longer from front to back than from side to side) where we may guess that there was probably a woman's head. On top of rim, a petal rosette. On back of handle, a palmette with incised divisions.

#### POMEGRANATE (?)

One fragment noted:

**252** (49.177). Pl. 53. H. pres. 0.048, original D. ca. 0.055. Buff clay; purple paint on knob, black on body. Attachments of small horizontal handle on shoulder. Torus moulding at base of knob. Fine bands on body; vertical strokes in handle zone. The vessel was completely closed. For an earlier version of the shape cf. *V. S.*, pl. VIII, 1.

#### LIDS

About 20 lids of various types were found, whole or fragmentary. Some are trefoil, designed for oinochoai; the greater number are conical, flat, or deep-flanged, to fit pyxides.



*Trefoil*

Two complete examples and fragments of at least five others, in shape and size resembling No. 168, which is listed above as Corinthian. One or more of the present group may also have been made in Corinth, but the fabric appears to be Argive. The paint, black, brown, or red, covers most of the upper surface and in some instances part of the lower also. These lids are too big for any of the oinochoai found with them; they were probably dedicated by themselves, a part in token for the whole.

253 (49.58). Pl. 52. H. 0.03. Intact. Pink clay; orange-red glaze paint.

*Conical*

Two examples nearly complete and fragments of others. The flanges are designed to fit outside the rims of pyxides or other vessels.

254 (49.75). Pl. 56. H. 0.058, D. 0.107. Restored; bits missing. Tan clay; black paint with bands of added purple. Knob and rim coated; rays on shoulder. Larger than any pyxis represented in this collection.

255 (49.124). Pl. 56. H. 0.032, D. 0.061. Part of rim missing. Buff clay; brown paint. Shoulder rounded. Horizontal bands and vertical strokes.

256 (49.178). Pl. 52. H. pres. 0.041. Large flanged knob of Corinthian type (cf. No. 177). Reddish-tan clay; brownish-black paint. Cf. *A. H.*, II, fig. 75, 3.

*Flat*

Four nearly complete; fragments of at least five others. They are quite flat or very slightly convex. Most had central knobs, but a few lacked them. The rim of one turns downward at the edge; the rest have, or probably had, small flanges on the under side, designed to fit

inside the rims of pyxides (cf. No. 248, fig. 10).

257 (49.56). Pl. 56. H. 0.01, D. 0.051. Buff clay; orange-red paint. Three horizontal with fine spiral groove from center to rim.

258 (49.179). H. 0.009, D. 0.062. Pinkish-buff clay, apparently with thin white coating on upper surface; concentric rings in dull red.

259 (49.180). H. pres. 0.015, D. 0.076. Knob missing. Soft buff clay; concentric rings in brown and black paint, dotted checkerboard patterns in brown filling the zones.

*For Powder Pyxides*

Two examples. For the shape see *NC*, p. 293.

260 (49.59). Pl. 56. H. 0.021, D. 0.065. Bits missing. Grayish-buff clay; black paint with added purple on rim. Rings on upper and under surfaces of top, bands on deep vertical flange. This piece may well be the pyxis itself rather than the lid.

261 (49.181). Original D. of lid *ca.* 0.085. Buff clay; orange-red paint. Three horizontal grooves above rim.

## MONOCHROME WARES

About 250 of the whole or nearly whole miniature vases in the Archaic deposit, and fragments of almost that many again, belong to a familiar and characteristic class of light-colored unpainted wares. Pots of the same or closely related kinds have been found in Geometric and Archaic contexts at sites throughout the Greek world, but particularly in the Argolid, and the fabric is generally called Argive Monochrome. It has received mention in many publications but, being unpretentious in quality, has not been extensively recorded or illustrated.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> In *A. H.*, II, pp. 99-100, Hoppin records "a special class of hand-made undecorated vases," but dates them far too early. See also E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, par. 75

The typical color of these pots is a light buff; in a few it verges toward yellowish or greenish, in others toward pink or brown.<sup>46</sup> The biscuit varies greatly in texture and quality: at best it is exceedingly fine and hard, but in many instances it has become friable or even powdery. The clay of some pieces is very coarse, containing many rough particles of stone that make a nubby surface (e. g. No. 312). Broken edges not infrequently reveal a gray core. Some of the pots appear to have been coated with a thin slip or wash, but this is usually of the same color as the underlying biscuit and is difficult to distinguish with certainty. The surfaces were often pared with a knife or similar instrument, and the marks, which are visible particularly on the necks, are a most characteristic technical feature of the class (see Nos. 277, 280, 286). A fine polish was given to the pots and in many instances is still preserved (e. g. No. 268).

Almost all these vessels were made by hand. Wheel-made pieces like Nos. 264, 265, 307, and 309 have a different look about them, and ought perhaps to be classed in a separate category; here they may be thought of as variants.

By far the commonest shapes represented are the oinochoe with squat-conical or depressed globular body and the hydria of similar type, which differs only in having a pair of horizontal handles. Among the pots of these principal shapes there are many variations in form of lip, in height and breadth of neck, and in minor details. The handles in most cases are moderately flattened rather than truly flat or round in section; and most of the vessels have flat or

somewhat rounded bottoms, not separately fashioned bases. The conical oinochoai suggest a general kinship with their Corinthian counterparts, but they are in no sense imitations. Close copying is seen in the round aryballoi (e. g. No. 268, Pl. 57), and in the form of the neck and rim that were carried over from the aryballos to pots like No. 300 (Pl. 59) and No. 306 (Pl. 57).

There are few traces of decoration, which is limited to incised lines or punched dots (see Nos. 300, 303), plastic additions (Nos. 263, 308), and an occasional ornamental handle (Nos. 300, 301). Rouletted patterns, which appear fairly frequently on the pots of this class found elsewhere, do not occur in the material from this deposit.

One must assume that most, if not all, of these monochrome vases were manufactured and dedicated in the period represented by the majority of the other pieces, i. e. the late seventh century and, quite possibly, the early sixth. If the class is indeed as homogeneous as it appears to be, the present lot marks the culmination of a long tradition. Many of the pieces from other sites are dated by their contexts to the eighth and even the ninth centuries, and, as has been pointed out before, the finest of all yellow monochrome ware was made in the Argolid in the Mycenaean period (e. g. the sherd No. 44, *supra*). The present collection undoubtedly reinforces the opinion that small vases of this sort were an Argive speciality,<sup>47</sup> although it does not reduce the

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("Monochrome argivische Gattung"), with bibliography; remarks on "lekythoi," K. F. Johansen, *V. S.*, pp. 22-23; P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, pp. 18-19; H. Payne, *Perachora*, pl. 14, 3 and p. 63; S. S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, Nos. 16-18, 51, 66, 81, 89-96 (all Geometric); R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 86, No. XVII 22; C. Dugas, *Délos*, XVII, pl. LXIV, 1-12, and pp. 115-116; *Délos*, X (Les Vases de L'Héraion), pl. XLV, No. 539, and remarks on the related group, pp. 153-155.

<sup>46</sup> In our collection are a few fragments of oinochoai in a dark gray ware which seems identical to the buff in all but color. I assume that the fabric was in fact the same and that it was turned dark by being fired under reducing conditions. Mr. Dunbabin has shown me more numerous pots of this sort from Perachora, not yet published.

<sup>47</sup> Is it not possible that a perfume or some other pleasing and magical liquid was exported from Argos, originally and over a long period of time, in simple containers of this type?



probability that imitations or kindred vessels were made elsewhere.

In the following catalogue we list representative examples of all the shapes noted.

#### BOWLS

Four miniature examples, all handmade.

**262** (49.148). Pl. 57. H. 0.033, D. 0.061. Fairly coarse buff clay. Two vertical handles stuck against the rim and sides.

Similar: several fragments, one with trace of horizontal handle at rim.

**263** (49.182). Pl. 53. Fragment of irregular rim with plastic decoration. Very small vessel, possibly a cup.

#### PHIALE MESOMPHALOS

One miniature:

**264** (49.66). Pl. 57. H. 0.015, D. 0.043. Part of rim missing. Red-tan clay. Wheel-made.

#### KOTHON

One miniature:

**265** (49.67). Pl. 57. H. 0.016, D. 0.04. Horizontal handle missing. Red-tan clay. Wheel-made.

#### KANTHAROS (?)

One fragmentary miniature:

**266** (49.147). Pl. 57. H. to rim 0.041, D. ca. 0.05. One side missing. Buff clay. Flattened bottom, depressed globular body, out-turned rim, high-swung handle. Handmade. Presumably had a second handle of the same kind opposite. Cf. late Geometric example, *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 13, 81.

#### JUG OR TANKARD

**267** (49.3). H. to rim. 0.078, D. 0.076.

Coarse dark tan clay; surface smoothed. Flattened bottom, globular body, concave neck, flaring rim, high-swung handle roughly rectangular in section with groove along outer edge. Handmade.

#### ROUND ARYBALLOS

Three examples:

**268** (49.64). Pl. 57. H. 0.056, D. 0.055. Part of rim missing. Buff clay with gray core; smooth surface, pared. Handmade. The hole in the neck was cut with a hollow cylindrical punch, which left a plug of clay inside.

**269** (49.137). H. 0.06, D. 0.058. Buff clay; smooth surface. Handmade.

**270** (49.140). H. 0.041, D. 0.041. Part of rim missing. Buff clay with pinkish core. Wheel-made.

#### SQUAT-CONICAL OINOCHOAI

*With Trefoil Rim*

At least 45 examples could be counted. They are all handmade miniatures, buff in color, and in shape approximately imitating standard Corinthian conical oinochoai but with certain marked differences. The bottom is flat or nearly flat, but there is almost always a curve, not a sharp edge, where it joins the body. The body is more nearly hemispherical than conical, and in most instances it bulges to a greater diameter than that of the bottom. The neck is normally very short, never long as in the Corinthian type. The handle is flat; it curves outward and very slightly upward from the trefoil rim before turning down to meet the shoulder about half way from neck to base. On the bodies of two of these oinochoai there are pairs of small rounded knobs, probably vestigial representations of breasts. No other decoration has been observed. The following are characteristic examples:<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Cf. C. Dugas, *B. C. H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 401, fig. 51, No. 226 (Tegea). There is another, presumably from the region of Tanagra, in the museum at Schimatari.

**271** (49.144). Pl. 57. H. 0.06, D. 0.068. Intact. Yellowish-buff clay; surface pared and smoothed.

**272** (49.12). Pl. 57. H. 0.047, D. 0.055. Intact. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Bottom slightly concave.

**273** (49.139). Pl. 57. H. 0.048, D. 0.052. Intact. Soft buff clay. Two small knobs on shoulder under spout.

**274** (49.138). H. 0.041, D. 0.037. Handle missing. Surface pared and smoothed.

#### *With Round Rim*

Nine examples recorded. This group resembles the preceding in all respects except that the rim was left round, not pressed up at the sides to form a trefoil outline.

**275** (49.10). Pl. 58. H. 0.053, D. 0.05. Chip missing. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Rim rises slightly toward front; handle makes wider curve than most.

**276** (49.183). Pl. 58. H. 0.058, D. 0.057. Chips missing. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Neck longer than the average.

**277** (49.184). Pl. 58. H. 0.055, D. 0.056. Intact. Grayish-buff clay. Broad rim.

**278** (49.185). H. 0.04, D. 0.042. Handle and part of rim missing. Buff clay.

#### LOBULAR OINOCHOAI

##### *With Trefoil Rim*

Three examples, varying in details:

**279** (49.186). Pl. 58. H. 0.094, D. 0.083. Handle and part of rim missing. Soft buff clay with particles of brown matter; surface pared and smoothed. Cf. *B. C. H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 399, fig. 50, No. 225.

**280** (49.187). Pl. 58. H. 0.089, D. 0.087. Handle and part of rim missing. Buff clay, mottled pink; surface apparently slipped, cracked. Similar in shape to No. **279** but with flat

bottom, more like the squat-conical type. Cf. *A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 424, fig. 12, No. 1231.

**281** (49.7). H. 0.073, D. 0.065. Handle missing. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Body roughly piriform, tapering to wide neck.

##### *With Round Rim*

Eighteen examples recorded. In this type the base is slightly flattened, the body approximately spherical or slightly depressed. Necks are short and usually narrow. Most of the handles are flat and curve downward to the shoulder, but at least one is nearly round in section and rises above the rim.

**282** (49.1). Pl. 58. H. 0.097, D. 0.092. Intact. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Cf. examples from Geometric context, *Corinth*, VII, i, Nos. 51, 66, 89 (there called aryballoi).

**283** (49.146). H. 0.068, D. 0.065. Intact. Buff clay with particles of brown matter; surface pared and smoothed.

**284** (49.8). Pl. 58. H. 0.053, D. 0.056. Intact. Clay as in No. **282**, worn. Squat body, broad mouth, handle curving above rim.

**285** (49.188). Pl. 58. H. 0.032, D. 0.038. Handle and part of rim missing. Pinkish-tan clay with buff slip. Squat, with broad mouth.

#### HYDRIAI

Under this heading we record all the small jugs that have a single vertical handle from rim to shoulder and a pair of horizontal handles on opposite sides of the body. A total of 147 could be counted, more or less nearly complete, and almost an equal number appeared to be represented by fragments.

But for the side-handles, most of these pots are like the round-mouthed oinochoai listed above. They are handmade and the clay is of the usual buff color, except in rare instances. For purposes of comparison they may be classified like the oinochoai, certain variant forms being noted in a miscellaneous category.



*Squat-conical*

Seventeen examples, all apparently with round rims, though one or two possibly trefoil. Handles flat.

**286** (49.6). Pl. 58. H. 0.055, D. 0.055. Chips missing. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Horizontal handles set upright, pressed against shoulder of pot, not open.

**287** (49.189). H. 0.053, D. 0.055. Chip missing. Buff-tan clay. Like No. **286**; one handle open.

*Globular*

At least 124 examples. Most have narrow mouths and handles nearly round in section.

**288** (49.190). H. 0.089, D. 0.084. Chips missing. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Baggy contour. Flat vertical handle.

**289** (49.191). H. 0.083, D. 0.083. Handles missing. Buff clay. Depressed globular body. Short cylindrical neck.

**290** (49.2). Pl. 58. H. 0.081, D. 0.082. One horizontal handle missing. Light grayish-buff clay. Groove at junction of neck and shoulder.

**291** (49.192). H. 0.078, D. 0.076. Bits missing. Very light buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Shape like No. **289**. Vertical handle rises above rim.

**292** (49.5). Pl. 58. H. 0.07, D. 0.07. Bits missing. Light tan clay. Surface pared.

**293** (49.9). H. 0.066, D. 0.063. Intact. Soft buff clay. Short concave neck.

**294** (49.193). H. to neck 0.052, D. 0.07. Neck and handles missing. Red clay with brown slip, coarse.

**295** (49.194). H. 0.063, D. 0.073. Intact. Brownish coarse clay. Squat; broad mouthed.

**296** (49.195). H. 0.052, D. 0.052. One

handle missing. Buff clay. Fairly squat body; narrow neck; flat handle.

**297** (49.196). Pl. 58. H. 0.051, D. 0.045. Intact. Soft buff clay. Disk base.

**298** (49.143). Pl. 59. H. 0.04, D. 0.04. Intact. Light tan clay.

**299** (49.141). Pl. 59. H. 0.039, D. 0.035. One handle missing. Buff clay; surface pared and smoothed.

*Miscellaneous*

**300** (49.32). Pl. 59. H. 0.071, D. 0.059. Vertical handle missing. Light buff clay; surface pared and smoothed. Broad disk base and cylindrical pedestal. Depressed globular body. Cylindrical neck and broad flat rim. Horizontal handles with reflex tips rise obliquely and are decorated with incisions. Series of incised marks at collar and at top and bottom of pedestal.

**301** (49.145). Pl. 59. H. to neck 0.044, D. 0.049. Neck and two handles missing. Light tan clay. Broad ovoid body. Moulding at base of neck. Horizontal handles had vertical cylindrical attachments at either end. Wheel-made.

**302** (49.136). Pl. 59. H. to rim 0.046, D. 0.061. One handle missing. Light greenish-gray clay. Body as of a fairly squat jar with short collar neck. Vertical handle flat and high-swung; small horizontal handles flat.

**303** (49.197). Pl. 59. Fragment; D. of rim 0.05. Tan clay. Incised linear decoration on inner side of rim and on neck, handles, and plastic ridge around shoulder.

**304** (49.4). Pl. 59. H. 0.085, D. 0.07. Bits missing. Coarse buff clay. Raised base and roughly cylindrical neck.

**305** (49.198). Pl. 59. H. 0.06, D. 0.057. Handles missing. Very coarse pinkish-tan clay. Walls thick and uneven, the interior quite unfinished.

## AMPHORAE

Two miniature two-handled vessels:

**306** (49.36). Pl. 57. H. 0.078, D. 0.056. Buff clay; surface pared. Handles round in section. Handmade. The broad flat rim, ovoid body, and tapering foot are reminiscent of pointed aryballoi, but may also be compared with features of the miniature pithoid jars listed below.

**307** (49.199). Pl. 57. H. of body 0.041, D. 0.05. Neck and parts of thin round handles lost. Buff clay. Biconical body with relatively broad ring base. Wheel-made.

## DEINOI

Fragments of two or more squat rounded jars with rims, decorated with small plastic rings (suggesting handles ?) on the shoulder: e. g. No. **308** (49.200), Pl. 53.

## JARS

Seven miniatures, complete or nearly complete, and fragments of several others. One (No. **309**) is wheel-made, the rest are of coarse clay and handmade. The former and one of the latter have pairs of vertical handles; five

perhaps imitate the form of great storage pithoi.

**309** (49.72). Pl. 57. H. 0.056, D. 0.061. One handle restored. Buff clay. Globular body, flaring rim. Wheel-made.

**310** (49.38). Pl. 57. H. 0.04, D. 0.065. Coarse pinkish-buff clay. Squat body, broad mouth; two small flattened vertical handles.

**311** (49.37). Pl. 57. H. 0.054, D. 0.057. Coarse buff clay. Globular body.

**312** (49.33). Pl. 57. H. 0.081, D. 0.062. Coarse pinkish-buff clay. Ovoid body tapering to narrow foot. Handmade. Cf. the shape of the "amphora," No. **306**.

A few others, including 49.34 and 49.35, are like No. **312**.

## LIDS

Two diminutive lids of trefoil shape with arched handles, designed for miniature oinochoai:

**313** (49.83). Pl. 57. H. 0.015, L. 0.042, W. 0.036. Buff clay.

**314** (49.84). Similar.

## SURFACE DEPOSITS,

## PRINCIPALLY OF THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES

The topmost layer, which covered the Archaic deposits, was made up of brown earth firmly packed. It was about 0.50 m. thick in most places but fully 1 m. thick at the brow of the terrace, along the east side of the area excavated. It appeared that the ground had never been occupied after the Archaic objects had come to rest here. No architectural remains were encountered.

Potsherds of various dates were found in this earth: a few fragments of Mycenaean wares, Geometric and Archaic pieces in considerable numbers, and nearly a basketful of black glazed fragments which include Attic and provincial wares of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Of pieces datable to later ages there were almost



none: one or two small sherds of Hellenistic wares, and the foot of a Knidian wine jar which Miss Virginia Grace assigns to a period not earlier than the second century. Some thirty per cent of the total are fragments of coarse undecorated wares that cannot be dated with accuracy. As noted in the preceding catalogues, a few of the bronze objects that were found just at the top of the Archaic stratum and appear to be somewhat later than the rest of that deposit (e. g. Nos. **107**, **113**) may perhaps belong properly to the debris of the final period.

On the basis of this rather inconclusive evidence it seems most reasonable to suppose that the latest stratum was the result of filling or dumping which occurred in the latter part of the fourth century, and that only an occasional sherd was dropped on the hillside thereafter.

Many, if not most, of the pots that can be recognized were dedications, some having the name or initial of Hera scratched upon them. They offer several interesting and somewhat tantalizing problems, and point to the need of a systematic study of the distribution and influence of late classical Attic wares in regions like the Argolid. The present group of sherds is obviously inadequate as material for a study of that sort and does not require exposition in detail. A few representative pieces are set forth in the following list <sup>48</sup> and are illustrated on Plate 59:

**315.** From side of bell-krater or other open vessel. Th. of wall 0.007. Glaze on interior is fine, hard, fired light red; on exterior good black, but mottled dark brown in patches. A bit of drapery is preserved at left; the end of a staff, presumably a raised thyrsos, at right; meander and checkerboard below. The thyrsos is bordered by strong relief contours. Attic; not far removed from the Semele Painter. Late fifth or early fourth century. Cf. Bell-krater, Athens 1442: Beazley, *ARV*, p. 851; Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pl. XXII.

**316.** From side of open (?) vessel. Th. of wall 0.006. Interior coated with thick but dull black glaze, suggesting that the pot may have had a contracted mouth, like a pelike, rather than the wide opening of a bell-krater. On exterior, body and left leg of a figure in bar-

barian costume: possibly an Amazon, or an Arimasp among griffins, or a dancer like the one appearing on a bell-krater from Al Mina (Beazley, *J. H. S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 23-25, fig. 60). Very coarse relief lines. Probably Attic. Early fourth century.

**317.** From side of bell-krater, near rim. Th. of wall 0.006. Clay light buff. Interior glazed black, but with narrow horizontal reserved band which is painted pink. Exterior apparently coated with thin orange-buff slip, over which traces of fairly heavy miltos wash are visible on reserved areas. Sherd preserves part of head and left shoulder of satyr crowned with ivy. A band in red, apparently with added dots in white, encircles the head. There are no relief contours. Probably Corinthian, though the draftsmanship is reminiscent of highly competent Attic work. End of fifth century. Cf. P.

<sup>48</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Cedric Boulter, Mr. Peter Corbett, and Miss Lucy Talcott for going over these sherds with me and making many comments and provocative suggestions. They had not, however, the leisure to pursue a thorough investigation of the material, and may not share any of my responsibility for errors and omissions. *J. L. C.*

Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 76; W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 23 b.

**318.** From side of small open vessel. Th. of wall 0.0045. Dull grayish-tan biscuit. Interior glazed black. On exterior, a pair of bare feet appear above the draped knees of a seated figure. Traces of preliminary sketch; no relief contours. Place of origin uncertain; not Attic.

**319.** Fragment of lamp of Type 23 A.<sup>50</sup> H. pres. 0.028. Wholly coated with black glaze, mottled reddish. On the rim, graffito:  $\Theta\Xi$  [— (hépa). Attic. Late fifth or early fourth century.

**320.** From side of small open vessel, presumably a skyphos. Th. of wall 0.005. Light buff clay. Interior and exterior glazed black. On exterior, graffito:  $\Theta$  or  $H$ . Probably Corinthian.

**321.** Rim of small skyphos of Corinthian shape. Th. of wall 0.002. Black glaze of poor quality. On rim, wreath of myrtle leaves and berries, the latter originally white. Below, head, left shoulder and arm of figure facing left, reclining on striped cushion, over which is a spiral ornament. Place of origin uncertain. Late fifth or early fourth century.

**322.** Base of Attic skyphos of Corinthian shape. Profile, Fig. 11. D. of vase 0.052, Th. of wall 0.002. Excellent black glaze. Above base, reserved band with red wash and fine



Fig. 11. No. 322. Base of Skyphos.  
Section (1:1).

vertical lines in black; red wash and black rings on under side of base. Fifth century.

**323.** From base of skyphos of Attic type. Profile, Fig. 12. Th. of wall 0.0035. Biscuit grayish-buff. Black glaze streakily applied on interior and exterior. At left, bit of drapery and lower end of staff or thyrsos. At right, handle-ornament. Red wash on under side of base. Place of origin uncertain. Early fourth century.



Fig. 12. No. 323. Base of Skyphos.  
Section (1:1).

**324.** Rim of krater or very large hydria. Profile, Fig. 13. D. of rim calculated *ca.* 0.23, Th. of wall 0.008. Glazed black, inside and out. Elaborately moulded rim with stamped ovules on outer face. On the neck, incised stem and tendrils, ivy leaves and dotted rosettes in added white. On upper surface of rim, graffito: — ]  $\Pi A$  [ —. The clay and glaze might well be Attic; but the scratched letters and the fine modelling of the rim suggest a date not later than the beginning of the fourth century, whereas incision of ivy tendrils can scarcely be earlier than the third century in Attica (H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 438 ff.).

**325.** Base of Corinthian skyphos. D. of base 0.05, Th. of wall 0.003. Buff clay. Glaze

<sup>50</sup> In the revised classification of Greek lamps from the Athenian Agora now being prepared by R. H. Howland.





Fig. 13. No. 324. Rim of Krater. Section (1:1)

fired dark red-brown. Reserved areas show coating of light red wash. On under side of base, graffito:  $\Xi$ .

**326.** Base of Corinthian skyphos. D. of base 0.036, Th. of wall 0.0015. Buff clay. A spiral of black glaze survives on the interior. On exterior, most of black has peeled off but parts of draped male figures can be made out on either side, where reserved areas preserve thick miltos wash.

**327.** Fragment of foot of large bell-krater. Th. of wall 0.008 to 0.01. Pinkish-buff clay. Red wash on recessed band at top of vertical face and on under side of foot; the rest glazed black. Corinthian.

**328.** Fragment of base and lower side of closed vessel, perhaps a squat lekythos. Th. of wall 0.005. Grayish-tan biscuit. Exterior coated with black glaze of poor quality. Panels of vertical ribbing on side of body. Rough groove on resting surface of ring-base. Not Attic; Argive? Probably fourth century. For a similar arrangement of ribbing cf. D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XIII, pl. 190, 521 B.

**329.** (Not illustrated.) Handle and part of rim and wall of black glazed skyphos of Attic shape. Line of impressed palmettes just under rim; below them, vertical ribbing. Not Attic; place of origin uncertain. Late fifth century.

## SUMMARY

Conclusions to be drawn from the material that has been described at considerable length in the preceding pages may be summarized briefly.

Our small excavation of 1949, an international enterprise that was carried out in the happiest and most harmonious spirit of cooperation, produced a number of interesting results, two of which may fairly claim some archaeological importance. In the first place, we are able to set forth in appropriate sequence the pottery and other objects that were recovered from a series of superposed and chronologically successive layers; and secondly, we have a surprisingly large collection of archaic ex-votos, among which are an excellent though fragmentary bronze statuette and objects of several other types that were previously not well known. The interest of these discoveries is heightened, furthermore, by their association with one of the greatest sanctuaries of ancient Greece.

The history of the small area which we investigated may be reconstructed as follows. Unless some elusive sherd of Neolithic ware has escaped our notice, the first evidence of habitation is provided by pottery of the Early Helladic period.<sup>51</sup> Although these pieces are not of the earliest types, they must still go back to the third millennium B.C. Next in chronological order are the sherds of Middle Helladic wares, which are of the familiar kinds assignable to the early centuries of the second millennium. In the Late Bronze Age our terrace was occupied by houses, and the considerable accumulation of debris around and under them contained pottery of second and third Late Helladic periods, datable to the fifteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth centuries.

No traces of the latest Mycenaean and earliest Geometric periods were observed. The area apparently began to be used as a dumping ground for rubbish around the end of the eighth century, as was attested by the presence of late Geometric and early Protocorinthian pottery. Most of the vessels of that period were of medium or large size; we may assume that they had been dedicated to the goddess and were thrown out after being broken. Only scattered fragments survived.

At a date that cannot be determined precisely, but certainly not earlier than the middle of the sixth century, a large collection of votive offerings was brought out and dumped, all at one time. From what shrine or temple they came we are unable to say; they are unpretentious and very small but so numerous that they must have taken up a good deal of space, ultimately requiring one of those "periodical cleanings out of the sanctuary" that Hoppin recognized (*A. H.*, II, p. 64). Once desanctified, they seem to have been treated with little respect, being poured onto the ground by the basketful and allowed to lie there. Perhaps some earth was spread over them at the time, but they were not accorded even the honor of burial in a pit or *favissa*, to say nothing of the more elaborate care that was granted to venerable offerings in temples like the Heraion of Delos.

The most striking feature of this deposit is the preponderance, among the pots, of miniature hydriai; or rather of vessels with three handles set like those of hydriai, for many of these jugs and jars are of shapes that are otherwise unrelated. In a total of about 900 whole pots recovered, more than two-thirds (475 with painted patterns, 147 in monochrome ware) are three-handled. Quite evidently it was believed that a hydria was most acceptable to the divinity, at least from a certain class of dedicants or on certain occasions. That these worshippers were women, and probably poor women who could afford no richer gifts, we can have little doubt.<sup>52</sup> In any case, this is not primarily a men's shrine, where kantharoi and kraters—masculine accoutrement

<sup>51</sup> That the region around the Heraion had been occupied in Neolithic times was clearly established in the course of Professor Blegen's excavations (*Prosymna*, pp. 22-29).

<sup>52</sup> Purely in speculation one might guess that they were girls or even quite young children, with whom the toy-like miniatures would be in keeping. Mr. Papadimitriou suggests with reason that there may be a connection between the hydria and the rites of the Water of Freedom (Pausanias, II, 17, 1).



—would normally predominate.<sup>53</sup> The point need not be argued. It is borne out by the nature of the hundreds of objects that were dedicated at the site of the Heraion, including bronze dress pins, mirrors, and the like, many of which occur in the deposit here under review.

The accumulation of this group of objects evidently extended over a considerable period of time. The earliest of the datable whole pots, e. g. the Protocorinthian oinochoe No. **149**, must have been made before the middle of the seventh century; the latest, e. g. the Late Corinthian pyxis No. **166**, near the middle of the sixth. Many of the objects cannot be dated precisely. The bronze pins with knobs and flanges are known to occur elsewhere in Geometric contexts; they are durable, and it is quite possible that some of the present lot may go back to that period. It seems improbable, however, that many of the bronzes are later than the fragmentary statuette No. **71**, which belongs to the years around 560 and is contemporary with the latest pots. The mid-point in the series appears to be marked by the relatively numerous vases in Early Corinthian style, and it is probably safe to assume that the majority of the Argive vases were manufactured in the same period, i. e. during the latter part of the seventh century.<sup>54</sup>

The body of material recovered in our excavation of this deposit is large enough to be regarded as representative, even if more still lies in the ground further north. Therefore there is no reason to suppose that it ever contained objects later in date than those recorded above. If its original place of dedication was a large building like the archaic temple of Hera, this group of objects may conceivably have been pushed aside and left untouched for many years. In a small shrine that would scarcely be possible, and even in a large one it seems improbable that no new offerings would be added. Thus we find it most reasonable to suppose that the whole lot was cleared out and discarded around 550 B.C.

For a time thereafter the terrace appears to have remained untouched or to have received only a little rubbish from the sanctuary above. Then the retaining wall, R, was built; and finally in the fourth century, on one or more occasions, earth containing fragments of other votive offerings—black glazed and red figured pots—was deposited along the terrace. From that time on, except for a small amount of natural accretion and erosion, no further changes occurred.

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<sup>53</sup> This observation has been made by Mr. John Cook, and is strongly supported by the objects from an heröon at Mycenae, which he will publish shortly.

<sup>54</sup> In general the closest parallels to our material, in publications now available, are from Tegea (Dugas, *B. C. H.*, XLV, 1921, pp. 335 ff.) and from the "South-east Deposit" at Perachora (Payne, *Perachora*, pp. 98 ff.).

## APPENDIX

## INSCRIPTIONS [by P. A.]

**I.** (Pl. 60). Right edge of a base of black limestone.

Height 0.267. Maximum length 0.22. Maximum depth 0.24. Height of letters and space between the lines 0.025. Ruled.

Between the North Stoa and the Second Temple.

— — ] τῖδα  
ἀν]έθεν

End of the fifth century or first half of the fourth century B.C.

**II.** (Pl. 60). Fragment of a base of black limestone, broken on all sides except the upper surface (where the trace of a recess for the feet of a statue is visible).

Maximum height 0.225. Maximum length 0.30. Maximum depth 0.28. Height of letters 0.015. Space between lines 0.009. Ruled.

Between the North Stoa and the Second Temple.

ΠΥ — —  
ἀνέθηκε

Second half of the fourth century B.C.

**III.** (Pl. 60). Fragment of a base of black limestone, complete on the right and on the lower surface.

Maximum height 0.19. Maximum length 0.35. Maximum depth 0.30. Height of letters 0.035; height of omicron 0.022. Space between the lines 0.012. Ruled.

In the western part of the North Stoa.

— — — ο —  
— — ε ο ς

First half of the third century B.C.

**IV.** (Pl. 60). Base of grey limestone, preserved on all faces, with three cuttings, 0.04 to 0.045 m. deep, on the upper surface, for the feet of a tripod.

Height 0.295. Length 0.80. Depth 0.615. Letters not deeply cut, and partially



effaced. Remnants of two lines can be distinguished. Height of letters 0.022; height of omicron 0.018. Space between the lines 0.012.

In front of the bases located between the North Stoa and the Northeast Stoa (*A. H.*, I, pl. XII), to the northeast of the Second Temple.

[<sup>ν</sup>Ηραι Εὐ?]στρατείδα[ς]  
Στράτωνος

Good characters of the third century B.C.

The tripod may have been the offering of a victor in a competition or of a choregus. According to the relative position of the letters of the two lines,<sup>1</sup> the first line must have contained about sixteen letters. The restoration [<sup>ν</sup>Ηραι Εὐ]στρατείδα[ς] would satisfy these conditions and conform to the usual formula.<sup>2</sup> The name [Εὐ]στρατείδα[ς] seems not to occur in Argive prosopography. The name Στράτων on the other hand, is met with repeatedly from the fourth to the first centuries B.C.<sup>3</sup>

V. (Pl. 60). Fragment of grey limestone picked up by a peasant on the Heraion site in the winter of 1948-49. Taken to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens: Inv. EM 13138.

Broken on all sides except the reverse. Maximum height 0.195. Maximum length 0.16. Thickness 0.114. Height of letters and space between the lines 0.0075; o slightly smaller. Ruled. The first inscribed line is 0.046 m. from the top of the fragment.

The fragment is opisthographic. The reverse (face B) is much effaced. No trace of ruling can be distinguished on it. The letter height and the space between the lines is identical with those of face A.

Face A

Τ Ο Ι Α Π Ο Τ  
Ν Ο Ι Ε Ν Ι Κ Α

*vacat*

— — —]τεος Διφων[ύσιο]ς Α — — —

5

*vacat*

— — —]εος Κλεοδαίδας Σ, — — —

*vacat*

<sup>1</sup> The second τ of Στράτωνος is exactly in the middle of the inscribed face and falls between the τ and the ρ of — —]στρατείδα[ς].

<sup>2</sup> Here I use the suggestions of J. Pouilloux.

<sup>3</sup> For this Argive name, the most recent information and a bibliography are given by J. Marcadé, *B. C. H.*, LXXIII, 1949, pp. 141-142. (Cf. M. Mitsos, *Ἀργολικὴ προσωπογραφία*, 1952, pp. 163-164).

---]οοσθένεος Ἀραχνάδα[ς ---  
                                   *vacat*  
 10                                   *vacat*  
*Face B*                               Ο Η  
                                   traces of letters ?  
 --- ὁγ]δοήκοντα ---  
       --- ἑκατὸν ΟΤΡ ---  
 5                                   *vacat*  
       ---] νος Δυμμά[δας ---  
                                   *vacat*  
       --- Θ Ω Ν ---

Characters of the end of the fourth century or the first half of the third century B.C.

**VI.** (Pl. 60). Fragment of grey limestone, found in 1949 to the east of the North Stoa. Taken to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens: Inv. EM 13137.

Broken everywhere but at the bottom and on the back. Maximum height 0.27. Maximum length 0.33. Thickness 0.115. Height of letters and space between the lines 0.008. Ruled. The last inscribed line is 0.11 m. from the bottom of the stone. The lower part of the block forms a slightly raised band 0.05 m. high.

No trace of letters on the reverse.

  ΕΛ<sup>≡</sup>  
                                   *vacat*  
       ---]νος Δυμμάδας Ἐλαιφ[ών ---  
                                   *vacat*  
 5                                   *vacat*  
       --- Σ Λυκωτάδας Πολεμεία Κ ---  
   -- μμί]δα Μόκλας Ποσίδαον ἐν Δαθ[---  
                                   *vacat*  
                           ΙΚΑΤΑΝΤΙΜΑΝ  
 10                    ---]μμίδα Μόκλας Ποσίδαον ὄρος ἐν Δαθ[---

Script the same as in No. V.

The quality of the material (chalky, brittle limestone), the thickness of the block, the characters and the arrangement of the text leave no doubt that fragments V and



VI belong to the same slab or to two identical slabs. The fragment published in 1911 by O. Walter, which has since disappeared, must also belong to the same series.<sup>4</sup>

Fragment V occupied the upper part of a slab, as is proved by the unruled space above the first line and by the traces in lines 1 and 2 of face A of a formula differing from the text which follows. Fragment VI, on the other hand, comes from the lower part of a slab. According to the drawing published by O. Walter, the lost fragment might be set to the right of fragment V, since the fourth line inscribed on each permits the restoration Στιχέλειον.<sup>5</sup> But the arrangement of the incised lines above the first inscribed line on the lost fragment does not agree with that on fragment V.

The relief band at the bottom of fragment VI proves that the slabs were recessed like stelae. The inscribed lines on the reverse of fragment V exclude the possibility that the stelae were placed against a wall. The text takes the form of a number of paragraphs, each mentioning the name of a person, his patronymic, his phratry, and his place of origin. The vacant lines (V, A, lines 3, 5, 7; V, B, lines 5, 7; VI, lines 2, 8) probably indicate that the second line of each paragraph did not extend as far as the preserved portion of the slab. The two vacant lines after line 8 of V, A and line 3 of VI are more difficult to explain. The sketch of the vanished fragment seems to indicate that the text was arranged in columns.

The two fragments are too badly mutilated to let us determine the nature of the text. The remains of lines 1 and 2 of V, A are difficult to interpret. The words τιμάν (VI, line 9), ὀγδοήκοντα (V, B, line 3), and ἑκατόν (V, B, line 4) suggest that a statement of payments was recorded on the stone. Several texts of Argos or of the Heraion mention sums of money: inventories, lists of contributions or of offerings, manumissions of slaves.<sup>6</sup> It is impossible to choose among these various possibilities.

Although the general meaning of the text escapes us, the interest of the two fragments lies in the additions and corrections that they enable us to make in the list of Argive phratries and places.

The name of the phratry of the Διφωνύσιοι is established. This name is nowhere preserved entire. The text *I. G.*, IV, 529, gives in lines 20 and 21 Διφωνυσ- and Διφων-, and the text *I. G.*, IV, 553, gives in line 8 -νυσι-. Since the names of members of Argive phratries most frequently terminate in -ας and sometimes in -εως, the restora-

<sup>4</sup> *Oest. Jahresh.*, XIV, 1911, p. 142, no. III. Mr. O. Walter informed me that he left the fragment in the wall where it had been reused; it was no longer there in 1949.

<sup>5</sup> On the name of this place, the reading of which is not quite certain, cf. W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 366, A, line 8 and p. 367.

<sup>6</sup> For example: *I. G.*, IV, 530; *B. C. H.*, XXXIII, 1909, pp. 455-458, no. 23. Mr. W. Vollgraff suggests to me, purely as an hypothesis, another interpretation. The stone may have been a list of victors in a contest; the letters ENIKA (V, A, line 2) and IKA (VI, line 9) would be the remnants of forms of the verb νικάν or a dialectal word of the same root. In this hypothesis, τιμά could designate a prize of honor (cf. Hesychius, *s. v.* τιμή . . . ἀντέκτισις ἢ κυρία).

tions Διφωνσι[άδας] and Διφωνσι[εύς] have been proposed.<sup>7</sup> Both of these are ruled out by the text of fragment V, A, line 4; the lacuna can contain four letters only, not five. It is necessary, therefore, to admit the restoration Διφων[ύσιο]ς.<sup>8</sup>

This will help to distinguish the man's name Διονύσιος from the indication of membership in the phratry of the Διφωνύσιοι. Thus in the inscription from Argos, *I. G.*, IV, 530,<sup>9</sup> it is probable that in line 21 Διωνυσίου is the name of a member of the phratry, as several others of this sort in the genitive are encountered in the same text. Undoubtedly line 18 of the text *I. G.*, IV, 553 has been restored correctly with [Δι]ϛ[ω]νύσι[ος]. Perhaps the name Διφονυσίο (*I. G.*, IV, 512), cut in large archaic letters on a block from the Heraion which was re-used in a late repairing of the North-east Stoa (Pl. 63b),<sup>10</sup> can be explained in the same way.

The name of the phratry of the Δυμμάδαι, attested by texts V, B, line 6 and VI, line 3, is new. It should be restored in the inscription from Argos, *B. C. H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 456, no. 23, line 9: Δυμ[μ]άδα. In two decrees of Argos, *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, pp. 366-367, A, line 2, and B, line 2, W. Vollgraff proposed, although with reservations, after the name Ἀρίστανδρος Ἀριστέος the reading Δυμὰ[νς Σ]ελλιγών and Δυμ[αν]ς Σελλ[ιγ]ών. He himself emphasized<sup>11</sup> that the indication of the name of the tribe instead of that of the phratry was a unique exception, not only in these two texts, but in all Argive epigraphy. Verification made on the stone<sup>12</sup> gives in decree A: Δυμμάδας Ἐλαιφών, and in decree B: Δυμμάδας Ἐλαιφών.

Thus Σελλιγών, which was based on these two examples only, should be deleted from the list of Argive place-names, and the name Ἐλαιφών should be substituted. This same name should probably be restored in text VI, line 1, and in another text from Argos.<sup>13</sup>

The phratry name of the Λυκωτάδαι (VI, line 6) is also attested for the first time. It should be restored in the text *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 375, F, line 4: Φοίνιξ Λυκω[τ]ά[δας]. In the Argive inscription of the fifth century concerning the relations between Knossos and Tyliossos,<sup>14</sup> the phrase in lines 43-44, ἀφρέτετε Λυκοτάδας

<sup>7</sup> W. Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, XXXIII, 1909, pp. 182 and 190, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> W. Vollgraff thought that he recognized another phratry name ending in -οι in the termination -οδάμειοι, *Mnemosyne*, LVII, 1929, p. 246, no. XXIX; *S. E. G.*, XI, 339, line 4.

<sup>9</sup> Republished by W. Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, XXXIII, 1909, p. 183, n. 2.

<sup>10</sup> *A. H.*, I, pl. XXIX, M.

<sup>11</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> In August, 1950, with the cooperation of our Greek colleagues Messrs. J. Papadimitriou and Ph. Petsas.

<sup>13</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 375, E, line 10.

<sup>14</sup> This text has often been reproduced: Schwyzer, *D. G. E.*, 83; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 56; *Inscr. Cret.*, I, p. 56, no. 4; Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 33; *S. E. G.*, XI, 316. The most recent studies are those of U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, XXXIV, 1942, pp. 72 ff. and of W. Vollgraff, *Verhand. d. kon. Nederl. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, LI, 1948; cf. J. and L. Robert, *R. E. G.*, LV, 1942, p. 355, no. 54; LXII, 1949, p. 116, no. 65.



*ἡλλεύς* presents a problem. *Λυκοτάδας* is not the name of a man, as has been believed up to the present, but that of a phratry. M. Guarducci has noted<sup>15</sup> that the use of the tribe name *ἡλλεύς* applied to the president of the assembly is exceptional, and that it is in contrast with the formula employed in line 45, where the name of the president of the *βωλά* is accompanied by the mention of his phratry only. For the presidency of the assembly, was the indication of the phratry, supplemented by that of the tribe, sufficient, just as the mention of the tribe holding the prytany sufficed at Athens?

Fragment VI testifies to the existence of a place called *Πολεμεία* (line 6) and confirms that of one called *Ποσίδαον* (lines 7, 10).<sup>16</sup> The letters which follow this name, *ἐν Δαθ-*, undoubtedly carried a topographical specification. Because of the identical length of name and patronymic, the same individual of the tribe of the *Μόκλαι* must be meant in both instances. What does the insertion of the word *ὄρος* add in line 10? It appears not to have reference to boundaries.<sup>17</sup> In one inscription from Argos<sup>18</sup> the word *ὄρος* occurs ten times, each time accompanied by the name of a place in the nominative; but the interpretation of this text is uncertain.

It is impossible to restore the patronymics of which only the last letters remain. One can conclude at most from the shifted position of the name of the phratry in the text V, A, line 8, as compared with those in lines 4 and 6, that the name of the individual or of his father was particularly long; in addition to *Κλεοσθένης*, the name *Ἐμπεδοσθένης* is attested at Argos (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 704 E, line 8; 826 B II, line 10).

The lists of phratry and place names established by W. Vollgraff in 1916<sup>19</sup> should be brought up to date. The name of the phratry of the *Διφωνύσιοι* is now fixed in its correct form; the fragments from the Heraion acquaint us with the phratries of the *Δνυμάδαι* and the *Λυκωτάδαι*; an inscription of the fourth century from Epidauros has revealed the existence of the phratry of the *Λευκυρίδαι* (rather than *Εὐκυρίδαι*)<sup>20</sup> and has confirmed the existence of the phratry of the *Κερκάδαι*.

<sup>15</sup> *Annuario*, N. S., III-V, 1941-1943, p. 144, n. 5.

<sup>16</sup> In the Argive arbitration between Melos and Kimolos, the text of lines 15-17 was inaccurately cut and inaccurately interpreted in *I. G.*, XII, 3, 1259, and *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 261. In line 15 *Ποσιδάων* is considered as the name of the secretary of the council, and in line 17 *πεδίον* as a participle. W. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, pp. 62-64, proposed that *Ποσίδαον* and *Πεδίον* be recognized as place-names. This interpretation was adopted by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Sitz. Akad. Berlin*, 1919, p. 661, Schwyzer in *D. G. E.*, 85, and Tod in *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, II, no. 179, p. 236. It is confirmed by the fragment from the Heraion.

<sup>17</sup> When it has this meaning, the word is written *ὦρος* in Argive dialect.

<sup>18</sup> Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, XLII, 1914, p. 332.

<sup>19</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, pp. 56, 232. Lists reproduced by M. Mitsos, *Πολιτική ιστορία τοῦ Ἀργους* (1945), p. 66, notes 4, 5.

<sup>20</sup> M. Mitsos, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 82, has read: *Α Εὐκυρίδας*. W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 4, II, 1949, pp. 1-4, has proposed the correction to *Λευκυρίδας* (correction adopted in *S. E. G.*, XI, 400). In sending me a squeeze of the inscription, which leaves room for doubt, M. Mitsos informed me that verification made on the stone at Epidauros by Mr. J. Papadimitriou seems to confirm the correction of W. Vollgraff.

The establishment of the list of phratries has been complicated by a certain confusion between the names of the cantons of the Argolid and the phratry names derived from them.<sup>21</sup> It is now established that Nauplia is not the only locality which gave its name to a phratry, and that several phratry names in -άδαι and -ίδαι are derived from place-names in -άς and -ίς. Thus the mention of the place-name Κερκάς in a decree of Argos<sup>22</sup> confirms Suidas' indication, *s. v.* Ἀκουσίλαος· Κάβα υἱός, Ἀργεῖος ἀπὸ Κερκάδος πόλεως;<sup>23</sup> but the name Κερκάδαι designates the members of a phratry and not the inhabitants of this region.<sup>24</sup> The place-name Φολυγάς<sup>25</sup> and the name of the phratry of the Φολυγάδαι<sup>26</sup> are likewise attested, and the same is true of Ἀραχνάς<sup>27</sup> and Ἀραχνάδαι, of Ποιμωνίς<sup>28</sup> and Ποιμωνίδαι, of Παιονίς and Παιονίδαι. Two place-names in -ίς, Κόλουρις and Σκληρίς, for which there are at present no corresponding phratry names, have recently become known.<sup>29</sup>

It has been ascertained that an individual from Kerkas belongs to the phratry of the Σφυρηῆδαι, that an inhabitant of Arachnas is a member of the phratry of the [Ὀλίσ?]σείδαι, that a citizen of Pholygas belongs to another phratry than that of the Φολυγάδαι, while a member of that phratry comes from Prosymna. These examples could be multiplied. They give the impression and permit the hypothesis, already formulated, notably by W. Vollgraff and M. Guarducci, of a reform analogous to that of Kleisthenes, which would have broken down the ancient territorial limits.

**VII.** (Pl. 60). Ten fragments of a base of bluish marble, all in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, can be regrouped as follows:

A. EM 13136 and 587 and 597 and 596 and 13141. Maximum height 0.50. Maximum length 0.56. Maximum thickness 0.14. Part of the bearing surface is preserved. First line inscribed 0.075 m. from the upper edge.

<sup>21</sup> For example in *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 54, W. Vollgraff interpreted Ἀράχνας as the genitive of Ἀράχνα, and Ποιμωνίς and Φολυγάς as the names of the phratries themselves; Ποιμωνίδας and Φολυγάδας being a kind of patronymic designating members of the tribe.

<sup>22</sup> M. Guarducci, *Annuario*, N. S., III-V, 1941-43, p. 141, line 4.

<sup>23</sup> The gloss adds: οὔσης Αὐλίδος πλησίον. The mention of Aulis is a result evidently of a copyist's error. Guarducci, *op. cit.*, p. 148, suggests that Αὐλίδος be corrected as Ἀργους. The correction Ναυπλίας, proposed by J. and L. Robert in *R. E. G.*, LXIII, 1950, p. 159, is better justified palaeographically.

<sup>24</sup> The notes of M. Mitsos, *Πολ. ιστορία τοῦ Ἀργους*, p. 66, note 4, and of M. Guarducci, *op. cit.*, p. 148, note 4, seem obscured by the confusion, mentioned above, between the names of places and of phratries. Κερκάς and Κερκάδαι are both attested in both uses: cf. J. and L. Robert, *loc. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 375, F, line 6.

<sup>26</sup> For example *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 221, line 4: Τιμοκλῆς Φολυγάδας Πρόσυμνα.

<sup>27</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIII, 1915, p. 372, D, line 3: [Ὀλίσ?]σείδας Ἀραχν[ά]ς.

<sup>28</sup> *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, p. 221, line 32; text correctly interpreted by Guarducci, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>29</sup> M. Guarducci, *op. cit.*, p. 142, lines 26-27, 40-41, and p. 150.



B. EM 619 and 611 and 605. Maximum height 0.35. Maximum length 0.21. Maximum thickness 0.09. Upper right corner of the base.

C. EM 603 and 590. Maximum height 0.30. Maximum length 0.32. Maximum thickness 0.15. Very small part of the left lateral surface preserved, at 0.14 m. from the sign <.

Fragments 13136 and 13141 were picked up on the site of the excavations at the Heraion, the first in 1949, the second around 1930 (deposited since then in the museum at Nauplia, it was recognized by M. Mitsos, after comparison with the other fragments, as belonging to this group, and was taken by him to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens in 1950). The eight other fragments, according to their inventory numbers, come from the excavations of 1892; fragments 587 and 590 were published separately in *I. G.*, IV, under the numbers 534 and 536; the others seem to have remained unpublished.

Height of letters 0.03 to 0.036. Space between lines 0.016 to 0.02. Ruled.

The total length of the base was about 0.65.

[A]ὐτοκράτορα [K]αίσαρα <  
 [Θε]ὸν Τραϊανο[ὺ] Παρθικοῦ  
 [νιόν, Θε]οῦ Νερο[ύ]α νίω]νόν,  
 [Τρ]αί[ανόν] Ἀ[δρια]νόν Σ[εβα]-  
 5 [στ]όν, ἀρ[χιερ]έα μ[έγιστο]ν,  
 [δη]μαρχ[ικ]ῆς ἐξουσι[ας]  
 [τὸ] < ζ', [ὑπ]ατον τ[ὸ γ' ---]  
 [..] ΝΑΠΟ [ 6-8 ] ΩΝ [ 3-5 ]  
 [..] ΩΝΤ [ 13-15 ]  
 10 [..] Ϟ Λ Ϟ

Line 10: B or P. A, Δ or Λ. H, I or K.

The statue of Hadrian was set up at the Heraion in the seventh year of his tribunician power, i. e. in A.D. 123. The statue in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus was not erected until the following year (*I. G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 606).

The two first letters of line 2 are missing; the third is an O or an Ω, the fourth is surely an N. According to the usual formula, one would expect Θεοῦ in this position (as in line 3, Θεοῦ Νερούα). Θεῶν being excluded, the restoration Θεόν seems to be required. Except that Τραϊανοῦ is normally accompanied by Θεοῦ, the title can only apply to Hadrian; but the emperor was not deified during his lifetime.<sup>30</sup> Unless we

<sup>30</sup> The title of Θεός applied to a living emperor is exceptional: cf. G. Daux, *B. C. H.*, LII, 1928, p. 61, note 1; G. Klaffenbach, *Mus. Helveticum*, VI, 1949, p. 223. L. Perret, *Titulature impériale*

postulate an error on the part of the stone-cutter, the word  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$  remains unexplained.

In lines 8 and 9 the restoration  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}[\lambda\iota\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\tau]\acute{\omega}\nu$  [ $\text{'}\Lambda\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ ] $\acute{\omega}\nu$  seems too short; nevertheless it is not to be dismissed. In this case, however, the  $\mathbf{N}$  preserved in the third space of line 8 would be the last letter of a title of Hadrian, placed at the end of the list, after the mention of his third consulate; but the emperor did not receive the *cognomina* of  $\text{'}\text{Ο}\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\text{Πανελλ\acute{\eta}\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma}$  until after 129;  $\acute{o}\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is improbable in this place, and  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  is rarely used.<sup>31</sup>

In lines 9 and 10 the restoration  $\tau[\acute{o}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}]\rho\alpha\kappa[\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu]$ , based on the text of the dedication of the statue of Hadrian at Epidauros, also seems too short. The name of Hera or of her sanctuary can as easily be recognized in the traces of letters in line 10.

The length of the inscription, and consequently the height of the base, cannot be determined. They depend on the number and extent of the considerations listed, on the basis of which the Argives justified their honoring of the emperor.<sup>32</sup>

*d'Hadrien* (1929), cites two examples of the epithet  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  coupled with the name of Hadrian before his death, in an inscription from Thrace, *I. G. Rom.*, I, 785, after A.D. 129, where the word is moreover restored, and in an inscription of Asia Minor, *I. G. Rom.*, IV, 751, of A.D. 136-137, where the expression  $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\ \Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$  designates Hadrian and his adopted son L. Aelius Caesar. An inscription from Thasos, *B. C. H.*, LII, 1928, p. 61, no. 14, in which Hadrian bears the title of  $\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{Ο}\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , may date before his death; but it is in any case later than A.D. 129.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. L. Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 28, note 1. On the other Greek surnames of Hadrian: *ibid.*, p. 31, note 1.

<sup>32</sup> Perhaps Hadrian acquired some title to the recognition of the Argives by financing various public works; some inscriptions, badly mutilated, commemorate certain of these donations, whose objects remain uncertain: W. Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 397-401, nos. 8 and 9; *S. E. G.*, XI, 340-341; on the nature of these works, cf. the observations of R. Paribeni, *Dioniso*, 1947, pp. 314-316. If, in text no. 8, one grants that the letters  $\Sigma\ \mathbf{H}$  furnish an indication of the date [ $\delta\eta\mu\alpha\rho\chi\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ] $\varsigma\ \eta'$ , i. e. A.D. 124, one hesitates to restore  $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ , since this title was not officially accepted by Hadrian until A.D. 128, and its mention before that date was exceptional: cf. L. Perret, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-73. (Cf. W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, 4th ser., IV, 1951, pp. 193-203).



## OBSERVATIONS SUR LES MONUMENTS DE L'HÉRAION D'ARGOS

(PLATES 61-72)

L'EXPLORATION de l'Héraion d'Argos (1892-1895) constitue la première grande fouille de l'Ecole américaine d'Athènes et l'une des premières qui aient été pratiquées en Grèce.<sup>1</sup> Ch. Waldstein et ses collaborateurs eurent le mérite de publier rapidement les résultats de leur travail: c'est en 1902 que parurent les deux volumes de *The Argive Heraeum*.<sup>2</sup> Mais cette louable hâte a comporté une contrepartie: cinquante ans après la publication, l'ouvrage paraît vieilli. L'état d'esprit qui régnait vers 1900 a particulièrement marqué le chapitre consacré à la topographie et à l'architecture, rédigé par E. L. Tilton. Les plans de l'état actuel sont généralement exacts, mais schématiques; les descriptions, trop sommaires, manquent de précision; les indications de mesures sont insuffisantes, les attributions souvent arbitraires<sup>3</sup>; la préoccupation dominante était la restauration à tout prix des monuments, même quand les éléments faisaient défaut.<sup>4</sup>

Grâce à la bienveillante autorisation des directeurs successifs de l'Ecole américaine, MM. G. P. Stevens, O. Broneer et C. W. Blegen, j'ai pu, en 1947, 1948 et 1949, reviser sur le terrain, au cours de brefs séjours, certains points de la publication, avec le concours des architectes de l'Ecole française d'Athènes, Y. Fomine et K. Tousloukof. Enfin, au mois de septembre 1949, j'ai eu le plaisir de pratiquer, en collaboration amicale avec mon collègue J. L. Caskey, successeur de M. C. Blegen à la direction de l'Ecole américaine, une fouille complémentaire dont il est rendu compte plus haut (pp. 165 ff.); ce travail n'aurait pu être mené à bien sans l'appui que nous apportèrent MM. A. K. Orlandos, directeur du Service des Antiquités, et J. Papadimitriou, épheure des antiquités d'Attique et d'Argolide.

J'ai travaillé au total pendant deux semaines à l'Héraion et n'ai pas la prétention d'apporter une solution à tous les problèmes que posent encore la topographie et l'architecture du sanctuaire. Mais comme, depuis la fouille et la publication de Ch.

<sup>1</sup> Sur l'historique des fouilles, cf. Ch. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. IX-XIII; C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna* (1937), I, p. 1 sq.; L. Lord, *The American School at Athens* (1947), p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Cet ouvrage sera cité dans la suite de l'article: *A. H.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur* (1929), p. 43: "Jedenfalls sind die Kapitellzuweisungen im Heraionwerk, reine Willkür." Même appréciation générale chez A. Frickenhaus, *Jahrb.*, XXXII, 1917, p. 130: "die ganzen Architekturen der amerikanischen Ausgrabung noch auf eine fachmännische Bearbeitung warten."

<sup>4</sup> Une phrase de Tilton lui-même définit bien cette préoccupation, *A. H.*, I, p. 112: "I have attempted a somewhat free restoration of these buildings, since the fragments found were too few to insure accuracy throughout."

Waldstein, les édifices archaïques et classiques n'ont pas retenu l'attention, et que seul l'établissement préhistorique a bénéficié de nouvelles recherches,<sup>5</sup> je souhaiterais seulement, en publiant ces observations dans *Hesperia*, où M. Ch. Morgan et Melle Lucy Shoe leur ont généreusement accordé l'hospitalité, ramener mes collègues de l'Ecole américaine sur ce chantier ancien, où il reste encore du travail pour l'architecte et même pour le fouilleur.<sup>6</sup>

## I. VIEUX TEMPLE.<sup>7</sup>

Les maigres restes conservés du Vieux Temple, sur la terrasse supérieure, se réduisent à une portion du stylobate du côté Sud de l'édifice. Au lit d'attente, Tilton a relevé les traces circulaires de l'implantation de trois colonnes; on en distingue nettement une quatrième, vers l'Est (Fig. 1). Le diamètre de ces traces est de 0 m. 78 à 0 m. 80, l'entraxe de 3 m. 50.

La minceur relative des colonnes et la longueur inusitée de l'entrecolonnement<sup>8</sup> ont conduit Tilton à supposer, avec vraisemblance, que l'entablement était en bois. Mais il a admis que les colonnes l'étaient aussi,<sup>9</sup> et les arguments invoqués à l'appui de cette hypothèse sont peu convaincants.<sup>10</sup> Sans doute le stylobate ne constitue pas le degré supérieur d'une crépis: cette assise repose directement sur le sol de la terrasse.<sup>11</sup> Mais on ne peut parler d'absence de fondations: la terrasse, exactement décrite par Tilton, est constituée dans sa partie Nord par le rocher aplani et, dans sa partie Sud, par une accumulation de gros blocs retenus par un mur d'aspect cyclopéen; la surface est égalisée par un pavage qui évoque, lui aussi, la technique des temps mycéniens (Pl. 61a); l'ensemble est d'une telle solidité que, aujourd'hui même, on ne constate nulle part le moindre affaissement. L'emplacement des colonnes est marqué par un cercle légèrement en creux par rapport à la surface du lit d'attente du stylobate (Pl. 61b); or, à Cnossos et à Tirynthe, comme dans l'architecture de tous les temps, les colonnes de bois reposaient sur un socle de pierre faiblement surélevé, pour éviter l'accumulation de l'eau à la base du fût.<sup>12</sup> On n'aurait pas intentionnellement ménagé

<sup>5</sup> C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna* (1937).

<sup>6</sup> Mon collègue Roland Martin, professeur à l'Université de Dijon, a bien voulu lire le manuscrit de cet article. J'ai tiré le plus grand profit de ses observations.

<sup>7</sup> "Old Temple": *A. H.*, I, p. 110-111, pl. VIII.

<sup>8</sup> Un entraxe de 3 m. 50 se retrouve au portique des Athéniens à Delphes, où l'on restitue aussi un entablement de bois.

<sup>9</sup> Cette hypothèse porte aussi la marque de son temps: la découverte de l'Héraion d'Olympie était encore récente.

<sup>10</sup> C. Weickert, *Typen*, p. 43, n'exclut pas non plus que les colonnes aient été en pierre.

<sup>11</sup> Même disposition à Orchomène d'Arcadie: *B. C. H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, fig. 11 (p. 82) et pl. V.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (1950), p. 19. Même procédé, à l'époque archaïque, au temple de Thermos (mégaron B): "Only the isolated footings of the columns, with raised circular beds in the Mycenaean manner, were of stone" (*ibid.*, p. 51).





une cuvette au pied d'une colonne de bois.<sup>13</sup> Si, pour des raisons de pure vraisemblance, on préfère imaginer le temple entouré d'un péristyle en bois plutôt qu'en pierre, il faut supposer que les fûts de bois reposaient sur des socles circulaires de pierre et que le stylobate conserve la trace de ces socles, et non des colonnes elles-mêmes.<sup>14</sup>

Ce temple est peut-être le plus ancien édifice périptère du Péloponnèse. K. Schefold en date la construction du milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., à l'époque de Phaidon d'Argos,<sup>15</sup> mais C. Weickert propose de la faire remonter jusqu'au début du siècle.<sup>16</sup> Il se fonde sur la découverte, dans le sous-sol de la terrasse du temple, de tessons de style géométrique et protocorinthien ancien.<sup>17</sup> Les sondages récents sur cette terrasse ont confirmé que la construction du mur "cyclopéen," ainsi que du mur de soutènement dont subsistent des restes au S. E. de la terrasse et qui supportait vraisemblablement une rampe d'accès, remonte à la fin de l'époque géométrique.<sup>18</sup> Même si la construction du temple n'a pas suivi immédiatement celle des murs de soutènement, il est vraisemblable de la placer dans la première moitié du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> C'est pourquoi je ne crois pas qu'on puisse écrire, comme le fait W. B. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 53: "of this (temple) exists only the stylobate or continuous step supporting part of the south flank colonnade, important however on account of the weathered traces of the wooden columns".

<sup>14</sup> On a retrouvé à l'Héraion de Samos plusieurs types de bases de pierre, tronconiques, cylindriques, rectangulaires, qui étaient placées sous des fûts de bois: E. Buschor, *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, p. 15, fig. 5, Beil. III, 1, p. 24, p. 37 et fig. 14. A l'Héraion d'Argos, on pourrait envisager la même destination pour deux blocs circulaires de poros, de faible hauteur (0 m. 209 et 0 m. 222), placés lors d'un remploi, devant le stylobate du portique Nord, près de l'extrémité Est, sur un troisième bloc de même forme, de hauteur encore plus faible (0 m. 122) et de matière différente (calcaire?) (les trois blocs sont visibles sur le plan *A. H.*, I, pl. XII). Le diamètre des deux blocs de poros est, très approximativement, de 0 m. 90, donc supérieur à celui des traces visibles sur le stylobate du Vieux temple. On ne peut cependant écarter à coup sûr l'idée de leur appartenance au monument: au temple archaïque d'Orchomène demeurent *in situ* sur le stylobate des tambours également très bas, quelques-uns cannelés, les autres lisses, dont le diamètre varie de 0 m. 75 à 0 m. 85 (G. Blum et A. Plassart, *B. C. H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, p. 82 et fig. 11). Le péristyle du temple d'Orchomène comportait 34 colonnes; on a retrouvé une dizaine de chapiteaux de marbre; mais aucun fragment des fûts de colonnes n'a subsisté. Si le fût était en bois, on s'expliquerait mieux la faible hauteur des "tambours" inférieurs, jouant le rôle de socles, et les différences d'aspect et de dimensions qu'ils présentent entre eux.

<sup>15</sup> *Museum Helveticum*, III, 1946, p. 88-89.

<sup>16</sup> *Typen*, p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Frickenhaus et Müller, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> C. Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 19-20.

<sup>19</sup> Un temple du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle l'a-t-il précédé? Certains ont prétendu en reconnaître l'image dans le modèle votif en terre cuite trouvé à l'Héraion: cf. résumé et discussion de la question par G. P. Oikonomos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1931, p. 45-53. De même, à propos des modèles d'édifice en terre cuite de fabrication argienne, de la première moitié du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., qui ont été trouvés à Perachora, T. J. Dunbabin, *J. H. S.*, LXVIII, 1949, p. 63, suggère qu'ils reproduisent le plan et l'aspect du temple primitif du sanctuaire. En effet, qu'il s'agisse, dans l'esprit des dédicants, de modèles d'édifice privé ou sacré, on a le droit de supposer, avec H. Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 41, que, à l'époque géométrique, un temple ne différait guère, en plan et en élévation, d'une maison. Un autre modèle d'édifice en terre cuite, de style géométrique tardif, a été découvert, en mauvais état,



Il serait précieux de posséder des restes de l'élévation d'un monument aussi ancien, et la date même de sa construction pourrait en être précisée. Mais aucun élément ne peut lui être rapporté avec certitude. Parmi les blocs dont Tilton a envisagé, d'ailleurs pour l'écarter, l'attribution à ce temple (*A. H.*, I, p. 110, n. 4), figurent trois chapiteaux archaïques (*A. H.*, I, fig. 51, B, C, H) et un fragment de tambour de colonne (*A. H.*, I, pl. XXIX, V), qui auraient été trouvés au-dessous de la terrasse du temple. Le fragment de tambour est actuellement déposé sur la terrasse même, près du stylobate du temple; il ne fournit aucune indication valable.<sup>20</sup> Le chapiteau C se trouve à l'extrémité Est du portique Nord; la question de son attribution sera discutée plus loin (p. 229 sq.), à propos de ce monument. Je n'ai pas retrouvé les chapiteaux B et H.<sup>21</sup>

## II. PORTIQUE NORD.<sup>22</sup>

Le plan du Portique Nord (Pl. 62a) se lit clairement sur le terrain: le stylobate de la colonnade de façade (ou ses fondations) et les bases de la colonnade intérieure sont demeurés en place, et le mur de fond est conservé sur une partie de sa hauteur primitive. Le mode de construction de ce mur, fait d'assises régulières de poros, ne fournit aucune indication de date. La face intérieure du stylobate (Pl. 61c) et les quatre faces des bases de la rangée médiane (Pl. 61d) sont entaillées verticalement sur une hauteur de quelques centimètres pour recevoir le bord du dallage; ce détail est également dépourvu de signification chronologique, car la tradition de cette technique s'est perpétuée à l'Héraion, et on la trouve employée dans des monuments d'époque aussi différente que l'Edifice N. E., l'Edifice Ouest et le Portique Sud.

Seuls les éléments de l'élévation sont susceptibles d'apporter des précisions chronologiques. Contrairement à ce qui se passe pour le Vieux Temple, les blocs, tambours et chapiteaux,<sup>23</sup> qui ont été attribués au Portique Nord sont assez nombreux, et en outre si divers qu'il faut ou bien admettre la coexistence dans ce monument de plusieurs types de colonnes ou bien exclure une partie de ces éléments.

Tilton indique que deux tambours de colonne à 16 cannelures, de 0 m. 60 de diamètre, ont été découverts en place sur des bases de la colonnade intérieure; les

à Ithaque: M. Robertson, *B. S. A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 101-102, pl. XLV, no. 600; il est supposé argien par analogie avec les documents de l'Héraion d'Argos et de Perachora, mais sans preuve assurée.

<sup>20</sup> Il a été retaillé verticalement par le milieu et, probablement aussi, dans le sens horizontal: dans son état actuel, le canal de levage en U traverse toute la hauteur de la pierre, qui n'est que de 0 m. 257; le diamètre (complet?) est de 0 m. 802.

<sup>21</sup> Je n'ai retrouvé ni sur le champ de fouilles, ni aux musées d'Argos, de Nauplie et d'Athènes, les chapiteaux dessinés *A. H.*, I, fig. 51, B, F, G, H, L, M, N, O, P, non plus que les blocs dessinés à la pl. XXIX, C, D, E, F, I, K, L, O.

<sup>22</sup> "Upper Stoa" ou "Stoa II": *A. H.*, I, p. 112, pl. IX et XII.

<sup>23</sup> Je n'ai pas pu identifier les deux blocs de geison, dont l'un portait des traces de couleur, attribués par Tilton au portique: ils ne sont ni dessinés ni photographiés.

planches IX et XII de la publication montrent que ces tambours se dressaient sur la première et sur la septième base à partir de l'Est, et que le premier était haut de plus d'un mètre, le second nettement plus petit. Ces tambours ne sont pas demeurés en place. Actuellement un tambour lisse (I) (Pl. 62b et Fig. 2; également visible sur la Pl. 62a) gît à terre entre le mur Est du portique et la première base intérieure; quatre tambours à 16 cannelures (II à V), incomplets en hauteur, se trouvent entre les bases intérieures et le mur de fond, approximativement à hauteur des sixième, septième et huitième bases à partir de l'Est; enfin un autre tambour à 16 cannelures (VI), également incomplet, a roulé en avant du portique, en direction du Nouveau Temple.

Voici les dimensions de ces tambours :

	Hauteur	Diam. inférieur (au fond des cann.)	Diam. supérieur (au fond des cann.)
I (lisse)	1.234 (h. compl.)	0.600 $\pm$ (lit de pose)	0.525 (lit d'attente)
II (16 cann.)	0.640 (h. incompl.)	0.597 “	0.555 (cassure)
III “	1.330 “	0.594 $\pm$ “	0.511 “
IV “	1.230 “	0.595/0.600 “	0.520 $\pm$ “
V “	0.650 “	0.662 “	0.615 “
VI “	0.750 “	0.524 (cassure)	0.475 (lit d'attente)

On ne saurait raisonnablement mettre en doute l'appartenance au portique des tambours à 16 cannelures. Le tambour lisse en provient-il aussi?

On remarque, à la surface du stylobate et des bases intérieures, généralement près du bord Nord de la pierre et parallèlement à ce bord, une entaille de forme allongée à l'emplacement de chaque colonne. Ces entailles semblent être des trous de levier qui ont servi à la mise en place des colonnes.<sup>24</sup> La distance de l'entaille au bord antérieur de la pierre donne, pour le diamètre inférieur de la colonne, une dimension maxima. Sur les bases intérieures, dont les dimensions sont variables, cette distance l'est naturellement aussi; dans certains cas, elle atteint 0 m. 73; dans d'autres, elle est égale ou même légèrement inférieure à 0 m. 60: telle est donc approximativement la mesure du diamètre inférieur de la colonnade intérieure. Sur le stylobate, dont le bord antérieur est régulier, la distance de l'entaille est forcément plus constante: elle varie de 0 m. 73 à 0 m. 76, et les traces imprécises laissées par les colonnes, visibles quand le soleil est bas, ont un diamètre approximatif de 0 m. 70. La colonne intérieure, bien que plus haute, était donc plus mince.<sup>25</sup> Si les tambours II, III et IV proviennent

<sup>24</sup> En raison du caractère insolite de cette technique, on pourrait interpréter ces entailles comme une série de repères pour l'alignement de la colonnade. Mais, dans un cas au moins, sur le stylobate (Pl. 61c), l'entaille est creusée dans le sens Nord-Sud, perpendiculairement au bord antérieur de la pierre.

<sup>25</sup> Cette constatation ne laisse pas de surprendre. On ne saurait pourtant refuser de l'accepter comme une donnée de fait, à moins que les deux tambours signalés par Tilton n'aient pas été



probablement de la colonnade intérieure, le tambour V ne peut appartenir qu'à la colonnade de façade. Par conséquent les deux colonnades ne différaient que par leur diamètre et leur hauteur, et présentaient le même aspect. Le tambour lisse devrait donc être exclu du portique.

Cependant son appartenance au portique demeure possible. On observe, dans les mesures des diamètres, une ressemblance frappante entre ce tambour et les tambours à 16 cannelures. D'autre part on constate à l'Héraion que les pierres n'ont pas été, en général, entraînées loin de leur place primitive et que, depuis 1895, sauf les petits blocs aisés à déplacer, elles sont restées à l'endroit où elles avaient été découvertes. Si le tambour retrouvé en place sur la base intérieure la plus proche du mur Est du portique était vraiment, comme l'écrit Tilton, un tambour à 16 cannelures, il s'agirait probablement du tambour III ou du tambour IV, et on s'étonnerait qu'il

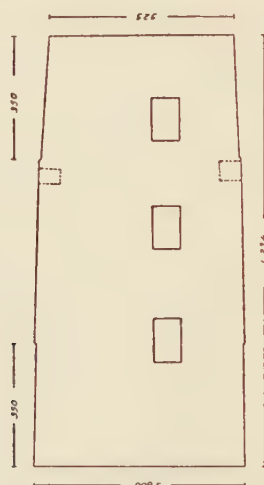


Fig. 2. Dessin schématique du tambour lisse I.

ait été transporté à une vingtaine de mètres vers l'Ouest. Il n'est nulle part fait mention, dans le texte de la publication, du tambour lisse, et c'est pourtant celui-là, et non les tambours à 16 cannelures, que Tilton a utilisé dans sa restauration de la colonne du portique (*A. H.*, I, fig. 52, E) : avait-il donc des raisons de l'attribuer à ce monument ? Une photographie prise à l'époque de la fouille lèverait ces doutes.

Le tambour lisse (Fig. 2 et Pl. 62b) présente quelques particularités notables. La surface de la partie médiane fait une légère saillie sur celle des deux extrémités, et la paroi dessine ainsi une ligne brisée qui se décompose en trois segments ; la diminu-

réellement trouvés *in situ* (cf. plus loin, p. 243, n. 52). Dans ce cas, on imaginerait volontiers, à l'intérieur du portique, comme le suggère R. Martin, une rangée de supports quadrangulaires en bois (reposant peut-être sur un dé de pierre). On notera qu'aucune trace n'apparaît au lit d'attente des bases intérieures.

tion du diamètre se précipite de l'une à l'autre de ces sections. Cinq cavités sont creusées dans la paroi du tambour : deux diamétralement opposées, de forme carrée, de 0 m. 04 de côté, profondes de 0 m. 06, aux  $\frac{2}{3}$  environ de la hauteur ; trois disposées sur une même ligne verticale, de forme rectangulaire, de 0 m. 13 sur 0 m. 08 en moyenne, profondes de 0 m. 06, espacées de 0 m. 185 à 0 m. 20. Certaines au moins de ces cavités ont pu servir à la fixation des barreaux d'une grille.

Si l'attribution de ce tambour au Portique Nord se trouvait confirmée, ce monument fournirait un nouvel exemple de la coexistence, dans un édifice archaïque, de colonnes d'aspect différent (comme, par exemple, à l'Héraion d'Olympie, au temple archaïque d'Orchomène, au temple G de Sélinonte). La diversité des types de colonnes s'explique-t-elle dans tous les cas par le remplacement progressif de colonnes de bois ? Il est prudent de ne pas généraliser cette explication, surtout quand on ne peut apporter la preuve que les différentes colonnes d'un même monument ne sont pas contemporaines.

Cette preuve, dans un sens ou dans l'autre, les chapiteaux pourraient la fournir. Mais Tilton a attribué sans discrimination au Portique Nord et à l'Edifice Ouest, plus récent que le portique d'un siècle environ, une série de chapiteaux archaïques, très divers de dimensions et même de facture et de date (*A. H.*, I, fig. 51, B, C, D, G, H, M, N). De ces chapiteaux, seuls C et D ont été retrouvés.<sup>26</sup> Les dessins de la fig. 51 étant à petite échelle et non cotés, une répartition plus sûrement fondée de ces éléments est devenue presque impossible. En tout cas, sur ces sept chapiteaux, l'un (D) date de la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. (cf. plus loin, p. 235), un autre (G) de la deuxième moitié de ce siècle ou peut-être même du Ve siècle, autant qu'on peut en juger d'après le dessin, les cinq autres (B, C, H, M, N) probablement du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les chapiteaux C et H sont à peu près identiques, malgré de légères différences (gorgerin aux parois obliques sur C, verticales sur H). Le chapiteau B diffère sensiblement : abaque plus court (0 m. 86 au lieu de 0 m. 92/93) et moins haut, gorgerin cannelé (nombre des cannelures incertain : probablement 16, selon Tilton). Si le fragment M peut provenir d'un chapiteau semblable à B, la hauteur de l'abaque du fragment N diffère à la fois de celle de B et de celle de C.

Les cinq chapiteaux les plus anciens pourraient donc se répartir en trois groupes, et deux d'entre eux être attribués aux colonnades intérieure et extérieure du Portique Nord. Même le troisième trouverait à la rigueur place dans le monument, si l'on admet qu'il comportait des colonnes de type différent. Mais ce n'est qu'une hypothèse, et certains de ces chapiteaux pourraient être revendiqués pour deux autres monuments dont l'un, le Vieux Temple, date sûrement du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., et l'autre, l'Edifice N. E., peut-être aussi (cf. plus loin, p. 238).

Le chapiteau C (Fig. 3 et 4, Pl. 62c et d), en excellent état de conservation, est

<sup>26</sup> Le fragment N est probablement celui que l'on distingue sur la photographie *A. H.*, I, pl. XXV, posé sur le stylobate de la cour de l'Edifice Ouest, près de l'angle N. E.



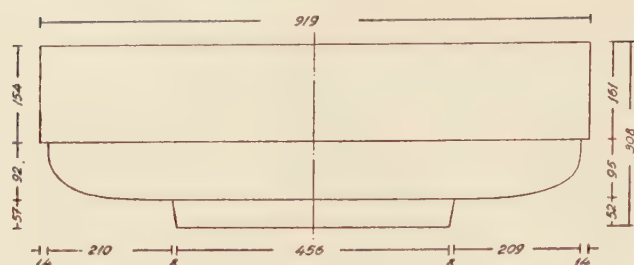


Fig. 3. Chapiteau C.

un document intéressant pour l'étude de l'architecture archaïque. Le travail de la pierre manque de régularité: la hauteur, mesurée en deux points diamétralement opposés, varie de 0 m. 303 à 0 m. 308; la courbure de l'échine présente de légères différences selon les faces. Le gorgerin non cannelé fait avec la face inférieure de l'échine, presque rectiligne, un angle obtus. Ce chapiteau doit prendre place parmi les plus anciens chapiteaux doriques qui soient connus. En le comparant aux chapiteaux de Tirynthe<sup>27</sup> et du Vieux temple d'Athéna à Delphes,<sup>28</sup> qu'on date en général, mais très approximativement, du milieu du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.,<sup>29</sup> on constate que la proportion du diamètre inférieur du chapiteau par rapport à la longueur de l'abaque ne dépasse pas 0, 40 à Tirynthe et 0, 39 à Delphes (où le diamètre est restitué d'après celui du lit d'attente du fût), tandis qu'à l'Héraion, elle atteint 0, 49; c'est dire que les chapiteaux de Tirynthe et de Delphes s'épanouissaient plus largement au-dessus du fût de la colonne que celui de l'Héraion, qui, par ce trait, se rapprocherait de chapiteaux du début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais si l'on calcule le rapport entre la hauteur de l'échine et celle de l'abaque d'une part, entre la hauteur de l'échine et la longueur de l'abaque d'autre part, on obtient pour le premier: Héraion: 0, 60; Tirynthe: 0, 84; Delphes: 1, 07; pour le second: Héraion: 0, 103; Tirynthe: 0, 123; Delphes: 0, 146. L'aplatissement de l'échine par rapport à la hauteur et à la longueur du chapiteau est donc plus accusé encore à l'Héraion qu'à Tirynthe et à Delphes. Lequel des deux indices, épanouissement ou aplatissement du chapiteau, a le plus de valeur?<sup>30</sup> En fait nous l'ignorons. Aucun classement chronologique des chapiteaux du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle ne mérite, à l'heure actuelle, qu'on lui fasse crédit. Celui qu'a tenté H. Schleif<sup>31</sup> n'aboutit, de son propre aveu, à aucun résultat précis. Le seul essai sérieux de classement des chapiteaux archaïques a été fait par P. de La Coste-Messelière;<sup>32</sup> il ne concerne que

<sup>27</sup> Schliemann, *Tirynthe*, p. 275, fig. 122; Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, p. 7, fig. 6; Sulze, *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, col. 14-36.

<sup>28</sup> R. Demangel, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *Sanct. Ath.*, *Temples de tuf*, p. 32-37.

<sup>29</sup> Le chapiteau de Tirynthe est mentionné par C. Weickert, *Typen*, p. 26, comme "ein hoch-altertümliches Kapitell," sans précision de date.

<sup>30</sup> Les avis, sur ce point, sont partagés: cf. Demangel, *op. cit.*, p. 35-36.

<sup>31</sup> *Korkyra*, I (1940), p. 89-96.

<sup>32</sup> *B. C. H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, p. 54-63.

les documents du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Son auteur a montré pour être valables, les comparaisons devaient porter non seulement sur quelques rapports arbitrairement choisis, mais sur un grand nombre de proportions, et que certains indices probants pour le Ve et le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle ne le sont pas au même degré pour le VI<sup>e</sup>.<sup>33</sup> Tant que n'auront pas été publiés, avec des relevés exacts et des mesures précises, les chapiteaux du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle épars et souvent négligés, sur les champs de fouilles et dans les musées, parce qu'ils sont isolés et d'attribution incertaine, aucun progrès ne sera fait.

Tout ce qu'il est permis d'affirmer, c'est que le chapiteau C est antérieur au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette constatation, si imprécise soit-elle, aiderait grandement à fixer la date de la construction du Portique Nord, si l'appartenance du chapiteau au monument pouvait être établie. Le chapiteau se trouve à l'intérieur du portique, près de l'extrémité Est, à côté du tambour lisse (Pl. 62a). Dans tous les monuments de la moitié Ouest du sanctuaire, l'encoignure N. E. est, en raison de la pente du terrain, la partie le mieux protégée : c'est dans cet angle que demeurent en place, à l'Edifice Ouest, des orthostates et des assises du mur et que, au Portique Sud, est renversée, mais intégralement conservée, une colonne intérieure ; c'est aussi à cet angle que le mur du Portique Nord a le mieux résisté à la poussée des terres. L'hypothèse selon laquelle un bloc découvert dans cette encoignure provient de cette partie même de l'édifice doit donc être tenue *a priori* pour la plus vraisemblable. Et, comme corollaire de cette première hypothèse, une autre paraît s'imposer : le chapiteau C, à gorgerin non cannelé, couronnait la colonne dont le tambour lisse découvert à proximité constituait la partie inférieure. Mais on se heurte à une difficulté grave. Le diamètre inférieur du tambour est de 0 m. 60  $\pm$ , celui du chapiteau de 0 m. 456 ; la différence entre les diamètres inférieur et supérieur du fût aurait été de 0 m. 15 environ. La diminution du diamètre sur le tambour lisse est de l'ordre de 0 m. 06 par mètre.<sup>34</sup> Si cette diminution était constante, la hauteur du fût n'aurait pas dépassé 2 m. 50 et celle de la colonne,

<sup>33</sup> P. de La Coste-Messelière note que les trois comparaisons utilisées plus haut à propos des chapiteaux de l'Héraion, de Tirynthe et de Delphes ne présentent aucune sûreté avant 530 : *op. cit.*, p. 59 (no. 1), 61 (no. 19), 62 (no. 25).

<sup>34</sup> Telle est aussi approximativement la diminution du diamètre sur les cinq fragments de tambours à 16 cannelures : cette identité peut être considérée comme un indice supplémentaire en faveur de l'attribution du tambour lisse au même monument. Sur les tambours des colonnes du Vieux temple d'Athéna à Delphes, où les mesures des diamètres manquent quelquefois de rigueur à cause du retaillage qu'ont subi les tambours, la diminution du diamètre varie de 0 m. 05 à 0 m. 07 par mètre (*FD*, II, *Sanct. Ath.*, *Temples de tuf*, pl. XI-XII) ; sur la hauteur totale du fût, tel qu'il a été restitué avec une hauteur de 3 m. 18, la diminution moyenne était de 0 m. 06 (si le fût était haut de 3 m. 45, la diminution n'était que de 0 m. 055 : cf. plus loin, p. 232, n. 36). La diminution rapide du diamètre donnait à ces colonnes archaïques un aspect effilé, conforme aux indications des peintures de vases. Dans les monuments de l'époque classique, la différence entre les diamètres inférieur et supérieur du fût est beaucoup plus faible : par exemple la diminution du diamètre est de 0 m. 035 par mètre au Portique Sud de l'Héraion (milieu du Ve siècle av. J.-C. : cf. plus loin, p. 258), de 0 m. 03 à la Tholos du sanctuaire d'Athéna à Delphes (début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.).



chapiteau compris, 2 m. 80; <sup>35</sup> le rapport entre la hauteur de la colonne et le diamètre inférieur aurait été de 4, 6. Mais il s'agit d'une colonne intérieure; la colonnade de façade étant plus courte de 0 m. 40 environ, sa hauteur aurait été réduite à 2 m. 40  $\pm$ , ce qui, pour un diamètre inférieur de 0 m. 70  $\pm$ , donne au rapport H/D une valeur de 3, 4. Un type de colonne aussi trapu est inconnu dans l'architecture grecque. De telles proportions seraient d'autant plus insolites que les colonnes actuellement connues du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. sont d'un type très élancé, où la valeur du rapport H/D dépasse souvent 6 et atteint parfois 7 (cf. plus loin, n. 37).

C'est seulement dans l'hypothèse où le chapiteau C proviendrait de la colonnade de façade que les proportions seraient acceptables: la différence entre les diamètres inférieur et supérieur du fût étant alors de 0 m. 25  $\pm$ , la hauteur totale de la colonne extérieure passerait à 4 m. 30 environ, soit un peu plus de 6 fois le diamètre inférieur, et celle de la colonne intérieure à 4 m. 70 environ, soit un peu moins de 8 fois le diamètre inférieur, proportion admissible pour une colonne intérieure (pour la colonne intérieure du Portique Sud, au Ve siècle, le rapport H/D est de 7, 3). Dans cette hypothèse, si le tambour lisse et le chapiteau C appartenaient à la même colonne, le tambour serait non plus un tambour de base, mais un tambour intermédiaire. Si la colonnade de façade ne comportait pas de colonnes lisses, l'association d'un chapiteau à gorgerin non cannelé et d'un fût cannelé demeure possible: les tambours supérieurs à 16 cannelures, dont aucun n'est conservé, pouvaient se terminer, comme le fût de la colonnade intérieure de l'Edifice N. E. (cf. plus loin, p. 236), par une partie lisse.

Si le chapiteau C ne provenait pas du Portique Nord, il ne resterait d'autre solution que de l'attribuer au Vieux Temple. En supposant que la diminution moyenne du diamètre ait été également de 0 m. 06 par mètre (mais, si le fût était très effilé, elle pouvait être légèrement plus forte), la hauteur du fût aurait été de 5 m. 50 environ et celle de la colonne entière de 5 m. 80, soit un peu plus de 7 fois le diamètre inférieur. Cette proportion dépasserait, mais de peu, celle des colonnes les plus élancées qui soient connues: Vieux temple d'Athéna à Delphes: 6, 5; <sup>36</sup> Vieille Tholos de Delphes: 6, 6  $\pm$ .<sup>37</sup> Mais, contre l'attribution au Vieux Temple, on fera valoir, outre

<sup>35</sup> C'est la colonne restaurée par Tilton: *A. H.*, I, fig. 52, E.

<sup>36</sup> Mais il est possible que la colonne ait été plus haute: dans la restauration proposée, un tambour a été écarté et attribué, sans preuves, à une colonne de plus fort diamètre, précisément parce que, en tenant compte de ce tambour, le rapport H/D aurait dépassé 7, ce qui a paru excessif: cf. R. Demangel, *FD*, II, *Sanct. Ath.*, *Temples de tuf*, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> Selon certaines restaurations, le rapport H/D serait, dans des colonnes de Sélinonte, égal ou même supérieur à 7: cf. R. Demangel, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 1. Sur les colonnes élancées dans l'architecture archaïque, cf. aussi *B. C. H.*, LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, p. 126, n. 1. Des proportions comparables ne reparaissent qu'au IV<sup>e</sup> et au III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.: Tholos de Delphes, 6, 82; temple de Némée, 6, 64  $\pm$ ; temple d'Athéna à Pergame, 7  $\pm$ ; à Délos (d'après les calculs de M. R. Vallois): portique de Philippe, 6, 53; portique Sud, 7, 5  $\pm$ . Mais, malgré l'identité des proportions, la diminution moins rapide du diamètre donne à ces colonnes un aspect différent de celui des colonnes archaïques (cf. plus haut, p. 231, n. 34). A titre d'exemple, pour les colonnes de

l'argument important du lieu de trouvaille, le fait que, le temple ayant été détruit au Ve siècle av. J.-C., il est peu vraisemblable qu'un chapiteau soit demeuré sur les lieux jusqu'à la ruine du sanctuaire.

On voit combien il serait précieux de retrouver les chapiteaux B, H, M, N, et de connaître exactement leur lieu de trouvaille: c'est le plus ancien temple péristyle et le plus ancien portique du Péloponnèse qui entrent en ligne pour l'attribution de

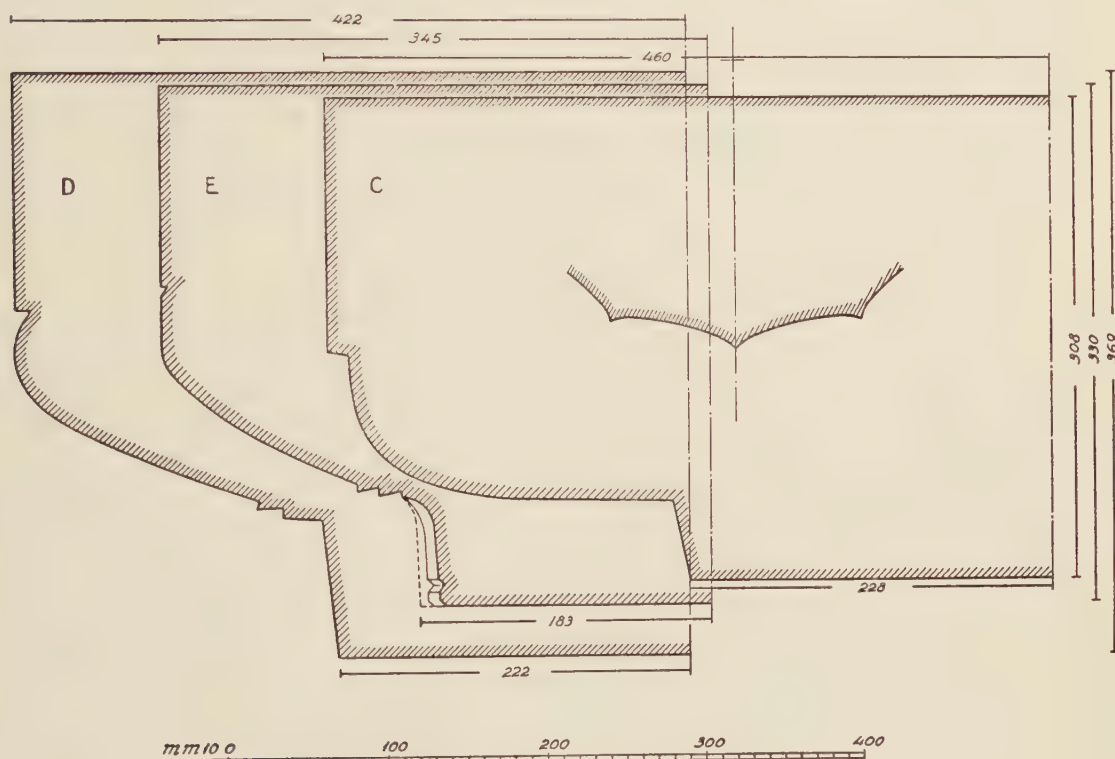


Fig. 4. Profil des chapiteaux C, D et E.

ces éléments. L'identification certaine des chapiteaux du Portique Nord fournirait une indication chronologique précise, que le relevé du profil des cannelures des tambours n'apporte pas. La cannelure est pratiquement plate au fond et ne s'incurve que vers les arêtes.<sup>38</sup> C'est à peu près le profil des cannelures du Vieux temple d'Athéna à Delphes, mais c'est aussi celui des cannelures d'un tambour de l'Edifice Ouest (dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J. C.: cf. plus loin, p. 239 sq.).

la Tholos du sanctuaire d'Athéna à Delphes, du temple de Némée et du portique de Philippe à Délos, où la valeur du rapport H/D est de 6, 5 à 7, comme au Vieux temple d'Athéna à Delphes, le rapport D/d est de 1, 29 à la Tholos de Delphes, de 1, 24 à Némée, de 1, 23 à Délos, alors qu'il est de 1, 60 au Vieux temple d'Athéna Pronaia.

<sup>38</sup> Tambour V: largeur de la cannelure, 0 m. 13; profondeur au milieu, 0 m. 007. Tambour VI: larg. cann., 0 m. 10; prof. au milieu, 0 m. 004.



L'attribution du chapiteau D (Fig. 4 et 5, Pl. 62 e et f) au Portique Nord n'est pas à rejeter *a priori*: le diamètre inférieur est, à un centimètre près, le même que celui du chapiteau C. Une cavité circulaire de 0 m. 06 de diamètre et de 0 m. 058 de

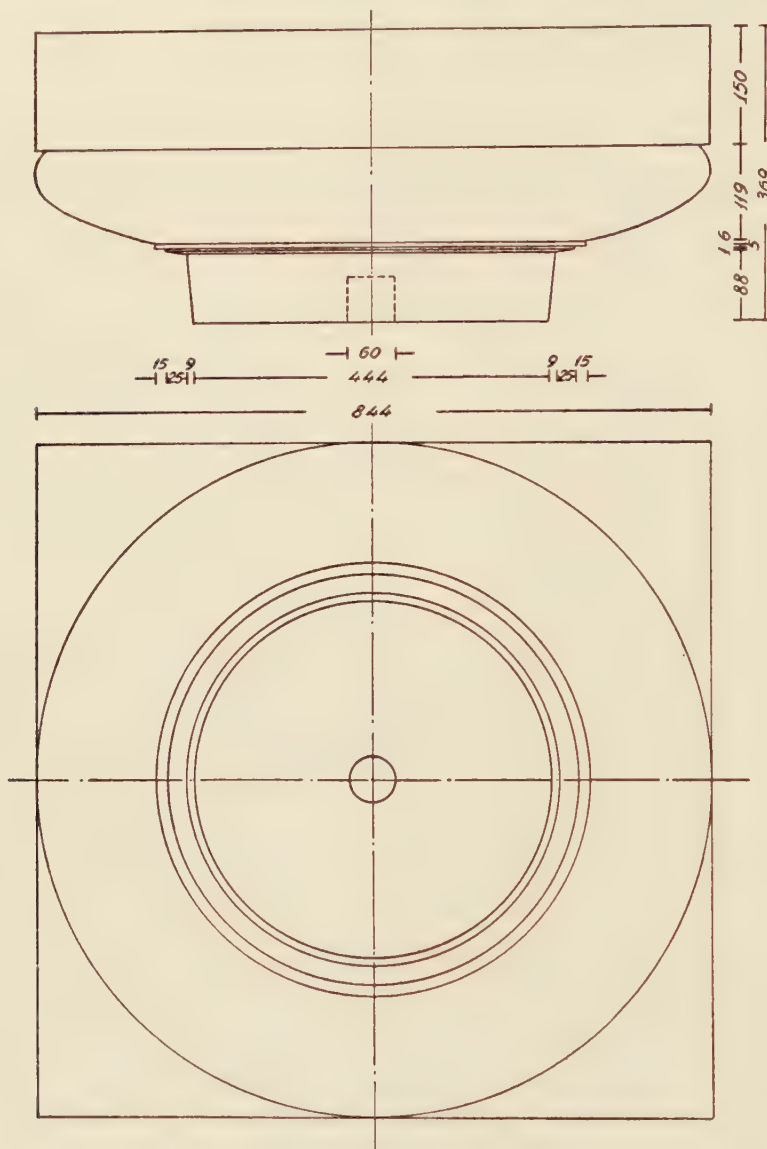


Fig. 5. Chapiteau D.

profondeur est creusée au lit de pose; bien qu'aucun des tambours du portique conservés ne porte de trou de goujon, il n'est pas impossible que le chapiteau ait été fixé au fût. Mais les chapiteaux C et D ne sont pas contemporains. Le chapiteau D, à

l'échine déjà relevée et bien galbée, est un bel exemplaire de la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Selon M. P. de La Coste-Messelière, il est pratiquement contemporain du chapiteau de la Vieille Tholos de Delphes, quoique de style différent, et date de 580-570 environ. A moins de supposer que des colonnes du Portique Nord ont été refaites à diverses époques (hypothèse qui s'autoriserait de l'exemple de l'Héraion d'Olympie), les chapiteaux C et D ne peuvent appartenir tous deux à ce monument. Le chapiteau D est trop récent pour le Vieux Temple, trop ancien pour l'Edifice Ouest. Il est trop grand pour avoir appartenu à la colonnade intérieure de l'Edifice N. E., et il est très douteux que ce monument ait jamais comporté une colonnade de façade (cf. plus loin, p. 236). Ce chapiteau se trouve actuellement dans l'Edifice Nord-Ouest,<sup>39</sup> où Tilton a reconnu, sous les murs tardifs, des bases de colonnes plus anciennes; il est possible qu'il provienne de ce monument antérieur.<sup>39a</sup>

### III. EDIFICE NORD-EST.<sup>40</sup>

Cet édifice a été remanié à une époque tardive: deux cloisons de direction Nord-Sud, faites de matériaux d'origine diverse, en ont modifié l'ordonnance intérieure, et les murs Est et Sud, différents des deux autres, sont manifestement plus récents. Il est même possible que, lors de la réfection, le monument ait été raccourci vers l'Est: il semble que le mur Nord se prolongeait primitivement au delà de son point de rencontre actuel avec le mur Est. Dans son état dernier, le monument était fermé par un mur sur ses quatre côtés. De gros blocs, faisant fonction d'orthostates, demeurent en place sur toute la face Est et sur une partie du côté Sud; de ce côté, la trace des blocs disparus, visible sur l'euthyntéria, dans les brèches, ne laisse aucun doute sur l'existence d'un mur continu, qui devait s'interrompre seulement à l'emplacement de l'entrée. La question se pose de savoir si, dans son état primitif, le bâtiment était également fermé ou si, comme l'a supposé Tilton, c'était un portique ouvert au Sud.

Par un examen minutieux du mode de construction, auquel je n'ai pu procéder, on devrait déterminer si la fondation du mur Sud, jusqu'à l'euthyntéria incluse, est contemporaine des murs Nord et Ouest. S'il en est ainsi, cette euthyntéria, sur laquelle reposent actuellement les orthostates, devait jouer le rôle de stylobate dans le portique primitif. Or, bien que la trace laissée par la rangée continue d'orthostates de l'état dernier n'implique pas que la disposition ait été la même dans l'état primitif, on ne voit pas que cette assise présente nulle part l'aspect d'un lit d'attente de stylobate destiné à être vu.

<sup>39</sup> "Northwest Building": *A. H.*, I, p. 134, pl. XXVII.

<sup>39a</sup> Un nouvel examen des restes de l'Edifice Nord-Ouest m'a donné l'impression que la plus grande partie des murs du monument remonte à l'époque archaïque.

<sup>40</sup> "Northeast Building" ou "Stoa III": *A. H.*, I, p. 114-116, pl. IX et XII.



Sur une des bases de la colonnade intérieure a été retrouvée *in situ* la partie inférieure d'un fût de colonne à 16 facettes, conservé sur une hauteur de 0 m. 71 (Pl. 63d). Son diamètre inférieur est de 0 m. 52, correspondant à celui des traces circulaires qu'on distingue sur les bases. Ce fragment de tambour est actuellement renversé à côté de la base où il se dressait. Mais dans le même édifice, contre la face Est du mur de cloison tardif le plus proche de l'extrémité Ouest, gît un fût de colonne entier (Fig. 6 et Pl. 63e), dont il n'est pas fait mention dans la publication. Identique en tout point au fragment trouvé en place, avec ses 16 facettes et son diamètre de 0 m. 52 à la base, il est haut de 2 m. 401. Il présente cette particularité que, à 0 m. 081 du lit d'attente, les facettes s'interrompent et que le haut du fût est lisse (Pl. 63f). Ce fût était donc couronné d'un chapiteau à gorgerin lisse; aucun des chapiteaux dessinés par Tilton ne paraît convenir. Au lit d'attente est creusée une cavité cylindrique de 0 m. 045 de diamètre et de 0 m. 055 de profondeur.

Ce fût apporte, dans la discussion du problème de l'ordonnance du monument, un élément nouveau et important. En admettant que le chapiteau ait été haut de 0 m. 25 environ, la hauteur totale de la colonne était de 2 m. 65  $\pm$ . Pour obtenir la hauteur de la colonnade de façade, il faudrait retrancher la hauteur de l'architrave et d'une partie de la frise. Un calcul, purement théorique, amenait Tilton à attribuer à la colonne extérieure une hauteur de 3 m. 27. C'est en réalité d'un mètre qu'il faudrait la raccourcir. On ne se résoudra pas sans peine à accepter l'idée d'une colonnade aussi basse, et l'hypothèse d'un bâtiment entièrement fermé à colonnade axiale, s'ouvrant à l'Est ou au Sud—hypothèse d'ailleurs envisagée par Tilton—paraît s'imposer.

Les murs Ouest et Nord offrent un bel exemple de construction archaïque (Pl. 63a). Au Nord, la partie inférieure du mur est faite d'orthostates de calcaire, hauts de 0 m. 625, surmontés d'une autre assise de calcaire, haute seulement de 0 m. 15. Au-dessus de ces blocs venaient des assises de poros; quelques pierres de la première assise, haute de 0 m. 375, demeurent en place. L'assise de poros et l'assise de calcaire de 0 m. 15 se prolongent au mur Ouest, mais les orthostates y sont remplacés par deux assises de calcaire, hautes respectivement de 0 m. 40 et de 0 m. 225.

Les deux murs de cloison tardifs sont constitués de grands blocs posés alternativement de chant, en double cours, et à plat, selon la disposition habituelle en parpaings et carreaux. Il y aurait intérêt à faire démonter les restes de ces deux murs, car les blocs utilisés dans la construction sont des orthostates provenant apparemment de divers monuments. Dans leur situation actuelle, ils sont difficiles à examiner et à mesurer. Plusieurs, hauts de 0 m. 74 environ, portant à leur face supérieure des trous de levier et des cavités de crampon en T aux deux extrémités et vers l'arrière, proviennent d'un même monument sur l'ordonnance duquel ils apporteraient de précieux renseignements (peut-être l'Edifice Est?). Les orthostates du mur Nord de l'Edifice N. E., partout où leur lit d'attente est visible, ne sont pas scellés entre eux. Plusieurs des blocs remployés dans les murs tardifs, y compris le

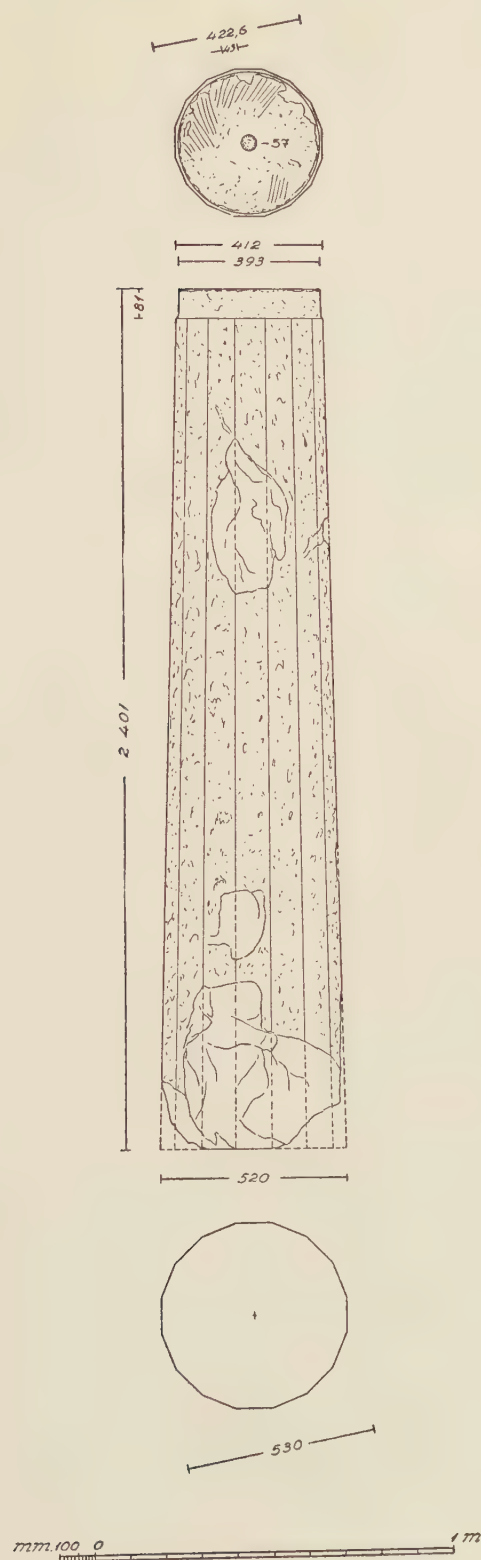


Fig. 6. Fût de la colonnade intérieure de l'Edifice Nord-Est.



bloc portant l'inscription  $\Delta\epsilon\phi\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron$  (Pl. 63b; cf. plus haut, p. 236), pourraient, par leur technique et leurs dimensions (haut. approximative: 0 m. 60; long. variable: 1 m. 39, 0 m. 90, 1 m. 93, 2 m. 10, 1 m. 16, 1 m. 20, 1 m. 50), provenir de l'Edifice N. E. lui-même (long. des orthostates du mur Nord: 1 m. 50, 1 m. 75, 1 m. 49, 1 m. 58, 0 m. 76). Il serait important de s'en assurer: si la provenance était certaine, on aurait là des éléments soit du mur Nord (s'il se prolongeait primitivement vers l'Est), soit du mur Est (à condition qu'il ait été construit comme le mur Nord, et non comme le mur Ouest), soit du mur Sud (ce qui réglerait la question de l'aspect primitif de cette face du monument).

Dans le mur de cloison Est apparaît le lit d'attente d'un bloc qui mérite une mention particulière. A l'une de ses extrémités est creusée une cavité de scellement (Fig. 7 et Pl. 63c), unique, à ma connaissance, par sa forme en F renversé et incliné, long de 0 m. 10; les branches mesurent respectivement 0 m. 07 et 0 m. 045. A l'autre

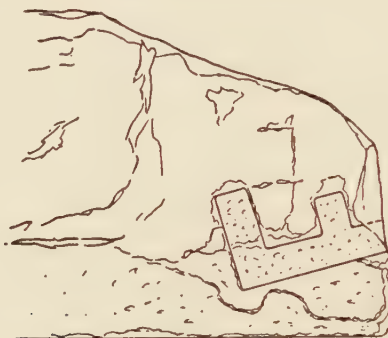


Fig. 7. Cavité de scellement

extrémité se voit une cavité en  $\Gamma$ , longue seulement de 0 m. 035; comme la face latérale, à cette extrémité, est taillée obliquement, l'aspect actuel de la pierre est peut-être dû à un retaillage qui aurait fait disparaître le reste du F.

Faute de posséder un chapiteau de la colonnade intérieure, il est difficile de préciser la date de l'édifice. L'appareil des murs Ouest et Nord et la taille du fût de colonne témoignent d'une technique archaïque. Les colonnes à facettes sont-elles forcément antérieures aux colonnes cannelées du type des tambours du Portique Nord? On est tenté de le penser, mais on n'oserait l'affirmer, d'autant plus qu'une colonnade intérieure a pu garder plus longtemps un aspect voisin de celui de piliers de bois d'abord simplement équarris, puis taillés selon une figure polygonale.

Une étude topographique de toute cette région du sanctuaire pourrait fournir des indications sur la date relative des monuments. Il faudrait en particulier procéder à un relevé très précis des restes de degrés existant au Sud de l'Edifice N. E.; ces restes sont plus nombreux que ne l'indique la pl. XII de la publication. Le rocher est en-

taillé pour l'encastrement des blocs, et on voit encore en place des éléments de plusieurs assises de poros et de calcaire dont les blocs étaient liés par des scellements en double T. Tilton restitue là un large escalier d'accès vers l'Edifice N. E.; mais l'orientation des degrés est nettement différente de celle du monument, comme on le voit sur la pl. XII (où le mur Ouest de cette terrasse est dessiné à tort dans le prolongement du mur Ouest de l'Edifice N. E.: les deux murs se raccordent à angle obtus). La plate-forme, qui s'étend vers l'Est plus loin que l'Edifice N. E., paraît nettement postérieure, et il y aurait lieu de préciser ses rapports avec l'Edifice N. E. d'une part et, d'autre part, avec le Portique Nord et la terrasse intermédiaire entre les deux monuments. L'Edifice N. E. s'appuie au Nord à un mur d'analemma en même appareil que le mur de la terrasse du Vieux Temple, où l'on a proposé de reconnaître le soutènement d'une rampe d'accès vers le temple.<sup>41</sup> Son orientation paraît donc répondre à l'état le plus ancien du sanctuaire,<sup>42</sup> tandis que la terrasse construite plus tard au Sud s'alignerait sur la direction du Portique Nord.

#### IV. EDIFICE OUEST.<sup>43</sup>

Cet édifice (Pl. 64a) offre un des plus anciens exemples connus de cour à péristyle.<sup>44</sup> Une colonnade se développait sur les quatre côtés de la cour. Un portique, comportant à l'intérieur une rangée de supports entre la colonnade du péristyle et le mur extérieur, régnait sur les côtés Est, Sud et Ouest, tandis que le côté Nord était occupé par un couloir d'accès et trois chambres, où Frickenhaus a reconnu des salles de banquet.<sup>45</sup> Une disposition comparable est connue, plus tard, dans des édifices de divers sanctuaires, notamment des sanctuaires d'Asclépios.<sup>46</sup> La date de l'Edifice Ouest de l'Héraion a fait l'objet de discussions: Tilton la fixait au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.;

<sup>41</sup> C. Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 20, fig. 23.

<sup>42</sup> Il faudrait cependant abaisser la date de l'édifice jusque vers le milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., si l'étude architecturale confirmait l'appartenance au monument d'un chapiteau d'ante à bec de corbin qui y a été découvert. Tilton l'attribuait hypothétiquement à l'Edifice Est (*A. H.*, I, p. 115, pl. XXIX, K), qui est beaucoup plus récent. L. Shoe, *Profiles*, p. 117, pl. LVI, 3, le date du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, un peu après 570, et propose, avec réserve, de l'attribuer à l'Edifice Nord-Est lui-même. Je n'ai pas vu ce chapiteau. On se demande quelle place lui assigner dans la construction, et l'entaille qui interrompt le développement de la moulure est, en tout cas, malaisée à expliquer.

<sup>43</sup> "West Building": *A. H.*, I, p. 131-134, pl. XXIV-XXVI.

<sup>44</sup> Il n'entre pas dans notre propos, dans cette étude volontairement limitée à des observations autant que possible précises et détaillées, de rechercher si ce type de péristyle se rattache à une tradition locale, dont la "maison aux colonnes" de Mycènes fournirait le meilleur exemple: cf. A. J. B. Wace, *Mycenae* (1949), p. 91-97.

<sup>45</sup> *Jahrb.*, XXXII, 1917, p. 121-130.

<sup>46</sup> Une liste de ces édifices, en Grèce et dans l'Orient méditerranéen, a été récemment établie par J. Starcky, *Syria*, XXVI, 1949, p. 62-67. Sur le bâtiment de l'Asclépieion de Trézène, cf. G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalauveia* (1941), p. 31-33, pl. 14-18; de Corinthe, cf. C. Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *Asklepieion and Lerna* (1951) p. 51-57, 85-91, plan C.



Frickenhaus l'a abaissée jusqu'à la fin du Ve siècle, à cause de l'orientation du bâtiment, qui impliquerait, selon lui, l'existence préalable du Nouveau Temple; Weickert la fait, avec raison, remonter à la deuxième moitié du VIe siècle, en se fondant sur les données architecturales.<sup>47</sup>

Les côtés Est et Ouest de la cour étant plus longs de 2 m. 10 que les deux autres, cette inégalité est assez forte pour entraîner l'accroissement d'une unité, par rapport au côté Nord, du nombre des colonnes sur ces deux côtés; mais elle est aussi assez faible pour provoquer, en contrepartie, le raccourcissement de l'entraxe des colonnes médianes, qui n'est que de 2 m. 35 à l'Est et à l'Ouest contre 2 m. 50 au Nord. L'ordonnance du côté Sud de la cour, où une partie du stylobate manque, est incertaine: dans le texte de la publication (p. 132), Tilton y restitue cinq colonnes comme au Nord et, dans le plan restauré (pl. XXVI), quatre seulement, à cause évidemment de l'espacement des bases intérieures de ce côté. La question demeure ainsi pendante et devrait être revue. La Figure 8 de cet article donne un relevé du stylobate du péristyle plus précis que celui de la planche XXIV de la publication. Je n'ai malheureusement pas pu revoir sur place ce plan pour vérifier la rigoureuse exactitude du dessin des traces d'implantation des colonnes. Si quelques traces circulaires sont nettes, on constate ailleurs, et toujours à un emplacement de support, l'existence d'entailles rectilignes, qui délimitent une partie en creux par rapport au niveau général de la surface de l'assise; l'importance de la dépression varie de 0 m. 004 à 0 m. 01. Cette particularité s'observe notamment aux angles N. O. et S. O. A l'angle S. O., la dépression se prolonge sur le stylobate Sud jusqu'à 0 m. 80 environ de l'intérieur de l'angle. L'entraxe, de l'angle à la colonne la plus proche, partout où l'état de conservation du stylobate permet de le mesurer (c'est-à-dire de l'angle N. O. dans les directions Sud et Est, de l'angle N. E. dans les directions Ouest et Sud, de l'angle S. E. dans la direction Nord), est plus long que l'entraxe des colonnes médianes, et il est le même au Nord qu'à l'Est et à l'Ouest, alors que la longueur des entraxes intermédiaires diffère. Cette anomalie s'expliquerait mieux si, aux quatre angles, les supports étaient des piliers angulaires, dont la projection dans les deux directions aurait réduit la longueur de l'entrecolonnement à peu près à celle des entrecolonnements médians. Cette hypothèse devrait être soumise à une critique rigoureuse, par un examen attentif des traces qu'on ne distingue que pendant quelques instants de la journée, le matin de préférence.<sup>48</sup> Mais il est possible que l'allongement de l'entraxe

<sup>47</sup> *Typen*, p. 172-175.

<sup>48</sup> R. Martin me fait observer que, dans les portiques coudés, la colonne d'angle, de diamètre parfois supérieur aux autres, ne semble pas avoir été remplacée par un pilier angulaire (ou par deux piliers accolés à angle droit) avant la fin du IVe ou le début du IIIe siècle av. J.-C. Il serait d'autant plus nécessaire d'examiner avec attention le cas de l'Édifice Ouest, qui est antérieur de deux siècles. J'ai pu, pendant l'impression de cet article, examiner de nouveau les traces laissées sur le stylobate par les supports. Le trace à l'angle N. E. est incontestablement circulaire. Il est également sûr que, à partir de cet angle, les deux supports les plus proches du côté Nord et les trois

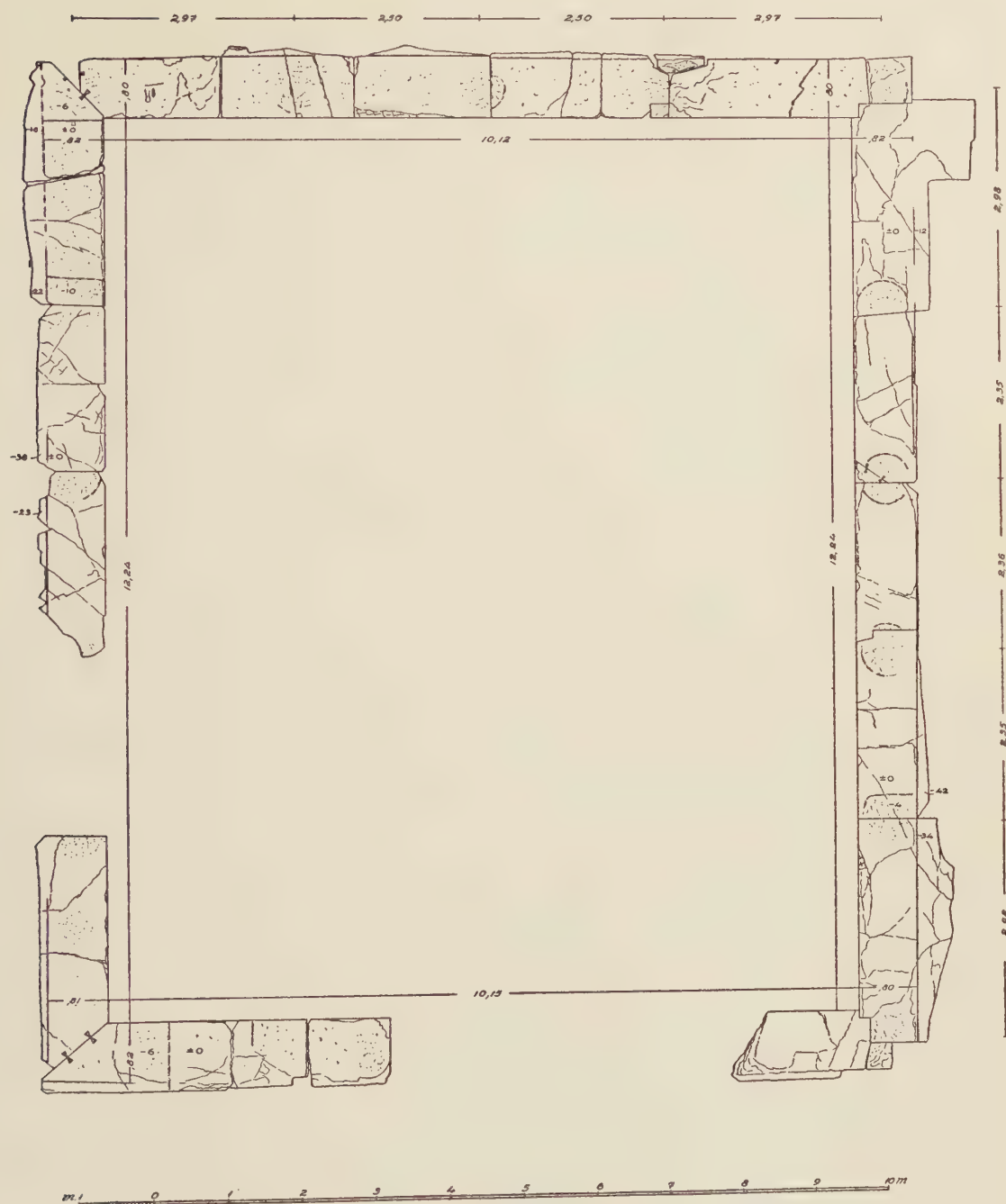


Fig. 8. Stylobate du péristyle de la cour de l'Edifice Ouest (côté Nord vers le haut).



près des angles relève simplement d'une tradition qui avait cours à l'époque archaïque : au Portique Nord, la distance entre le mur Est et la base intérieure la plus proche dépasse notablement la longueur régulière de l'entraxe dans le reste du portique (*A. H.*, I, pl. XII).

Tilton déclare qu'un bloc de corniche de l'Edifice Ouest porte des cavités de scellement en queue d'aronde.<sup>49</sup> En réalité tous les blocs de corniche provenant sûrement de l'édifice étaient scellés par des crampons en forme de double T (cf. plus loin, p. 245). De petits scellements en queue d'aronde ont été employés seulement en trois points du stylobate du péristyle : deux à l'angle S. O. (Pl. 64e), pour relier les deux côtés du stylobate qui se rencontrent suivant la bissectrice de l'angle ; trois à l'angle N. O., l'un ayant la même fonction, les deux autres maintenant en place un petit fragment triangulaire aujourd'hui disparu ; deux vers le milieu du côté Est (Pl. 64f), à l'emplacement d'une colonne, également pour fixer à une longue dalle du stylobate une petite pièce triangulaire de raccord.

Le mode de construction des murs dénote une technique archaïque : on le constate du côté Sud, près de l'angle S. E., seul endroit où quelques assises du socle du mur extérieur soient conservées (Pl. 64b). Je n'ai pu discerner aucune différence, dans l'appareil des fondations, entre le mur Ouest et les autres ; ainsi l'hypothèse de Tilton, selon laquelle la construction du portique Ouest aurait précédé celle du reste du bâtiment, ne paraît pas fondée.

Le mur Sud d'une des trois chambres, celle de l'Est, est demeuré en place sur une longueur de 4 mètres environ, entre le seuil de la porte de cette chambre et le mur extérieur de l'édifice, et sur une hauteur de 1 m. 90 environ (orthostates et trois assises courantes) (Pl. 64c). Les orthostates sont disposés en *antithéma* et évidés à l'intérieur sur la plus grande partie de la hauteur et une moitié environ de l'épaisseur.<sup>50</sup> Ce détail est un trait d'archaïsme (de même que l'étroitesse du cadre d'anathyrose)

les plus proches du côté Est étaient aussi des colonnes. Les autres traces sont moins nettes. Aux angles N. O. et S. O., on restituerait volontiers des piliers carrés ou rectangulaires, à cause des entailles rectilignes du stylobate ; de même le support le plus proche de l'angle N. O. du côté Ouest et le plus proche de l'angle S. E. du côté Est semblent avoir présenté une face droite. Mais, si l'existence de colonnes est assurée, celle de piliers l'est moins, et la juxtaposition des deux types de supports serait assez étrange.


<sup>49</sup> La rareté des scellements en queue d'aronde à l'Héraion est digne de remarque. Elle s'explique sans doute par le fait que les pierres des murs des monuments les plus anciens (Vieux Temple, Portique Nord, Edifice N. E.) n'étaient pas scellées (ou ne l'étaient qu'aux angles), et que les blocs des parties hautes, entablement, corniche, n'ont pas été retrouvés. Quelques blocs à scellements en queue d'aronde ont été remployés (à côté d'autres à scellements en double T) dans les fondations d'un monument de destination et de date inconnues, devant l'angle N. E. du Nouveau Temple, au Nord de la rampe d'accès au temple. Ces blocs mériteraient d'être examinés.

<sup>50</sup> Hauteur des orthostates : 0 m. 805 ; épaisseur au lit d'attente : 0 m. 375/0 m. 385. Hauteur du bandeau : 0 m. 085 ; saillie : 0 m. 008/0 m. 009. Hauteur de l'évidement (à partir du bas) : 0 m. 63, 0 m. 68, 0 m. 72 ; profondeur : 0 m. 17 (sur deux blocs). Epaisseur des assises courantes : 0 m. 76 environ ; hauteur respective (à partir du bas) : 0 m. 372, 0 m. 37, 0 m. 38.

et, dans ce cas comme à propos d'autres monuments archaïques, on discerne malaisément la raison d'être de cet évidement aux assises inférieures, où il avait pour effet de diminuer la capacité de résistance des blocs à la pression du poids du mur. Les orthostates étaient scellés entre eux (à l'inverse des blocs des assises courantes), aux petites faces latérales et à la face intérieure, par des crampons en double T d'un type spécial, qui facilite l'identification des pierres du monument.<sup>51</sup>

Un tambour à 16 cannelures a été trouvé en place, au témoignage de Tilton, dressé sur la première base vers le Nord de la colonnade intérieure du portique Est; il est actuellement renversé à proximité de cette base. La hauteur conservée est de 1 m. 10, le diamètre (au fond des cannelures) de 0 m. 573 au lit de pose et de 0 m. 52  $\pm$  à la cassure. Le fond des cannelures est très aplati (profondeur au milieu: 0 m. 007  $\pm$ , pour une largeur de 0 m. 115), et leur profil ressemble à celui des cannelures des tambours du Portique Nord. Au lit de pose (Pl. 64d) se voient un anneau d'anathyrose au pourtour et, au centre, une cavité carrée de 0 m. 035 de côté et de 0 m. 025 de profondeur. Il est étrange que la base où se dressait ce tambour ne présente aucune cavité de goujon, non plus d'ailleurs que les autres bases conservées.<sup>52</sup>

Le problème se pose à peu près dans les mêmes termes qu'au Portique Nord. Si

<sup>51</sup> Les cavités de scellement en T du mur de fond du Portique Sud (différentes de celles du mur Ouest: cf. plus loin, p. 44), des blocs du Nouveau Temple et du mur Nord de l'Edifice Est sont à peu près identiques entre elles: minces (largeur moyenne des deux branches du T: 0.015 à 0.02), allongées (longueur moyenne d'une cavité, c'est-à-dire de la moitié du crampon: 0.175 à 0.20; long. maxima, à l'Edifice Est: 0.28), de profondeur égale aux deux branches du T (profondeur moyenne: 0.045 à 0.065). Les cavités de scellement de l'Edifice Ouest ne présentent pas la même régularité: sur un même bloc, les différences de l'une à l'autre sont parfois considérables. La largeur moyenne de l'entaille est de 0.03, mais elle atteint 0.055 à la branche transversale du T sur des blocs de larmier. La longueur varie entre les limites extrêmes de 0.08 et 0.18, mais elle oscille habituellement entre 0.09 et 0.13. Le trait le plus caractéristique de ces cavités est la différence de profondeur entre l'entaille de la branche verticale du T et celle de la branche transversale, celle-ci étant la plus profonde des deux, ce qui suppose un crampon présentant en plan la forme d'un double T et en coupe la forme suivante: . Sur ce point aussi, les variations sont importantes d'un bloc à un autre, et parfois sur un même bloc. Sur les orthostates, la profondeur moyenne de l'entaille verticale est de 0.015/0.02, celle de l'entaille transversale de 0.04. Sur deux blocs du larmier (cf. plus loin, pp. 245 sq.), ces mêmes profondeurs sont respectivement de 0.03 et 0.04, 0.035 et 0.07. Mais, sur d'autres blocs de larmier identiques aux précédents, la profondeur des deux entailles est la même. Il en résulte que, si l'aspect des cavités de scellement permet d'attribuer à coup sûr à l'Edifice Ouest un bloc de couronnement de mur (cf. plus loin, p. 247), il n'autorise pas à se prononcer dans le cas des triglyphes (cf. plus loin, p. 249).

<sup>52</sup> Le tambour dressé sur la base est visible sur une photographie: A. H. I, pl. XXV. Mais cette photographie a été prise après la fin de la fouille. On n'a pas le droit, en bonne méthode, de mettre en doute les affirmations des fouilleurs sur l'état des lieux au moment de la découverte. On aimerait cependant être sûr qu'un archéologue était présent lors de la mise au jour du tambour prétendu *in situ*: on connaît la tendance naturelle des ouvriers à redresser une colonne sur la base la plus proche, et sans doute, en 1892, avait-on omis de leur donner des instructions pour les en dissuader. Le même soupçon pèse sur les conditions de la découverte de deux tambours du Portique Nord (cf. plus haut, pp. 227-228 and n. 25).



le tambour a sûrement été trouvé en place, il faut admettre que, à l'Edifice Ouest aussi, les colonnes intérieures, bien que plus hautes, étaient plus minces que celles de la colonnade du péristyle, puisque, d'après les traces visibles sur le stylobate, le diamètre inférieur de cette colonnade atteignait 0 m. 70  $\pm$ . Si la provenance du tambour était mise en doute, on pourrait l'attribuer, comme tambour intermédiaire, à la colonnade du péristyle, et on restituerait sur les bases intérieures, où les supports

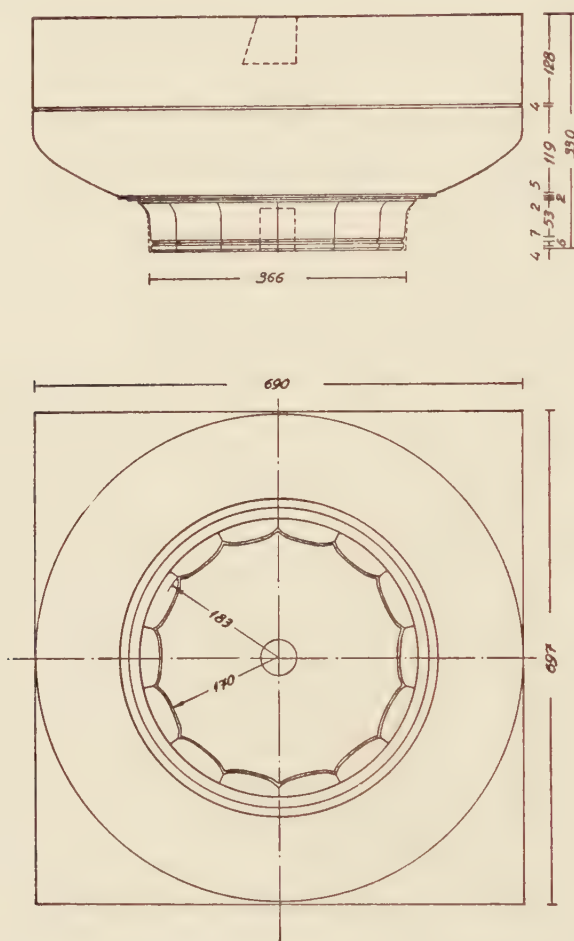


Fig. 9. Chapiteau E.

n'ont laissé aucune trace, des piliers de bois quadrangulaires aussi bien que des colonnes de pierre.

Tilton a attribué à l'Edifice Ouest trois chapiteaux identiques, E, I, K (Fig. 4 et 9, Pl. 66 a et b), et cette attribution a toute chance d'être exacte. Le chapiteau I (qui a dû être remployé, puisque le gorgerin a été retaillé sur une hauteur de quelques centimètres) se trouve dans le Portique Nord. Mais les deux autres sont demeurés

dans l'Edifice Ouest, où ils ont été découverts.<sup>53</sup> Leur date concorde avec celle des autres éléments du monument: M. P. de La Coste-Messelière la fixe, d'après les proportions, à 540-530, mais note que l'aspect de la courbe de l'échine tendrait à la faire descendre un peu plus bas, vers le dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Si l'on admet la présence de colonnes sur les bases intérieures du portique et l'existence, très probable (cf. plus loin, p. 248), d'un étage avec galerie ouverte sur la cour, c'est au moins trois types de colonnes que comportait le monument. C'est à la colonnade de la galerie que Tilton a attribué, avec une grande vraisemblance, les chapiteaux E, I, K. En effet le gorgerin de ces chapiteaux est creusé de 14 cannelures. Si le fût des colonnes intérieures des portiques présentait 16 cannelures, l'appartenance des chapiteaux à ces colonnes est exclue. D'autre part, le diamètre inférieur des chapiteaux étant de 0 m. 366 et celui des colonnes du péristyle de 0 m. 70  $\pm$ , l'attribution des chapiteaux à cette colonnade entraînerait un allongement démesuré des proportions. L'hypothèse de Tilton demeure donc, apparemment, la seule solution possible.

Sur l'emplacement de l'Edifice Ouest se trouve un fragment très mutilé de tambour à 14 cannelures (8 seulement sont conservées), dont le profil est à peu près identique à celui des cannelures du tambour retrouvé en place. Brisé aux deux bouts, où le diamètre mesure respectivement 0 m. 422 et 0 m. 405 (au fond des cannelures), il n'est conservé que sur une hauteur de 0 m. 58. Rien ne s'oppose *a priori* à ce que les colonnes du péristyle aient présenté 16 cannelures et celles de la galerie, plus minces, 14 seulement. Mais ce qui est inadmissible, c'est la restauration de la colonne du péristyle proposée par Tilton (*A. H.*, I, fig. 52, C), où voisinent le tambour provenant, selon ses propres indications, de la colonnade intérieure du portique Est (donc de diamètre notablement inférieur à celui de la colonnade du péristyle) et le chapiteau B, antérieur d'un siècle environ aux chapiteaux E, I, K.<sup>54</sup>

Cinq blocs de larmier de l'Edifice Ouest subsistent. Tilton ne les attribuait au monument qu'avec quelque hésitation. Le lieu de trouvaille,<sup>55</sup> la forme des cavités de scellement (cf. plus haut, p. 243, n. 51) et le style ne laissent aucun doute sur leur provenance. Deux sont pratiquement complets (Fig. 10, Pl. 65 a, b, c.), les trois autres brisés. Les canaux de bardage en U forés au lit d'attente, l'inégalité en longueur des

<sup>53</sup> L'un d'eux (probablement E) est visible sur la photographie *A. H.*, I, pl. XXV, sur le stylobate du côté Est de la cour.

<sup>54</sup> On a relevé plus haut, p. 8-9, que, parmi les sept chapiteaux attribués sans discrimination par Tilton au Portique Nord et à l'Edifice Ouest, un seul, G (à 16 cannelures) était susceptible d'être tenu pour contemporain des chapiteaux E, I, K. Mais il est plus petit que ceux-ci. Il ne pourrait convenir qu'à la colonnade de la galerie. Dans ce cas, les chapiteaux E, I, K devraient être attribués aux colonnades intérieures des portiques, ce qui ne serait pas théoriquement impossible, puisque ces colonnades étaient plus hautes, et peut-être plus minces, que celle du péristyle. Mais il faudrait alors révoquer en doute le témoignage de Tilton sur le lieu de trouvaille du tambour à 16 cannelures.

<sup>55</sup> Deux des blocs se trouvent sur le stylobate du côté Est de la cour (l'un est visible sur la photographie *A. H.*, I, pl. XXV), les trois autres à l'extérieur du monument, contre le mur Sud.





plaques de mutules portant alternativement quatre et cinq rangées de gouttes,<sup>56</sup> le profil rectiligne que ne rompt aucune moulure ni au soffite ni même à la face antérieure sont autant de traits qu'on a peu de chance de rencontrer réunis après le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Les deux blocs complets, portant chacun une plaque de mutules longue, une plaque courte et deux *viae*, mesurent 1 m. 09  $\pm$  de longueur. S'ils provenaient de la cour intérieure, l'espacement des colonnes devrait être de 2 m. 18; or cette mesure ne correspond à aucun des divers entraxes de la colonnade du péristyle. Les blocs de larmier devaient donc couronner le mur extérieur du bâtiment, où se développait, selon toute probabilité, une frise dorique. En était-il de même à l'intérieur de la cour? Au-dessus des colonnes du péristyle, on peut envisager soit un entablement dorique complet, soit seulement un épistyle et un larmier, soit même un épistyle seul. Au-dessus de la colonnade de la galerie, les deux premiers arrangements sont également possibles. En tout cas, de même que les blocs de larmier, le bloc d'architrave (*A. H.*, I, p. 134 et pl. XXVI; non retrouvé), curieusement taillé en équerre, avec cinq gouttes sous la *regula*,—autre indice d'archaïsme<sup>57</sup>—, doit appartenir au couronnement des murs extérieurs: si le dessin est exact, sa longueur n'atteignait pas un mètre.

Des blocs d'une assise de couronnement de mur, présentant sur une face une moulure en bec de corbin et sur la face opposée un haut bandeau en forte saillie, ont été attribués par Tilton au Portique Sud (*A. H.*, I, pl. XXII, bloc D et coupe transversale du portique). J'en ai compté sept, R. Martin en a repéré deux autres. Ces neuf blocs se trouvent tous à l'emplacement de l'Edifice Ouest, dans les chambres de la partie N. E. et dans le portique Ouest de la cour. L'argument du lieu de trouvaille suffirait à établir l'origine des blocs, mais un autre indice est plus décisif encore: un seul des neuf blocs était scellé, parce que c'est un bloc d'angle (Pl. 65 d, e, f); la forme de la cavité de scellement l'apparente, sans contestation possible, aux orthostates et aux blocs de larmier de l'Edifice Ouest.<sup>58</sup> L'étude des moulures confirmerait, s'il en

<sup>56</sup> Tilton a noté qu'une plaque avait été réparée par insertion d'une goutte rapportée, scellée au plomb dans une cavité. On observe en effet ce détail sur un bloc incomplet, à la rangée médiane (dans le sens de la profondeur, où l'on compte trois rangées), dont cette goutte est la seule qui subsiste. Il n'y aurait pas lieu d'y insister, ce mode de réparation étant fréquent, si, sur la seule plaque conservée d'un autre bloc, les quatre gouttes de la rangée médiane n'étaient aussi des pièces de rapport insérées après coup, alors que les gouttes des deux autres rangées sont taillées normalement dans la pierre. On est tenté de se demander si certaines plaques de mutules n'avaient pas été, au début des travaux, préparées avec deux rangées de gouttes seulement, près des bords antérieur et postérieur de la plaque, selon une tradition qui a laissé de nombreux exemples dans l'architecture archaïque. Mais cette hypothèse, pour prendre corps, devrait s'appuyer sur un plus grand nombre d'observations concordantes.

<sup>57</sup> Un des exemples les plus récents de *regula* à cinq gouttes est fourni par le trésor des Athéniens à Delphes (où les plaques de mutules sont de largeur égale et pourvues de six rangées de gouttes).

<sup>58</sup> Longueur de la cavité: 0.105; largeur de l'entaille transversale: 0.035; profondeur de l'entaille verticale: 0.03; prof. de l'entaille transversale: 0.05. Cf. plus haut, p. 243, n. 51.



était besoin, cette parenté: le bec de corbin se date, d'après les relevés de Miss L. Shoe,<sup>69</sup> de la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

La largeur de ces blocs au lit de pose est en moyenne de 0 m. 755, leur hauteur moyenne de 0 m. 375: ce sont les dimensions des assises des murs de l'édifice (cf. plus haut, p. 242, n. 50). La moulure en bec de corbin était tournée vers l'intérieur du monument, comme le montre la disposition de trois blocs, et en particulier du bloc

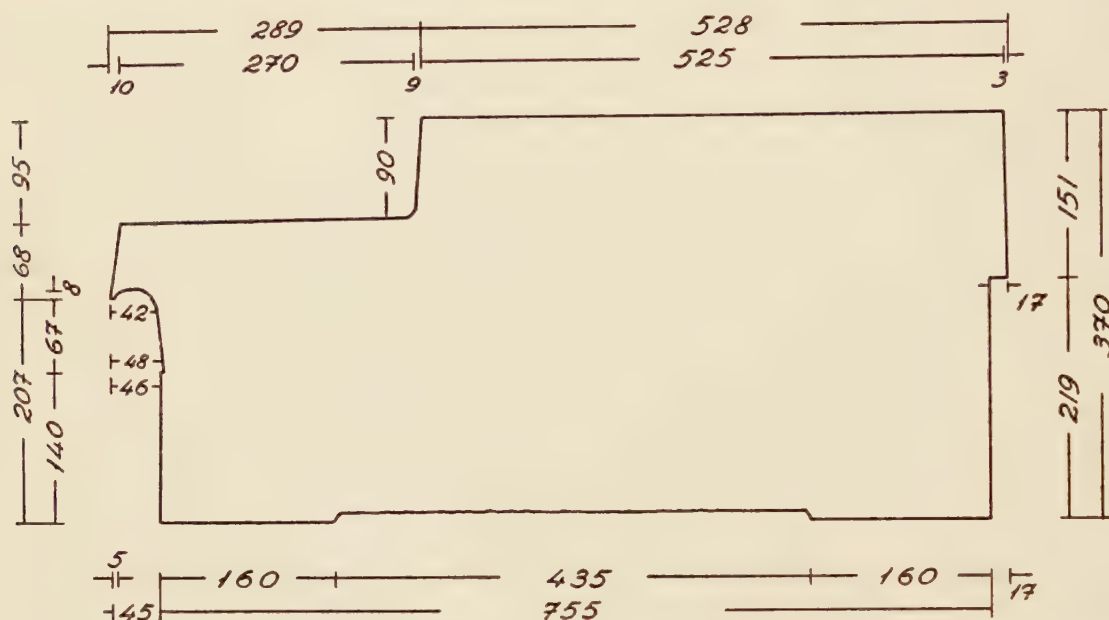


Fig. 11. Coupe d'un bloc de l'assise de couronnement du mur de l'Edifice Ouest.

d'angle déjà signalé. A l'exception de ce bloc, tous sont entaillés au lit d'attente, au-dessus du bec de corbin (Fig. 11). L'identification de ces blocs apporte un argument en faveur de l'existence d'un étage: ils devaient prendre place dans le mur au niveau de l'entablement de la colonnade du péristyle; R. Martin suggère de restituer une sablière logée dans l'entaille, pour supporter les poutres du plafond du rez-de-

<sup>69</sup> *Profiles of Greek Mouldings* (1936), p. 126, pl. LX, 11. La sima attribuée par Tilton au Portique Sud (*A. H.*, I, pl. XXIII, G) ne peut pas non plus lui appartenir; le morceau est marqué "West Building," ce qui indique probablement le lieu de trouvaille; L. Shoe, *Profiles*, p. 33, pl. XVIII, 4, le date de la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle; il serait donc trop ancien pour l'Edifice Ouest. Mais on pourrait envisager l'attribution à cet édifice d'un autre morceau de sima, que L. Shoe, *op. cit.*, p. 34, pl. XVIII, 14, date de la deuxième moitié, et plutôt du dernier quart, du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

chaussée. Mais les dimensions de l'entaille varient d'un bloc à l'autre; <sup>60</sup> les différences de largeur de cette entaille entraînent des différences inversement proportionnelles dans la largeur du lit d'attente des blocs; <sup>61</sup> il paraît en résulter que, à l'étage, la largeur des murs n'était pas partout la même. L'examen des blocs de larmier conduit à une conclusion identique: la largeur du lit de pose varie, d'un bloc à l'autre, de plusieurs centimètres. En raison du rassemblement des blocs de l'assise de couronnement à bec de corbin dans les parties N. E. et N. O. de l'édifice, on est en droit de se demander si l'emploi de ces blocs n'était pas limité aux murs des chambres (et même si cette partie Nord n'était pas seule à être surmontée d'un étage avec galerie). Mais il serait vain d'échafauder des hypothèses et d'engager une discussion sur des données insuffisantes. De nombreux blocs de l'édifice sont épars sur les lieux. Des dessins exacts de tous ces blocs (larmier, assise à bec de corbin, et aussi assises courantes) permettraient à coup sûr d'apporter d'appréciables précisions sur la structure du monument.

Il deviendra peut-être alors plus aisé de répartir entre l'Edifice Ouest et le Portique Sud les quelques triglyphes conservés. Tilton a attribué au Portique Sud un triglyphe (*A. H.*, I, pl. XXII, B; ici Fig. 12 et Pl. 66, c) qui gît contre le mur Sud de l'Edifice Ouest, avec trois des blocs de larmier de cet édifice. Un autre, exactement identique, mais beaucoup plus abîmé, se trouve plus loin vers le Sud.<sup>62</sup> La largeur de la plaque de mutules du Portique Sud est de 0 m. 475 ± (c'est la mesure indiquée par Tilton, *A. H.*, I, p. 129; j'en ai vérifié l'exactitude sur certains blocs; sur d'autres, j'ai mesuré 0.467, 0.469, 0.474; cf. plus loin, Fig. 18). Or les deux triglyphes ne sont larges que de 0 m. 445. L'examen des cavités de scellement en T n'apporte pas, dans ce cas-là, d'élément décisif de solution.<sup>63</sup>

A l'Edifice Ouest, Tilton attribuait un autre triglyphe (*A. H.*, I, pl. XXVI). Il n'a pas été retrouvé et il est à craindre qu'il ne le soit jamais. J'ai en effet recueilli, dans la partie Sud de l'Edifice Ouest, sept fragments de triglyphes, éparpillés sur une surface restreinte et dont les cassures paraissent relativement récentes. Cinq d'entre

<sup>60</sup> Les mesures prises (sans une précision rigoureuse) sur quatre blocs donneront une idée de l'importance de ces variations:

Hauteur de l'entaille

0.11

0.09

0.075

0.105

Largeur de l'entaille

0.385

0.27

0.28

0.435

<sup>61</sup> Largeur ramenée respectivement, dans les quatre blocs cités précédemment, à 0.41, 0.525, 0.515, 0.36.

<sup>62</sup> Je n'ai pas retrouvé le triglyphe d'angle dessiné *A. H.*, I, pl. XXIX, L. Il est à supposer que c'est celui que Tilton (p. 130) attribuait également au Portique Sud. Sa hauteur, 0 m. 753, diffère légèrement de celle des deux triglyphes dont il est question ici: 0 m. 765/0 m. 766. Est-ce une simple coïncidence si la largeur des deux faces, 0 m. 363 et 0 m. 428, est celle des plaques de mutules à 4 et à 5 rangées de gouttes des blocs de larmier de l'Edifice Ouest?

<sup>63</sup> Mesures respectives des cavités sur les deux triglyphes: longueur: 0.09 et 0.136; largeur de l'entaille transversale: 0.016 et 0.018; profondeur de l'entaille: 0.042 et 0.036/0.04. L'impression est plutôt favorable à l'attribution au Portique Sud, mais sans aucune garantie.



eux se rajustent <sup>64</sup> pour reconstituer la partie inférieure d'un triglyphe, large de 0 m. 424 (Fig. 13). Cette largeur étant précisément celle des plaques de mutules à cinq rangées de gouttes du larmier de l'Edifice Ouest, l'appartenance du fragment à l'édifice paraît assurée.

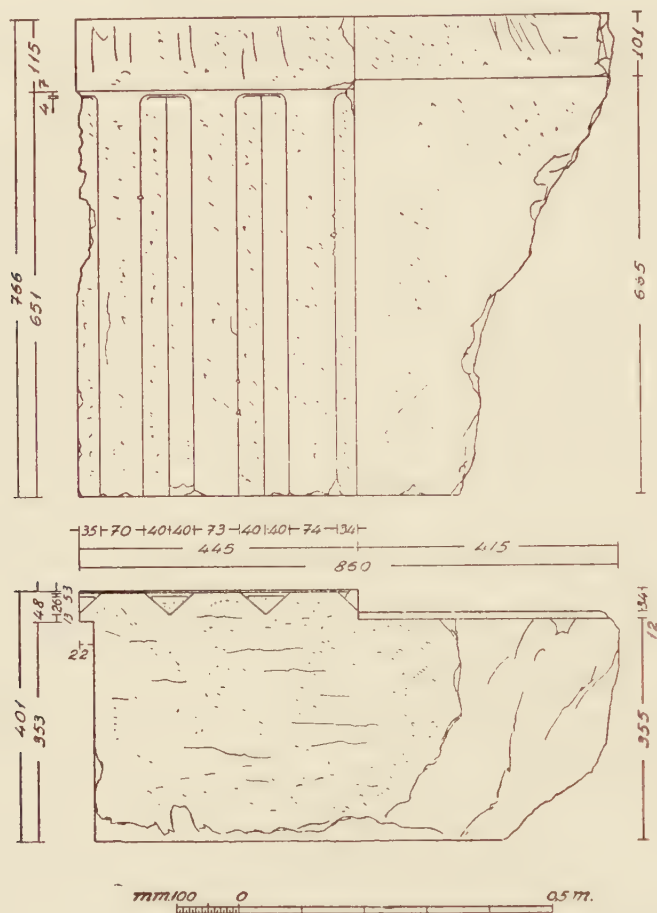


Fig. 12. Triglyphe (Edifice Ouest ou Portique Sud).

Mais est-ce une raison suffisante pour en exclure les deux triglyphes larges de 0 m. 445 et les attribuer en toute certitude au Portique Sud? Si le péristyle de la cour de l'Edifice Ouest comportait une frise dorique, l'existence de trois et peut-être quatre longueurs différentes d'entraxe entraînerait nécessairement des variations dans la

<sup>64</sup> Des deux autres fragments, l'un est trop gros pour provenir du même triglyphe, l'autre peut au contraire lui appartenir: haut de 0.265, il conserve la partie supérieure de deux canaux et de la partie plane intermédiaire, le bandeau (haut. 0.09) et une faible partie du lit d'attente, où se voient les restes d'une cavité de scellement en T, longue seulement de 0.061 et profonde, à la barre transversale, de 0.021. Un autre fragment de triglyphe, haut de 0.37 très mutilé et d'origine incertaine, se trouve dans l'Edifice Nord-Ouest.

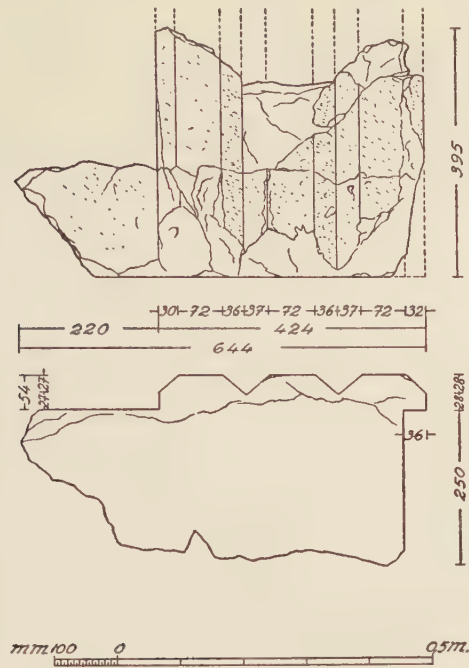


Fig. 13. Fragment de triglyphe (Edifice Ouest).

largeur des triglyphes. Même à la frise des murs extérieurs, on devait enregistrer de légères différences entre les longs et les petits côtés de l'édifice.<sup>65</sup>

Le bloc de larmier en poros, reproduit ici Fig. 14 et Pl. 66d, se trouve à l'emplacement du portique Ouest de la cour de l'Edifice Ouest. Le soffite était recouvert d'une couche de stuc, partiellement conservée, et décoré d'un bec de corbin. C'est le type du larmier rampant dorique en usage pendant un siècle, de l'Hékatompédon de Pisistrate au temple des Athéniens de Délos.<sup>66</sup> Cet exemplaire se distingue par la forte projection du bec de corbin, profondément détaché sur ses deux faces et prolongé jusqu'au niveau du lit de pose. La taille rectiligne du soffite et l'absence de moulure de couronnement suggèrent une date assez haute, dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle ou début du Ve. Le bloc ne présente aucune cavité de scellement. Comme il s'agit d'un bloc isolé, le lieu de trouvaille ne constitue pas un argument suffisant pour l'attribuer à l'Edifice

<sup>65</sup> Sur les blocs de larmier conservés, la largeur d'une plaque de mutules à 4 rangées de gouttes est de 0.365 et 0.363 sur les deux blocs complets, et de 0.39 sur un bloc brisé. On observe que la différence de longueur entre les côtés Est et Sud de l'édifice, 2 m. 90 selon les mesures de Tilton, n'est pas un multiple de 1 m. 09, distance de deux triglyphes d'axe en axe d'après les blocs de larmier. En tenant compte du retrait des orthostates sur l'euthyntéria, mesurable au mur Sud de la chambre Est, en divisant la longueur du mur ainsi obtenue par 1.09 et en ajoutant 0.425 pour un triglyphe d'angle, on obtient un résultat un peu plus satisfaisant pour le mur Sud que pour le mur Est ; mais je n'ignore pas la fragilité de ces calculs.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. L. Shoe, *Profiles*, p. 168-169, pl. LII.



Ouest. Cependant le style ne s'oppose pas à cette attribution, et on voit mal de quel autre monument du sanctuaire et de quel fronton il pourrait provenir. Dans l'hypothèse de son appartenance à l'Edifice Ouest, il prendrait place ou bien dans la cour de l'édifice (confirmant ainsi que l'un des deux ordres au moins, celui du péristyle ou celui de la galerie, ne comportait pas de frise,<sup>67</sup> ou bien, dans l'hypothèse d'un galerie

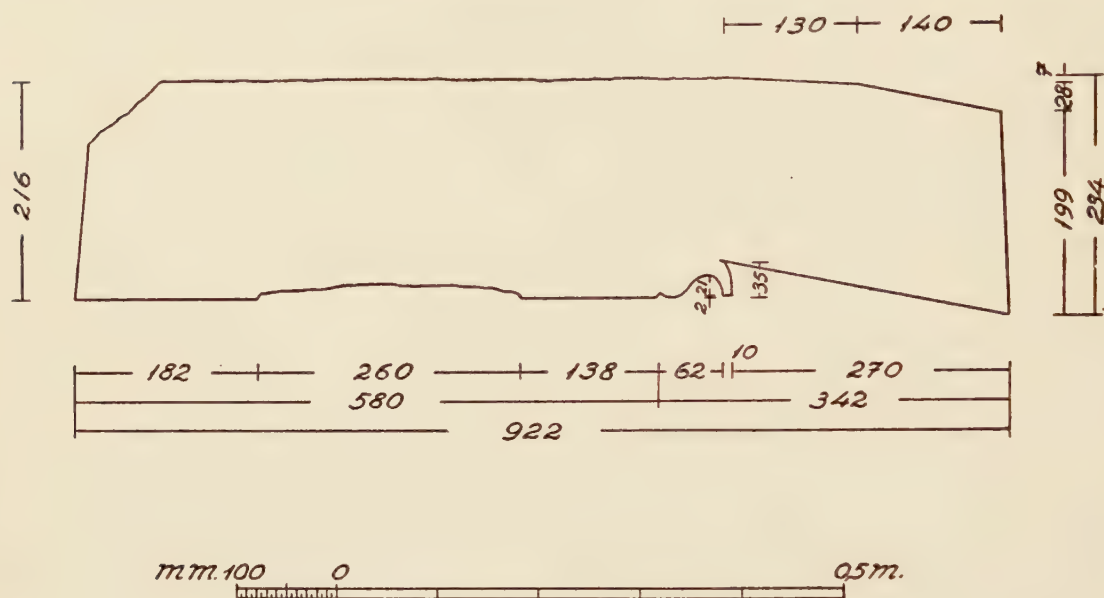


Fig. 14. Coupe d'un bloc de larmier (Edifice Ouest ?)

limitée au côté Nord de l'édifice (cf. plus haut, p. 248), à l'un des deux frontons de cette galerie.

Je signale ici, bien qu'il n'ait aucun rapport avec l'Edifice Ouest, un autre bloc de larmier (Fig. 15, Pl. 66e), dont l'interprétation pose un problème intéressant pour l'histoire de l'architecture archaïque. Il se trouve actuellement sur la pente orientale du sanctuaire, au N. E. de l'Edifice Est. C'est un bloc d'angle, avec une partie du lit

<sup>67</sup> On sait maintenant que les murs de certains édifices archaïques, notamment des *oikoi*, apparemment dépourvus d'une frise de triglyphes et de métopes, étaient couronnés d'un larmier sans mutules (par ex. à Sélinonte: E. Gabrici, *Mon. ant.*, XXXV, 1935, col. 141-149, 218-219, 235-236; des blocs semblables existent à Delphes, parmi les éléments d'architecture encore inédits) ou à mutules sans gouttes (également à Sélinonte et à Delphes; cf. aussi l'édifice représenté sur le fronton "de l'Olivier" à l'Acropole d'Athènes). Cependant aucun de ces blocs n'est décoré au soffite d'un bec de corbin.

Une disposition analogue à celle qu'on peut envisager pour l'Edifice Ouest se retrouve à l'époque hellénistique, au péristyle de la cour d'une maison de Délos: la colonnade dorique du rez-de-chaussée n'était surmontée que d'une architrave et d'un larmier au soffite uni; la colonnade de l'étage ne paraît pas non plus avoir comporté de frise: cf. provisoirement *B. C. H.*, LXXIV, 1950, p. 370.

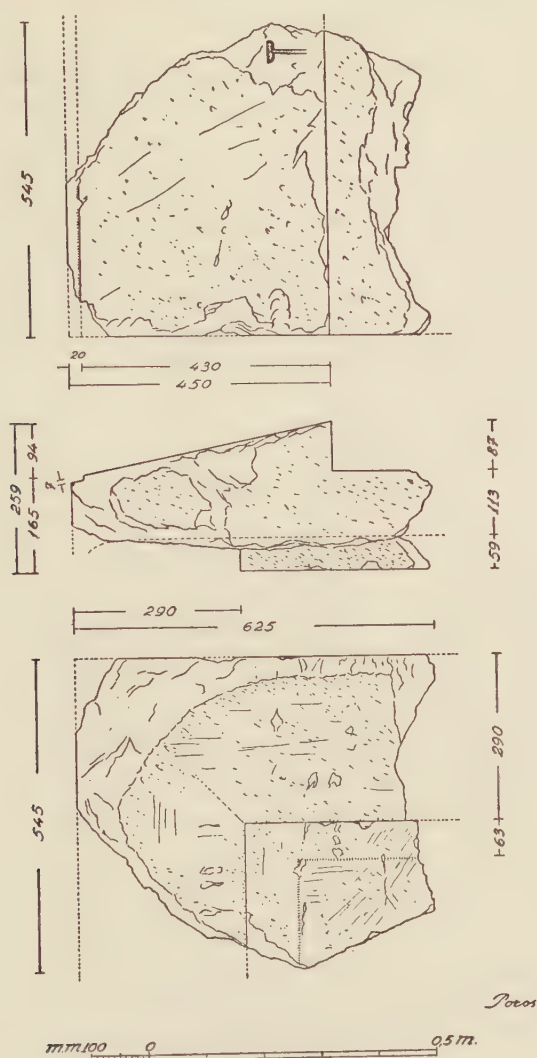


Fig. 15. Bloc angulaire de larmier.

de pose et du soffite conservée sur chacune des deux faces et, au lit d'attente, l'amorce du tympan. Le soffite est uni et concave; ce profil, proprement ionique, a été adopté par l'ordre dorique, à partir du Ve siècle av. J.-C., pour le larmier rampant; mais il s'agit ici d'une pièce d'angle d'un larmier horizontal. Aucun monument d'ordre ionique n'est connu à l'Héraion. La date du bloc est malaisée à définir: nulle moulure ne décore ni la face ni le soffite. Au lit d'attente se voit la trace d'une cavité qui est peut-être, mais non sûrement, celle d'un scellement en T.

Les larmiers horizontaux sans mutules, connus jusqu'à présent dans l'architecture dorique archaïque (cf. ici même, n. 67), présentent au soffite un profil rectiligne. La question se pose cependant, pour certaines pièces de larmier archaïques, au soffite uni



et plus ou moins fortement incurvé (à Delphes par exemple), de savoir si elles proviennent de monuments ioniques ou doriques. Le soffite des blocs de larmier retrouvés sur l'acropole de Mycènes (Fig. 16, Pl. 66f) présente aussi un profil concave. A. Wace suppose que ces blocs proviennent d'un temple bâti au début du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., temple *in antis* ou complètement dépourvu de colonnes.<sup>68</sup> Cependant, comme les murs semblent avoir été bâtis en brique crue, il s'étonne qu'une corniche de poros ait couronné des murs aussi légers.<sup>69</sup> La projection du soffite est beaucoup plus forte sur le bloc de Mycènes que sur celui de l'Héraion, qui provient peut-être d'un monument d'assez faibles dimensions.<sup>70</sup>

## V. PORTIQUE SUD ET NOUVEAU TEMPLE.

Le temps m'a manqué pour examiner divers problèmes que pose la restauration des deux monuments. A propos du Nouveau Temple,<sup>71</sup> je signale seulement qu'il existe, au Sud du Portique Sud, un chapiteau à gorgerin lisse; son diamètre au lit de pose (1 m. 006) est identique à celui du chapiteau du Nouveau Temple, et le profil découpé sur le chapiteau du temple s'y applique, en laissant un intervalle de 2 à 3 millimètres. D'autre part, dans la partie Ouest de l'Edifice Ouest, se trouve un tambour de colonne lisse, haut de 0 m. 853, dont le plus grand diamètre est à peu près de 1 m. 28, par conséquent égal au diamètre inférieur (mesuré à la pointe des cannelures) des colonnes du temple. Peut-être les colonnes du pronaos et de l'opisthodomé étaient-elles lisses, ou bien cannelées en stuc, comme au temple d'Apollon du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Delphes.

Dans le même dépôt de pierres que le chapiteau à gorgerin lisse se voient trois orthostates de poros à bandeau (hauteur du bandeau: 0.136; saillie: 0.01), hauts de 0 m. 765, épais au lit d'attente de 0 m. 42 à 0 m. 445, provenant d'une assise disposée en double cours (scelllements en T aux faces latérales et à l'arrière). Ils n'appartiennent ni au Portique Sud, dont les orthostates sont en calcaire, ni à l'Edifice Ouest, où

<sup>68</sup> *Mycenae* (1949), p. 85. Il faut supposer que ce temple était également dépourvu de frise: aucun élément n'en a été retrouvé. Les restes d'architecture hellénique de Mycènes doivent faire l'objet d'une publication prochaine. Je remercie M. Wace de m'avoir autorisé à publier ici le dessin et la photographie d'un bloc de larmier. Un autre bloc est mieux conservé au soffite: c'est par une méprise de l'architecte qu'il n'a pas été dessiné et c'est intentionnellement que la photographie n'en est pas reproduite ici, à cause des inscriptions qu'il porte depuis la récente guerre.

<sup>69</sup> C'est pourquoi A. Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 85, n. 11, émet l'hypothèse que les blocs de corniche proviendraient non du temple, mais plutôt d'un autel, ainsi que les fragments de sculpture de style dédalique trouvés sur l'acropole de Mycènes.

<sup>70</sup> Proviendrait-il de l'Edifice Nord-Est, si ce monument était un *oikos* à colonnade axiale, tel que celui des Naxiens à Délos? L'amorce de fronton se justifierait mal dans l'hypothèse où le bloc aurait décoré l'angle d'un autel, à moins que cet autel n'ait été pourvu, à chaque extrémité, d'un fronton postiche.

<sup>71</sup> "Second Temple": *A. H.*, I, p. 117-126, pl. XVI-XIX.

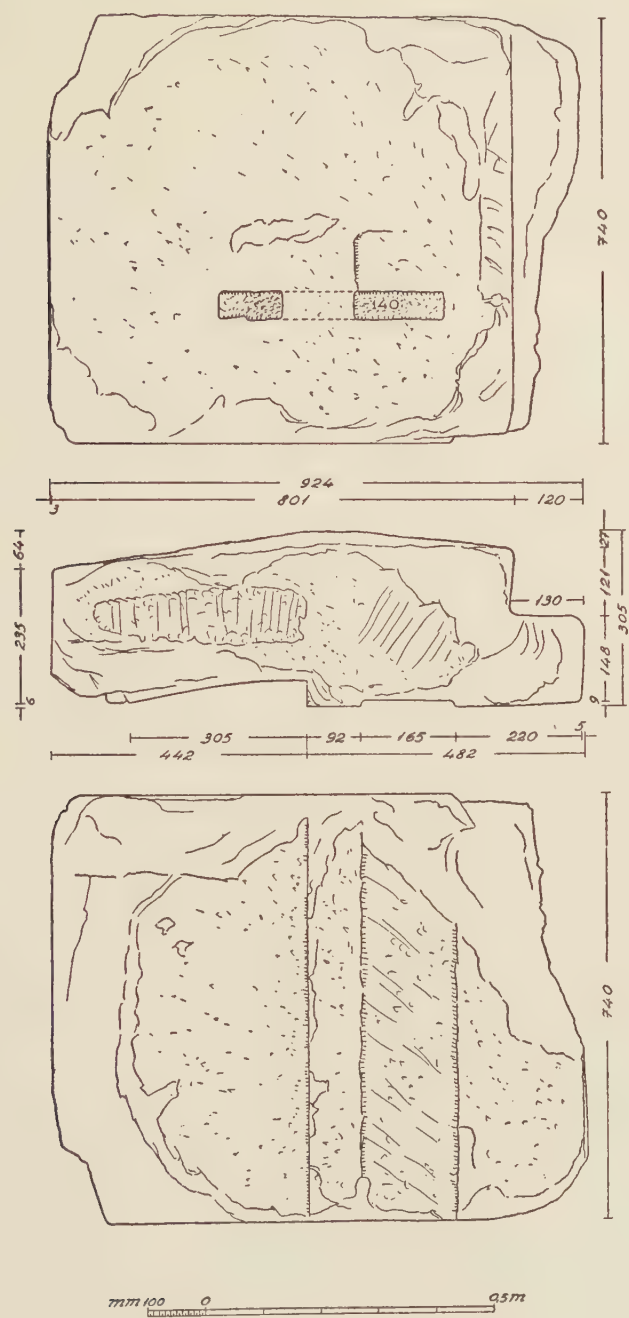


Fig. 16. Bloc de larmier sur l'acropole de Mycènes.



ils diffèrent par leurs dimensions et leur taille. Il y aurait lieu d'examiner l'hypothèse de leur attribution au Nouveau Temple: dans la restauration proposée par Tilton (*A. H.*, I, p. 127, fig. 64), les murs de la cella ne comportent pas d'orthostates à bandeau.<sup>71a</sup>

Le Portique Sud <sup>72</sup> (Pl. 67a) est, de tous les monuments du sanctuaire, le plus finement achevé. La précision et la délicatesse du travail des orthostates (Pl. 68), du chapiteau et du larmier dénotent une technique plus soignée que celle des blocs du Nouveau Temple. La restauration serait à vérifier et à rectifier sur divers points: on a vu que l'assise de couronnement à bec de corbin et la sima n'appartiennent pas au monument (cf. plus haut, p. 247 et n. 59) et que l'attribution des triglyphes ne peut être acceptée sans discussion (cf. plus haut, p. 249). Grâce à la colonne intérieure entièrement conservée, la hauteur de la colonnade de façade peut être calculée de façon assez précise; mais on ignore son diamètre inférieur et, par suite, ses proportions. La disposition relative des deux colonnades, l'agencement de la charpente (en fonction des cavités pour le logement des poutres creusées à l'arrière des blocs de larmier: Pl. 67b), l'ordonnance du mur Ouest exigeraient un complément d'étude.

Du moins peut-on établir la chronologie relative du Nouveau Temple et du Portique Sud, et même déterminer avec une rigueur suffisante leur date de construction, grâce à deux des éléments sûrement connus pour chacun des deux monuments: le chapiteau et le larmier. Tilton considérait le Nouveau Temple comme antérieur au Portique Sud (*A. H.*, I, p. 116, n. 1); c'est en réalité dans l'ordre inverse que les deux monuments ont été bâtis.

Une comparaison des profils des deux chapiteaux (Fig. 17, Pl. 67, d et e) laisse deviner dès l'abord que le chapiteau du Portique Sud, à l'échine moins tendue et plus

<sup>71a</sup> Un nouvel examen des blocs me permet d'apporter les précisions suivantes. Dans le dépôt de pierres du temple constitué au Nord des fondations de l'édifice figure un bloc complet du toichobate, dont je n'ai pas trouvé mention dans la publication. Il est long de 1 m. 48, épais de 0 m. 89, haut de 0 m. 294. Une moulure en doucine court au long de bord antérieur. Une partie du lit d'attente est malheureusement recouverte par une autre pierre. Un trait incisé a ce lit, au long de la moulure, indique que le mur était épais de 0 m. 83 environ. Un trou de levier et un trou de goujon placés près du bord antérieur montrent que les orthostates étaient disposées normalement en deux rangées adossées. Un trait gravé à hauteur de l'une des extrémités du trou de goujon prouve que le joint de la rangée extérieure d'orthostates tombait exactement au milieu de la longueur du bloc de toichobate. De ces observations, on déduit que les orthostates de la rangée extérieure posés sur ce bloc étaient de même longueur que lui et y étaient scellés à l'une de leurs extrémités par un goujon. Les trois blocs d'orthostates en poros mentionnés ci-dessus sont longs respectivement de 1 m. 125, 1 m. 145 et 1 m. 185; ils ne présentent aucune cavité de goujon au lit de pose (où l'on voit, sur l'un d'eux, un A gravé). Mais la longueur et le mode de scellement des orthostates pouvaient varier aux murs du pronaos et de l'opisthodomé, aux longs murs de la cella et aux murs de refend. L'épaisseur des trois blocs au lit de pose est respectivement de 0 m. 41, 0 m. 425, et 0 m. 405, soit approximativement la moitié de l'épaisseur du mur du temple au niveau du toichobate.

<sup>72</sup> "South Stoa": *A. H.*, I, p. 127-130, pl. XX-XXII.

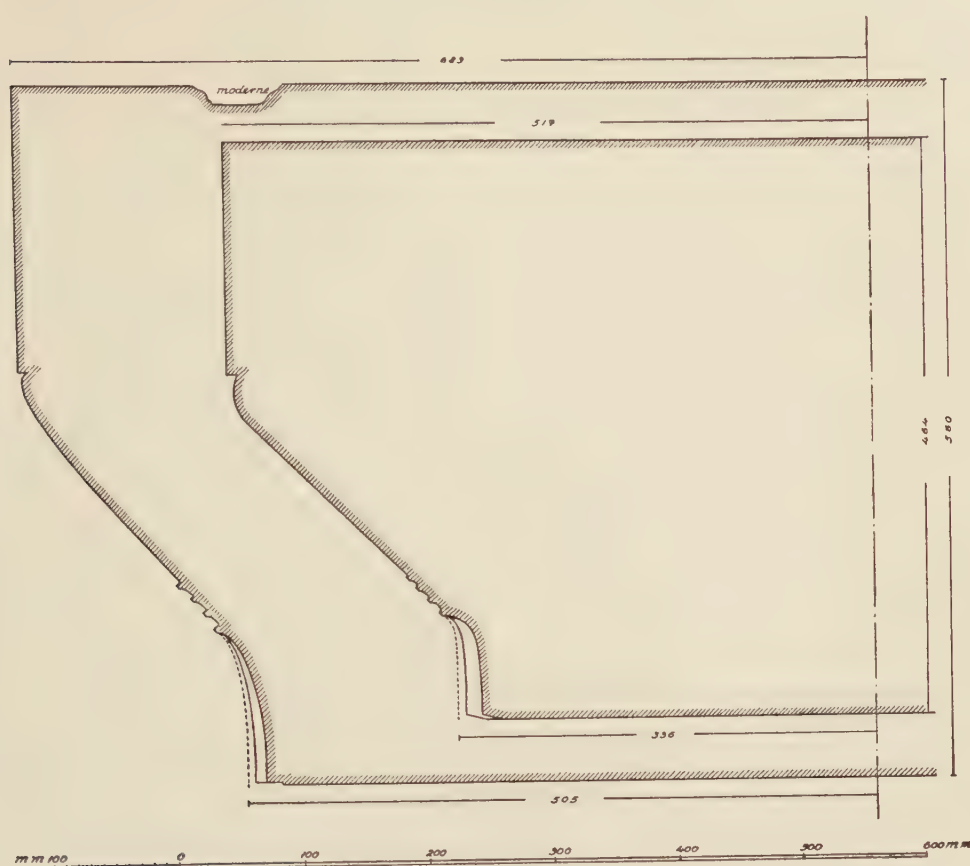


Fig. 17. Profil des chapiteaux du Nouveau Temple (à g.) et du Portique Sud (à dr.).

galbée, est antérieure à l'autre. Cette impression est confirmée par l'examen des proportions des deux chapiteaux. En les comparant à celles d'autres chapiteaux du Ve et du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., on obtient les résultats suivants :<sup>73</sup>

Haut. échine		Haut. abaque	
Haut. chapiteau		Haut. échine	
<i>Héraion, Portique Sud</i>	0,353	Olympie, t. de Zeus	1,012
Olympie, temple de Zeus	0,346—	<i>Héraion, Port. Sud</i>	1,12
Parthénon, ptéron	0,331+	Parthénon, ptéron	1,205
Propylées, E et O	0,320	Propylées, petit ordre	1,271
“ petit ordre	0,316+	“ E et O	1,293
Parthénon, opisthodomé	0,313+	Parthénon, opisth.	1,304
Délos, temple des Athéniens	0,31±	Délos, t. des Athéniens	1,31±
<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	0,30	<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	1,35
Némée	0,283	Tégée, pronaos	1,457
Tégée	0,275	Delphes, Tholos	1,464
Delphes, Tholos	0,2747	Tégée, ptéron	1,518+

<sup>73</sup> Les tableaux que j'utilise ici m'ont été communiqués par M. P. de La Coste-Messelière.



<u>Haut. chapiteau</u>		<u>Long. abaque</u>	
<u>Diam. inférieur chapiteau</u>		<u>Haut. échine</u>	
Olympie, t. de Zeus	0,706	<i>Héraion, Port. Sud</i>	6,3
<i>Héraion, Port. Sud</i>	0,69	Olympie, t. de Zeus	6,214
Propylées, petit ordre	0,62	Propylées, petit ordre	7,191
Parthénon, ptéron	0,581	Parthénon, ptéron	7,193
Propylées, E et O	0,577	Propylées, E et O	7,431
Délos, t. des Athéniens	0,56±	Parthénon, opisth.	7,690
Parthénon, opisthodomé	0,553	Délos, t. des Athéniens	7,763
<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	0,55	<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	8,1
Delphes, Tholos	0,526	Delphes, Tholos	9,206
<u>Long. abaque</u>		<u>Diam. sous échine</u>	
<u>Diam. sous échine</u>		<u>Haut. échine</u>	
Olympie, t. de Zeus	1,352	Olympie, t. de Zeus	4,595±
<i>Héraion, Port. Sud</i>	1,31	<i>Héraion, Port. Sud</i>	4,80
Propylées, petit ordre	1,273	Propylées, petit ordre	5,648±
“ E et O	1,267	Parthénon, ptéron	5,649
Parthénon, ptéron	1,249	Propylées, E et O	5,862±
“ opisth.	1,241	Parthénon, opisth.	6,195
Délos, t. des Athéniens	1,239	Délos, t. des Athéniens	6,264
Delphes, Tholos	1,212	<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	6,84
<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	1,18	Delphes, Tholos	7,597

La comparaison de ces tableaux prouve d'abord leur valeur pour le Ve siècle av. J.-C. : les séquences obtenues sont d'une constance remarquable. La place où s'insèrent les deux chapiteaux de l'Héraion confirme la date admise pour la construction du Nouveau Temple (entre le temple des Athéniens à Délos, vers 420, et la Tholos de Delphes, dans le premier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle : cf. plus loin, p. 272), et atteste que le Portique Sud est à peu près contemporain du temple de Zeus à Olympie et, en tout cas, antérieur au Parthénon et aux Propylées.

Les autres rapports donnent des indications concordantes : <sup>74</sup>

	Olympie, t. de Zeus	Héraion, Port. Sud	Fin du Ve siècle	Héraion, Nouveau Temple
<u>Long. abaque</u>				
Diam. inf. annelets	1,43±	1,41	1,30±	1,25
Diam. inf. chapiteau	4,94	4,97	7-8	8,41
Saillie échine	5,05			
Diam. inf. échine	4,94	4,78	7±	7,66
Saillie éch. + annelets				
Diam. inf. annelets	5,38	5,42	7-8	9,08
Saillie échine				
Haut. abaque	0,8-0,9	0,96	1-1,1	1,1
Haut. éch. + annelets				

<sup>74</sup> Cf. P. de La Coste-Messelière, *B. C. H.*, LXVI-LXVII, 1942-43, p. 65.

Le même résultat est encore donné par un rapport moins sûr, pour lequel des chapiteaux du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (temple d'Apollon à Delphes, temple d'Asclépios à Epidaure, temple de Stratos) s'intercalent parmi les documents du Ve siècle <sup>75</sup>:

Long. abaque	
Diam. inf. chapiteau	
Olympie, t. de Zeus	1,52-55
<i>Héraion, Port. Sud</i>	1,538
Propylées, petit ordre	1,410
“ E et O	1,375
Parthénon, ptéron	1,360—
Délos, t. des Athéniens	1,355
<i>Héraion, Nouveau Temple</i>	1,352
Delphes, Tholos	1,331—

La comparaison des larmiers des deux monuments ne peut s'exprimer en rapports chiffrés; elle confirme cependant les résultats acquis par l'examen des chapiteaux. Seul le profil du larmier du Nouveau Temple (Pl. 67f) a été relevé par Miss L. Shoe.<sup>76</sup> Le larmier du Portique Sud (Fig. 18),<sup>77</sup> à la décoration plus sobre (il ne présente pas de moulure au soffite), est sensiblement plus ancien.

Un fragment de larmier au soffite concave (Fig. 19), qui se trouve près de l'angle S. E. de l'Edifice Ouest, immédiatement à l'Ouest du Portique Sud, provient presque sûrement du larmier rampant du fronton Ouest du portique: la moulure de couronnement en bec de corbin ressemble à celle du larmier horizontal,<sup>78</sup> et la hauteur de la face antérieure (environ 2/3 de celle du larmier horizontal) est normale dans cette hypothèse.

<sup>75</sup> La seule comparaison dont les résultats ne s'accordent pas avec les autres est aussi la moins sûre de toutes: c'est le rapport entre la hauteur et la saillie de l'échine, qui, selon M. P. de La Coste-Messelière, ne peut être utilisé, et encore sous réserves, qu'après le Parthénon et avant le III<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Il donne les chiffres suivants: Parthénon, ptéron: 1, 425; Héraion, Nouveau Temple: 1, 4; Parthénon, opisth.: 1, 337; Délos, t. des Athéniens: 1, 334; Propylées, petit ordre: 1, 296 ±; Propylées, E et O: 1, 275 ±; Delphes, Tholos: 1, 243; Héraion, Port. Sud: 1, 21; Délos, portique de Philippe: 1,203; Tégée, pronaos: 1, 167.

<sup>76</sup> *Profiles*, p. 69, pl. XXX, 10; p. 110, pl. LIV, 11; p. 159, pl. LXXIII, 24. Cf. en outre le profil de la sima, p. 35, pl. XIX, 8, et celui du couronnement de la métope, p. 50, pl. XXIII, 3.

<sup>77</sup> Il existe des blocs plus complets que le fragment dessiné Fig. 18 (par exemple Pl. 67, b et c). Ce fragment a été choisi à cause de l'état de conservation relativement bon de la modénature; cependant la pointe du bec de corbin est brisée. Les blocs de larmier du Portique Sud présentent, aux faces de joint, deux cavités de forme carrée, une vers l'avant l'autre vers l'arrière (Pl. 67 c), profondes de 0 m. 10 environ: des tiges de bois engagées dans ces cavités reliaient entre eux les blocs. Cet usage est assez fréquent, surtout dans l'architecture archaïque.

<sup>78</sup> Comparer, pour les deux éléments, larmier horizontal et rampant, les profils relevés par L. Shoe, *Profiles*, pl. LIII-LIV et LXXIII. C'est peut-être à des exemplaires un peu postérieurs au milieu du Ve siècle que ressemblerait le plus le larmier du Portique Sud.



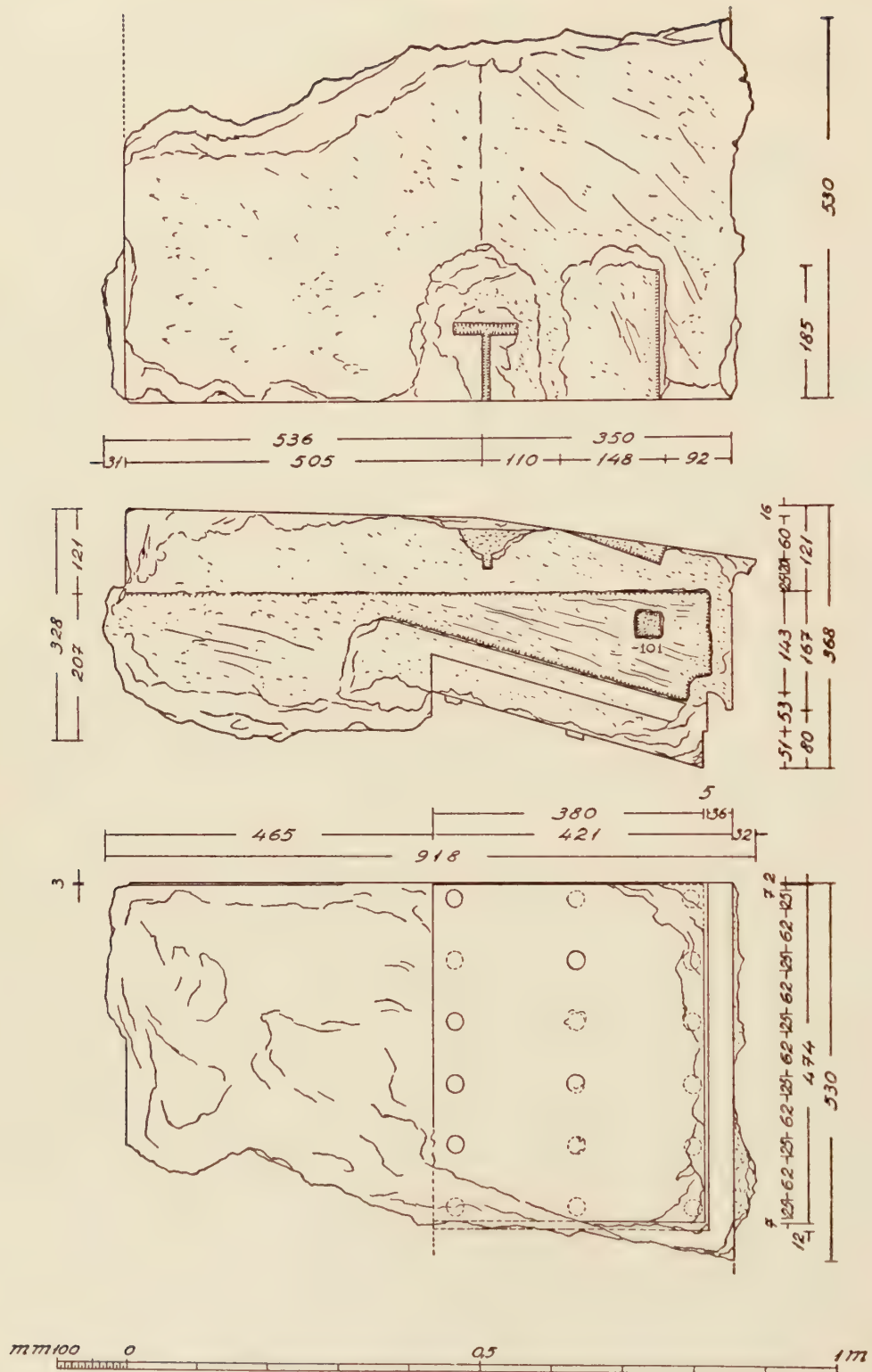


Fig. 18. Larmier horizontal du Portique Sud.

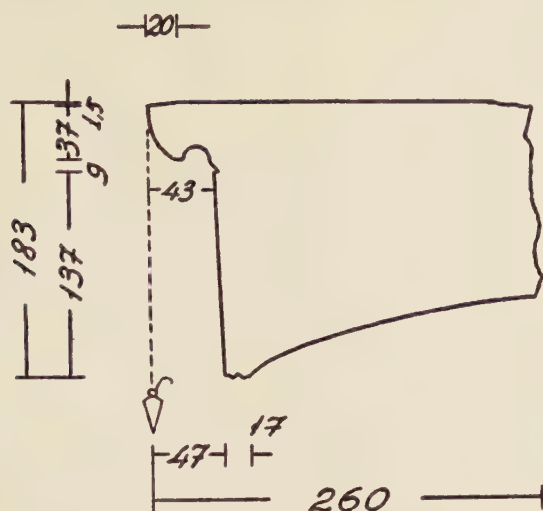


Fig. 19. Larmier rampant du Portique Sud.

## VI. MURS D'ANALEMMA (FIG. 20).

Au Sud et à l'Est du Portique Sud ont été découverts des restes assez importants d'assises de poros (Pl. 69), disposées en gradins et orientées dans la même direction que le portique.<sup>79</sup> Perpendiculairement à cette direction s'élève, à 35 mètres environ à l'Est du portique, un mur (Pl. 70b) fait de blocs de conglomérat local (*A. H.*, I, pl. XIII, A). Entre le portique et ce mur se voient en divers points soit des blocs isolés de poros, soit des entailles dans la pente rocheuse ménagées pour l'encastrement des blocs. A 1m, 50 environ au-dessous du niveau de la terrasse du Nouveau Temple,<sup>80</sup> à l'Ouest d'une fondation carrée (*A. H.*, I, pl. IV, n° XI), subsistent des restes de trois assises (une seule est portée sur le plan *A. H.*, I, pl. XX). Par conséquent ces assises de poros s'étendaient, en longueur, du Portique Sud au mur de conglomérat et, en hauteur, d'un niveau inférieur à celui du portique jusqu'à celui de la terrasse du Nouveau Temple.

En outre, contre la face Est du mur de conglomérat, à 2m, 50 environ au-dessous du niveau de la terrasse du temple, ont été mises au jour d'autres assises de poros, également disposées en gradins, mais d'une hauteur à peu près double des précédentes et orientées suivant une direction oblique par rapport à celle du Portique Sud. Ces assises se sont effondrées depuis l'époque de la fouille, mais, à plusieurs mètres plus bas, également à l'Est et à proximité immédiate du mur de conglomérat, subsistent des restes d'autres assises (non indiqués sur le plan *A. H.*, I, pl. XX).

<sup>79</sup> "The steps": *A. H.*, I, p. 130-131, pl. XX (sur ce plan, trop schématique, beaucoup de détails ne sont pas portés).

<sup>80</sup> Le niveau de la terrasse devait coïncider à peu près avec celui des assises de fondation du temple demeurées en place.



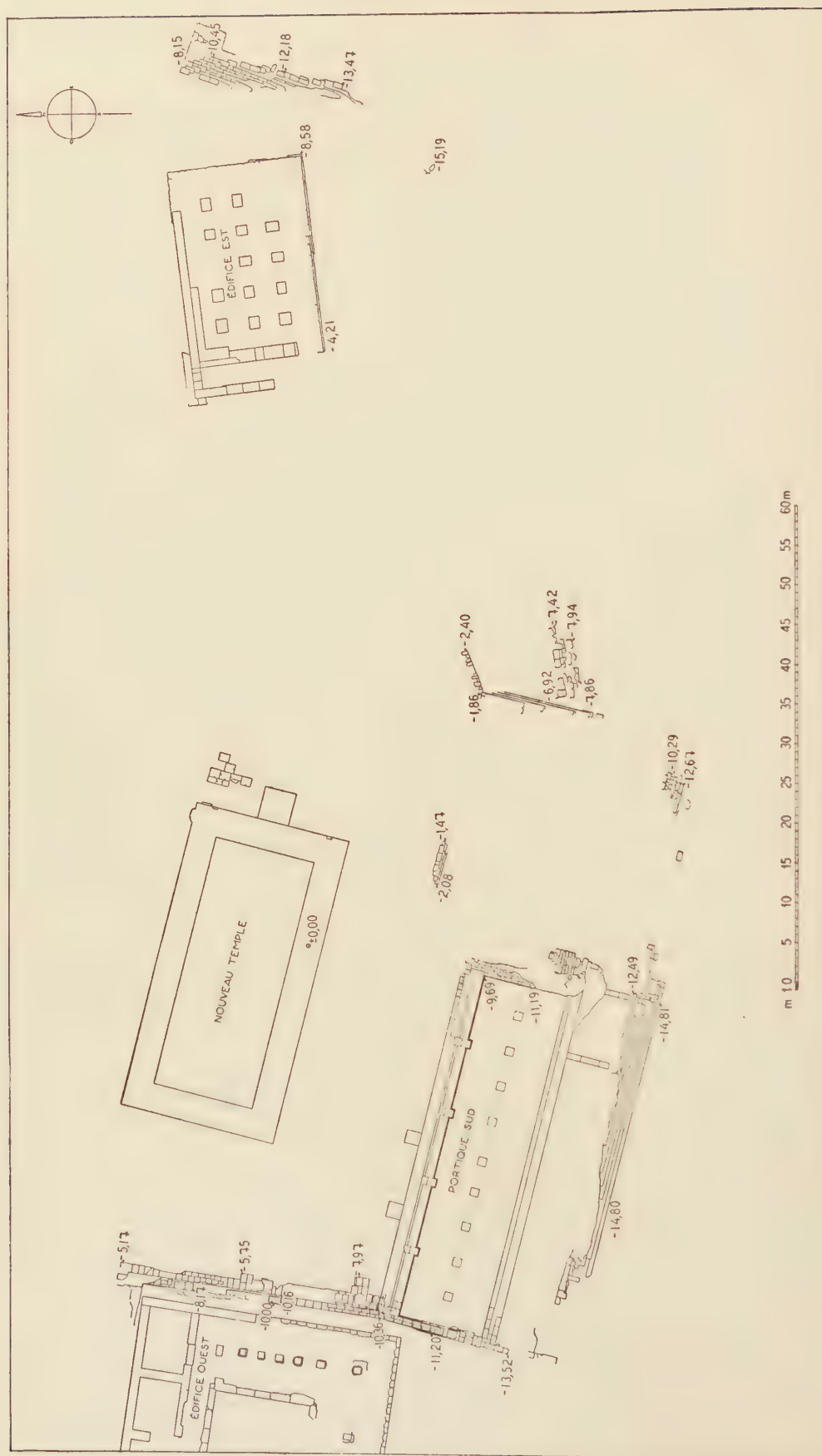


Fig. 20. Murs d'analemma de l'Héraion d'Argos.

Tilton interprétait ces vestiges comme ceux de deux escaliers, l'un monumental, l'autre étroit et limité à quelques marches (*A. H.*, I, pl. V et VI). Pour le petit escalier, la restauration n'est pas d'accord avec l'état actuel des lieux: l'existence d'assises à un niveau plus bas contraindrait à donner à cet escalier une hauteur sensiblement égale à celle de l'autre; en outre, aucune trace d'un mur d'échiffre n'ayant été relevée vers l'Est, c'est arbitrairement que sa largeur a été limitée à quelques mètres, et il devait se prolonger sur une longueur indéterminée; enfin aucun escalier n'a jamais comporté des degrés hauts de 0 m. 75. La construction, à l'époque classique, d'un escalier monumental, large de 35 mètres et haut de 15 au moins, serait en contradiction avec les usages grecs; l'adjonction, à angle obtus, d'un second escalier serait dénuée de toute raison d'être.

Sur la pente orientale du sanctuaire, en contre-bas du mur Est de l'Edifice Est, où les pluies d'hiver avaient fait apparaître quelques blocs de poros, ont été découverts, au mois d'avril 1949, les restes de seize assises, également disposées en gradins et orientées à peu près perpendiculairement à la direction du Portique Sud (Fig. 21, Pl. 70a). Les blocs sont en moyenne longs de 1 m. 25 et hauts de 0 m. 354. En raison de la forte pente du terrain à cet endroit, les assises, en retrait de 0 m. 40 environ l'une sur l'autre, s'étagent vers le Nord en échelon débordant, chacune reposant en bout sur le sol et dépassant l'assise inférieure de 0 m. 50 à 0 m. 80. Quelques assises ne sont représentées que par un ou deux blocs. Vers le Sud, dans la partie la plus basse, les blocs ont légèrement glissé sur la pente et sont un peu déplacés.

On ne peut mettre en doute que ces vestiges appartiennent au même ensemble que les degrés découverts à l'Est du Portique Sud et à l'Est du mur de conglomérat. Cet ensemble s'articulait suivant trois directions, orientées approximativement O.-E., S. O.-N. E., S.-N. L'accumulation des déblais de la fouille entre le mur de conglomérat et l'Edifice Est empêche d'en rechercher les traces dans cette région. Cependant les sondages pratiqués en contre-bas du mur Sud de l'Edifice Est ont mis au jour deux blocs de poros semblables aux autres, qui montrent qu'un changement d'orientation se faisait à peu près à l'aplomb de l'angle S. E. de l'Edifice Est. Si un mur de même destination que le mur de conglomérat de la pente Sud ne s'élevait pas à cet endroit, c'est vraisemblablement parce que, dans leur partie supérieure, les assises de poros s'appuyaient aux faces Sud et Est du puissant soutènement en conglomérat de l'Edifice Est (Pl. 70c), dont la construction aurait donc précédé celle des gradins de poros.

Supposer qu'on avait ménagé autour du sanctuaire, sur une longueur de 150 mètres environ, d'immenses escaliers d'accès à la terrasse du Nouveau Temple, serait extravagant. Les restes découverts ne peuvent appartenir qu'à un ensemble de murs d'analemma, que complétaient le mur de fond du Portique Sud et le mur d'analemma Ouest, parallèle au côté Est de l'Edifice Ouest (Pl. 71a). Des exemples de murs de soutènement en gradins sont connus dans l'architecture grecque, aux époques archai-





que et classique; le mieux conservé s'élève sur un des versants de l'acropole de Sélinonte (Pl. 72a).<sup>81</sup> L'aspect qu'ils présentent actuellement correspond-il à leur état primitif? On s'étonnerait à bon droit que les constructeurs d'un mur de fortification d'une acropole aient fourni bénévolement à l'assaillant des facilités d'escalade.<sup>82</sup> L'aspect de ces murs évoque, dans des proportions plus modestes, celui des grandes Pyramides de Gizeh; or celles-ci étaient revêtues de blocs triangulaires qui constituaient, depuis la base jusqu'au sommet, un glacis continu. Aucun bloc triangulaire n'a été retrouvé à l'Héraion. Mais l'architecture égyptienne fournit un exemple d'une autre solution, celle qui a été adoptée pour la construction des pyramides à degrés de Saqqarah: plusieurs pans en retrait l'un sur l'autre et séparés par des paliers.

C'est à un parti de ce genre que s'est arrêté le constructeur du mur d'analemma Ouest: les restes conservés permettent d'en restituer l'aspect primitif (Fig. 22). Mais là le mur s'élève presque verticalement, pour contenir les terres de remblai de la terrasse du temple. Au Sud et à l'Est, le problème se posait différemment: les murs s'appuient en partie à la pente naturelle du sol. Une muraille aussi puissante n'était pas nécessaire, et le nombre des ressauts devait être multiplié: en effet, au Sud, entre le pied des degrés qui courent en avant du Portique Sud et le bord de la terrasse du temple, la dénivellation est, très approximativement (d'après la coupe *A. H.*, I, pl. XI), de 15 mètres et la distance de 30 mètres; la pente du mur était donc faible. Il est à peu près certain que, en avant du Portique Sud, les assises de poros constituaient un véritable escalier d'accès au portique, semblable au mur à gradins de la terrasse des trésors d'Olympie (Pl. 72b), qui joue à la fois le rôle de soutènement et d'escalier.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Fougères et Hulot, *Sélinonte*, p. 147 sq.; B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, II, p. 379, fig. 301. Ce mur a été aussi considéré parfois, à tort, comme un escalier. Pace cite, à titre de comparaison, pour l'époque classique, des murs de Lycosoura (cf. plus loin, n. 83) et d'Athènes (sans doute le mur Ouest, en éventail, de l'aile Nord des Propylées). Un mur à degrés est signalé aussi à Halae.

<sup>82</sup> B. Pace, *loc. cit.*, note que la hauteur actuellement conservée du mur de Sélinonte, environ 9 mètres, ne représente qu'à peu près la moitié de la hauteur primitive. On ignore donc comment se présentait la partie supérieure.

<sup>83</sup> Ce mur se divise en trois tronçons de direction légèrement différente. Dans sa partie Ouest, au Nord du temple d'Héra, sur une longueur de 48 mètres environ, il comporte onze degrés hauts de 0 m. 27, en retrait l'un sur l'autre de 0 m. 23 à 0 m. 24. Dans sa partie centrale, sur une longueur de 70 mètres (il a été détruit sur une longueur de 31 mètres lors de la construction de l'exèdre d'Hérode), on compte sept degrés, de mêmes dimensions que dans la partie Ouest, qui servant d'escalier d'accès à la terrasse des trésors. Dans la partie Est, depuis le trésor V jusqu'au couloir d'accès au stade, sur une longueur de 67 mètres, les degrés disparaissent progressivement pour faire place à une paroi verticale. D'après les observations des archéologues allemands sur la chronologie des constructions de la région N. E. de l'Altis, le mur à degrés date de la deuxième moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. (332 ou années suivantes): E. Kunze et H. Schleif, *II. Bericht (Jahrb.*, LIII, 1938), p. 42-44. Cette date est maintenue par E. Kunze et H. Weber, *A. J. A.*, LII, 1948, p. 492, malgré les objections de W. B. Dinsmoor, *A. J. A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 419-420, qui voudrait l'abaisser jusqu'au II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. Dinsmoor semble considérer que les degrés ont été appliqués contre la paroi verticale du mur de terrasse proprement dit; il en est ainsi, évidemment, à l'extrémité Est des



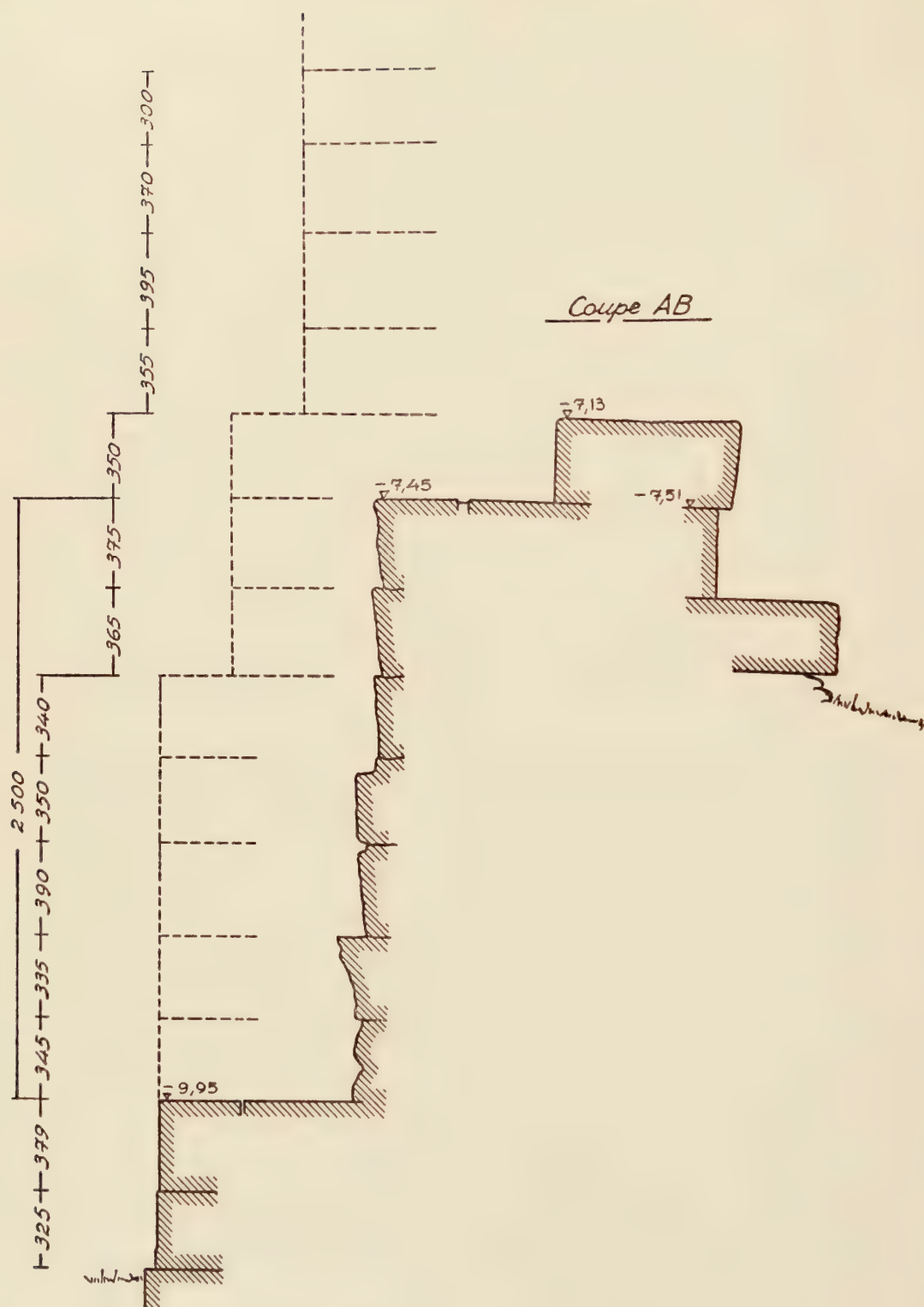


Fig. 22. Coupe du mur d'analemma Ouest.

Sur une partie de la hauteur des murs d'analemma Sud et Est, le décrochement devait se faire à chaque assise. On observe en effet, en trois points des murs du sanctuaire, un même mode de construction : l'intérieur du mur est fait de blocs d'un poros blanchâtre, friable, rongé par les intempéries, d'origine probablement locale, tandis que, pour le parement extérieur, on a utilisé des blocs d'un poros plus dur et plus résistant, prenant à l'air un ton brun, peut-être tiré des carrières de la région de Sicyone, d'où proviennent les matériaux des colonnes et des murs du temple d'Apollon du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Delphes. Ce parement est demeuré en place à l'extrémité Nord du mur d'analemma Ouest (Pl. 71b), où la face visible des blocs est décorée d'un cadre, et quelques vestiges en subsistent aussi près de l'extrémité Sud du même mur (Pl. 71a). La muraille s'élevant là verticalement, les assises présentent alternativement, à la face Ouest, un bloc large et un bloc étroit. Le même parti a été adopté au mur Est du Portique Sud (Pl. 68b). Or, au mur d'analemma Est, les deux matériaux, poros friable et poros dur, sont représentés. La plupart des blocs mis au jour sont taillés dans le poros de mauvaise qualité et appartiennent à des assises de fondation, de même que tous les degrés découverts au Sud et à l'Est du Portique Sud. Mais, à l'extrémité Nord de chacune des huit assises supérieures, un ou deux blocs sont taillés dans le poros dur et leur face antérieure est soigneusement ravalée (Pl. 70a). Quelques-uns de ces blocs portent au lit d'attente des traits de repère pour la mise en place de l'assise supérieure, et le bord antérieur de trois d'entre eux au moins est taillé en biseau. On a donc retrouvé en ce point le parement du mur, qui présentait une suite régulière de ressauts d'une assise à l'autre.<sup>84</sup> La hauteur des gradins, aujourd'hui effondrés, à l'Est du mur de conglomérat (0 m. 75, selon Tilton; cf. plus haut, p. 263), paraît indiquer qu'à ce niveau, le décrochement ne se faisait plus que de deux en deux assises. Au niveau

degrés, à l'endroit où ils s'interrompent pour faire place au mur vertical qui les prolonge (II. Bericht, pl. 15). Mais, sur la plus grande partie de leur longueur, les degrés doivent constituer à eux seuls le soutènement de la terrasse Nord de l'Altis: cf. les coupes dessinées par H. Schleif pour l'ouvrage de W. Dörpfeld, *Alt-Olympia*, II (1935), pl. 5 à 8. D'ailleurs l'adjonction à un mur de soutènement d'une volée de degrés, dont le seul rôle eût été de faciliter l'accès à la terrasse Nord, pourrait se justifier dans la partie occupée par les trésors; elle n'aurait aucune raison d'être au Nord du temple d'Héra, où la terrasse n'était pas bâtie. Quant au mur à degrés découvert au-dessus du temple de Despoina à Lycosoura (cf. B. Leonardos, Πρακτ. Ἀρχ. Ἑτ., 1896, p. 115, pl. 1: description sommaire et plan schématique), il ne semble pas qu'il ait fait communiquer la terrasse du temple avec une terrasse supérieure. S'il est exact qu'il couvrait seulement le flanc Sud du temple du côté de la pente de la montagne, sur une longueur de 29 mètres environ, il ne jouait pas d'autre rôle que celui d'analemma. Il comporte dix degrés de calcaire, hauts de 0 m. 27 à 0 m. 33; la profondeur de la face de foulée diminue de façon à peu près constante, de 0 m. 80 à 0 m. 45, à mesure qu'on s'élève.

<sup>84</sup> Un détail est malaisé à interpréter: à cinq des huit assises supérieures, et généralement de deux en deux assises, le dernier bloc vers le Nord n'est pas ravalé comme ses voisins (détail visible sur la photographie de la Pl. 70a); dans un cas même, il est placé transversalement. Est-ce parce que le dernier bloc était masqué par la pente du terrain? Mais il devait en être de même pour chaque assise. L'hypothèse d'une rampe en paliers longeant le mur ne rend pas compte non plus de façon satisfaisante de cette disposition.



de la terrasse du temple, le mur devait se terminer par une paroi verticale. On imagine ainsi les murs d'analemma de l'Héraion présentant à peu près l'aspect pyramidant

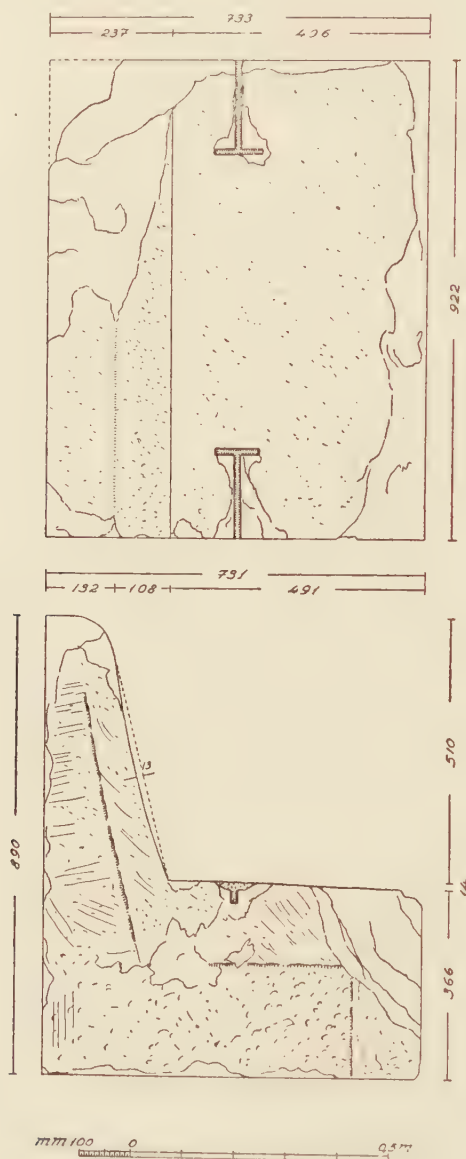


Fig. 23. Bloc de couronnement du mur d'analemma (?).

du mur moderne du barrage de Marathon, et l'effet, pour le pèlerin qui, de la plaine d'Argos, s'acheminait vers le sanctuaire, devait être imposant.

Au Sud du Portique Sud et de l'Edifice Ouest, il existe une demi-douzaine d'exemplaires, complets ou fragmentaires, de blocs dont la destination n'apparaît pas

clairement (Fig. 23, Pl. 71d). Bien que la partie taillée en sifflet ressemble vaguement à un dossier, il ne peut s'agir de sièges : les blocs étaient reliés par des crampons en double T. Les cavités de scellement ont la forme longue et mince de celles du mur de fond du Portique Sud. Je ne vois pas de quelle partie d'un édifice proviendraient ces blocs, et je présente, sous toutes réserves, l'hypothèse qu'ils servaient de couronnement au mur d'analemma.

Aucun indice susceptible d'éclairer la date de construction des murs d'analemma n'est fourni par la technique de la taille et de l'assemblage des pierres. Seule l'étude des rapports de ces murs avec le Portique Sud, inséré dans l'ensemble du système, peut apporter des précisions chronologiques. La construction du portique a-t-elle précédé, accompagné ou suivi celle des murs ? La dernière hypothèse est exclue : le mode de liaison du portique et du mur d'analemma Ouest prouve que le portique est contemporain du mur Ouest ou antérieur de très peu de temps (cf. plus loin, p. 270). On écartera aussi l'hypothèse de Tilton (*A. H.*, I, p. 128), selon laquelle le mur de fond du Portique Sud aurait été appuyé à un mur de soutènement construit antérieurement : le mode de construction prouve que tout le mur, massif intérieur de poros et parement de calcaire, est d'une seule venue. C'est une puissante muraille, épaisse de plus de 3 mètres, renforcée non seulement par les quatre contreforts qui font saillie à l'intérieur du portique (Pl. 67a), mais encore par de forts massifs qui s'en détachent à l'arrière : elle devait en effet résister, comme le mur d'analemma Ouest, à la poussée des terres de remblai de la terrasse du Nouveau Temple, dont le niveau surplombait de 12 mètres environ celui du portique.

Les trois assises de calcaire du mur de fond sont remplacées, aux murs Est et Ouest du portique, par deux assises de même matière : un socle haut de 0 m. 26 supportant des orthostates à bandeau hauts de 0 m. 86. L'angle N. E. du portique s'encastrait dans le rocher naturel, profondément entaillé,<sup>85</sup> et le mur Est, dont la face intérieure était seule visible, s'y appuyait sur une partie de sa hauteur. Il ne comporte qu'une seule rangée d'orthostates, servant de parement à un mur de poros (Pl. 68b), dont la largeur atteignait approximativement 2 mètres.<sup>86</sup> A l'angle N. E., la disposition des blocs de poros demeurés en place ne laisse aucun doute sur l'unité du plan et le synchronisme de la construction des murs Nord et Est. Le mur Est n'est pas conservé sur une hauteur suffisante pour indiquer si les gradins y prenaient simplement appui ou faisaient corps avec lui.

La largeur du mur Ouest du portique, libre et visible sur ses deux faces, se réduit naturellement à celle d'une double rangée d'orthostates, soit 0 m. 82. Ces

<sup>85</sup> Au-dessus du niveau supérieur des assises de calcaire, soit à plus de 1 m. 10 au-dessus du niveau du sol du portique, la terre contient des tessons de l'époque mycénienne et de l'époque géométrique et archaïque.

<sup>86</sup> J'ai fait dégager ce mur de la mince couche de terre qui le recouvrait ; seul le bord intérieur avait été nettoyé lors de la fouille : cf. *A. H.*, I, pl. XX.



orthostates sont appuyés à l'extrémité Ouest du mur de fond sans lui être intimement reliés (Fig. 24, Pl. 71c), et l'avancée du mur d'analemma Ouest contre lequel ils butent (Pl. 68 a et c) les empêche de se prolonger jusqu'au revers du mur de fond.<sup>87</sup> La technique même du travail du lit d'attente des pierres diffère d'un mur à l'autre: alors que, au mur de fond (assises de calcaire et de poros), la longueur de la cavité en T (soit la moitié de la longueur du crampon) est de 0 m. 18 à 0 m. 20, elle n'est, au mur Ouest, que de 0 m. 11 à 0 m. 12. Ainsi les détails et les différences de construction de chacun des trois murs du portique s'expliquent par le rôle qu'ils avaient respectivement à jouer non seulement dans l'édifice, mais encore comme murs de soutènement.<sup>88</sup>

A l'angle N. O. du portique, on constate que l'extrémité du mur d'analemma Ouest repose partiellement sur le mur de fond, légèrement entaillé à cet effet (Fig. 24, Pl. 71c). Cette imbrication des deux murs devait se répéter aux assises supérieures. On en conclura logiquement que leur construction a été simultanée, ou du moins très rapprochée dans le temps, et qu'elle faisait partie d'un plan d'ensemble. Lors de l'extension de la terrasse du temple vers l'Ouest, on a construit en première urgence ceux des murs qui devaient retenir les terres: d'abord les murs Nord et Est du portique, et, en même temps ou aussitôt après, le mur d'analemma Ouest.<sup>89</sup> On a ensuite complété le portique en insérant les orthostates et les assises du mur Ouest dans l'encoignure du mur de fond et du mur d'analemma Ouest.<sup>90</sup> Quant aux murs à gradins, appuyés en grande partie à la pente rocheuse, leur construction présentait un caractère d'urgence moindre: elle peut être contemporaine ou légèrement postérieure. Tout dépend de la rapidité avec laquelle les travaux ont été conduits: entrepris vers le milieu du Ve siècle av. J.-C., ils ont pu être terminés en peu de temps ou se prolonger pendant une durée assez longue et impossible à déterminer.

## VII. CHRONOLOGIE DES MONUMENTS.

Avant la construction du Portique Sud et du mur d'analemma Ouest, la pente du terrain s'élevait régulièrement de l'Edifice Ouest en direction du Portique Nord, peut-être coupée par un mur de péribole orienté approximativement N. O.-S. E. Seule

<sup>87</sup> Le plan du Portique Sud, *A. H.*, I, pl. XX, est, pour l'angle N. O. comme pour le mur Est, incomplet et inexact.

<sup>88</sup> Si le portique avait été construit avant l'extension et le remblayage de la terrasse du temple vers l'Ouest, un mur de fond aussi puissant n'eût pas été nécessaire: son revers aurait été libre et visible sur la plus grande partie de sa hauteur.

<sup>89</sup> L'identité du mode de construction du parement du mur d'analemma Ouest et du mur Est du portique (cf. plus haut, p. 267) fournit un argument supplémentaire en faveur de cette manière de voir.

<sup>90</sup> L'observation de différences importantes dans le travail des orthostates des murs Est et Ouest et des blocs du mur Nord comporte une leçon de prudence: les pierres appartiennent au même édifice et ont été taillées en même temps, mais par deux équipes d'ouvriers.

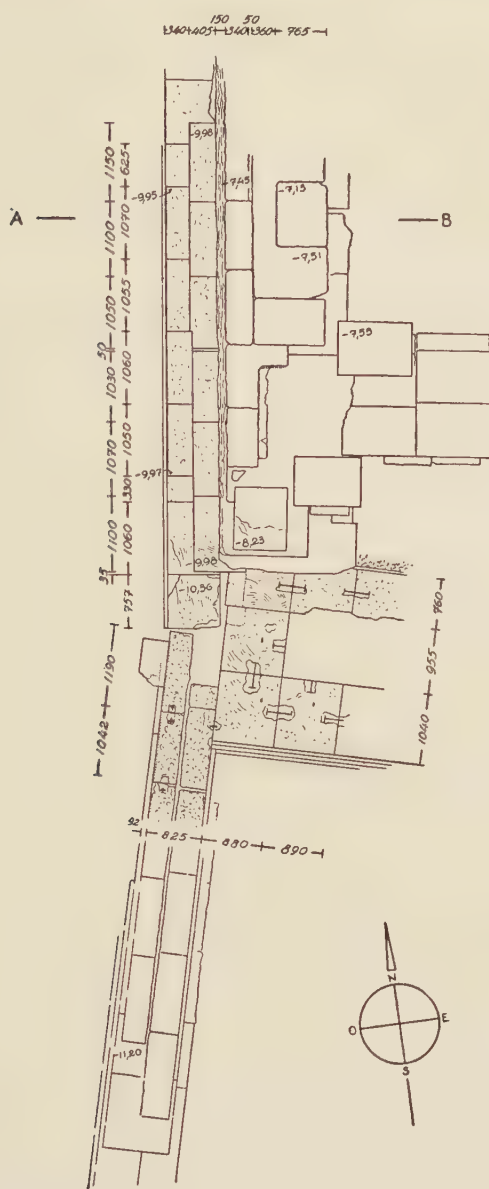


Fig. 24. Angle N. O. du Portique Sud.

la partie orientale de la terrasse était occupée par des monuments: outre la petite construction bâtie sur la fondation carrée XI (*A. H.*, I, pl. IV et XX), l'Edifice Est s'y élevait déjà,<sup>91</sup> et peut-être aussi la construction, de date incertaine, longue de 17

<sup>91</sup> Tilton, *A. H.*, I, p. 116, date l'édifice de la deuxième moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C., mais sans argument valable. C'est un des monuments les plus mal connus du sanctuaire: aucun élément de l'élévation n'a pu jusqu'à présent être identifié (sur la provenance possible d'orthostates

mètres et large d'environ 2 m. 40, probablement un autel, dont C. Blegen a découvert en 1928 les fondations à 10 mètres environ à l'Est de la façade du Nouveau Temple.<sup>92</sup> La construction du Portique Sud et du mur d'analemma Ouest, complétée par celle des murs à gradins sur les pentes Sud, Sud-Est et Est de la plateforme, répond, en même temps qu'à un plan d'agrandissement, à un dessein d'harmonisation:<sup>93</sup> le Portique Sud et le mur à gradins qui l'encadre au Sud et à l'Est sont bâtis parallèlement au Portique Nord, et l'axe du Nouveau Temple est établi suivant la même orientation.

C'est assurément en vue de la construction d'un temple que furent entrepris des travaux aussi importants de terrassement. On ne peut échapper à la conclusion inattendue que le projet d'édification d'un temple neuf remonte au milieu du Ve siècle av. J.-C. et que l'incendie du Vieux Temple en 423 n'a pas eu l'influence déterminante qu'on lui prête. De 450 à 420, Argos a connu, grâce à son traité de non-agression avec Sparte et à sa neutralité pendant la première décade de la guerre du Péloponnèse, une période de paix et de prospérité, propice à l'accomplissement de grands travaux en l'honneur des dieux. Il n'est donc pas interdit de supposer que les plans du Nouveau Temple aient été établis avant 423 et même que les travaux aient commencé avant cette date. Mais, de toute façon, l'édifice n'a été achevé qu'après l'incendie: les parties hautes, d'après les indices architecturaux (cf. plus haut, p. 257 sq.), sont postérieures à 420. Le *terminus ante quem* fourni par les mêmes indices descend jusque vers 380, date approximative de la construction de la Tholos de Delphes.<sup>94</sup> Aucun point de repère assuré ne s'intercale entre les deux monuments. Il

remployés dans l'Edifice N. E., cf. plus haut, p. 236 sq.). Du fait de sa situation, il doit être antérieur au mur à gradins de la pente Est (cf. plus haut, p. 263). Les cavités de scellement visibles au mur Nord ressemblent à celles du mur de fond du Portique Sud (cf. plus haut, p. 243, n. 51). En outre, du côté Nord, l'assise de conglomerat, dont quelques blocs apparaissent sous l'euthyntéria de calcaire, présente des joints obliques, qui semblent dénoter une technique relativement archaïque. Le plan du monument, avec ses trois rangées de colonnes intérieures, est curieux. Était-ce un *oikos* fermé? S'il comportait une colonnade en façade, la restauration d'un portique à trois colonnes ne s'impose pas nécessairement: l'*oikos* des Naxiens à Délos, à colonnade intérieure axiale, était précédé d'un portique à quatre colonnes (accolé postérieurement à l'édifice).

<sup>92</sup> C. Blegen, *Prosymna*, p. 16-17.

<sup>93</sup> Une question non résolue est celle de l'accès au sanctuaire. A l'Est, la pente est raide, et le passage entre l'Edifice Est et le mur parallèle au côté Nord de cet édifice a moins de 2 mètres de large. A l'Ouest, le terrain s'élève en pente plus douce, et la largeur de l'espace libre entre le Portique Nord et l'Edifice Ouest atteint environ 15 mètres. Tilton a suggéré qu'un Propylée avait pu s'élever à l'emplacement de l'Edifice Nord-Ouest (cf. plus haut, p. 235 et n. 39 et 39 a).

<sup>94</sup> L'allongement des proportions de la colonne de la Tholos oblige à abaisser sensiblement la date généralement admise pour la construction de l'édifice: cf. P. Amandry et J. Bousquet, *B. C. H.*, LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, p. 121 sq. (où la date proposée de 400 environ est sûrement un peu trop haute). L'exactitude de la restauration a été mise en doute par W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, p. 234, n. 3, qui estime, à cause des proportions élancées de la colonne, plus normales au IIIe siècle qu'au IVe, que "the extra drum should be omitted." Je tiens à préciser que, en 1938, avant le début des travaux de restauration, tous les fragments de tambours du



en va de même pour les restes, très mutilés, des sculptures des métopes et des frontons : on a souligné leurs affinités d'une part avec la frise du temple de Bassae,<sup>95</sup> d'autre part avec le décor de la Tholos de Delphes et du temple d'Asclépios à Epidaure.<sup>96</sup> En se fondant uniquement sur l'étude de la modénature du Nouveau Temple, L. Shoe a proposé une date voisine de 410.<sup>97</sup> Argos, durement atteinte par les ravages des années 417-414, est alors engagée dans la guerre. La répercussion des événements politiques sur la construction des monuments demeure, dans la plupart des cas, matière à hypothèse. Cependant on peut admettre, en bonne logique, que la période 417-405 ne se prêtait guère à la poursuite d'importants travaux à l'Héraion. On aurait donc le choix entre deux hypothèses : ou bien les travaux étaient terminés en 417,<sup>98</sup> ou bien ils n'ont été repris et achevés qu'après 405. Il est difficile de se prononcer : ni les détails de facture du chapiteau et du larmier, ni le style des sculptures ne s'opposent à la deuxième solution. La statue chryséléphantine de Polyclète a pu être commandée avant même l'incendie de 423, achevée avant 417 et mise en place dans le temple seulement à la fin du siècle. On a relevé dans le style des sculptures la marque d'un esprit étranger à Argos et au Péloponnèse, peut-être attique ;<sup>99</sup> la même constatation a été faite pour certains détails d'architecture.<sup>100</sup> Ces traits s'expliqueraient plus aisément si les travaux ont été achevés après la mort du maître argien.

La chronologie des principaux monuments et murs de l'Héraion s'établirait ainsi :

Mur Sud de la terrasse du Vieux Temple : fin du VIII<sup>e</sup> ou début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Vieux Temple : première moitié du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Portique Nord : VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Edifice Nord-Est : VII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. ou première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup>.

Edifice Ouest : dernier quart du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.

Edifice Est : Ve siècle av. J.-C., avant 450-440.

Portique Sud : vers 450-440.

monument, même les plus petits, ont été mesurés, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, par MM. P. de La Coste-Messelière, J. Bousquet, H. Ducoux et par moi-même, et que la restitution de la colonne est sûre. Quand un monument ne s'accorde pas avec nos idées sur l'architecture antique, il faut corriger nos idées et non le monument. La date de 380 environ convient également aux sculptures des métopes de la Tholos : cf. J. Charbonneaux, *Mon. Piot*, XLIV, 1950, p. 49-50.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. par ex. H. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia* (1946), p. 17-18.

<sup>96</sup> G. Lippold, *B.-Br.*, pl. 664-665 ; Ch. Picard, *Sculpture grecque*, II (1939), p. 351.

<sup>97</sup> *Profiles*, p. 110.

<sup>98</sup> Solution adoptée par W. B. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

<sup>99</sup> Seul Ch. Walston a exprimé la conviction, formulée dans *The Argive Heraeum* et maintenue dans *Alcamenes* (1926), que les sculptures reflètent le style de l'école de Polyclète, sans mélange d'élément étranger. L. Curtius et A. Furtwängler y ont décelé la marque de l'esprit attique, F. Eichler l'influence d'ateliers de la Grèce du Nord ; sur l'état actuel de la question, cf. Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 816-824.

<sup>100</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

Mur d'analemma Ouest: vers 450-440.

Murs à gradins Sud et Est: troisième quart du Ve siècle av. J.-C.

Nouveau Temple: peut-être commencé avant 420, achevé vers 410-400.

Ces dates sont sujettes à revision. Quelques points seulement ont été établis. Un plus grand nombre de problèmes a été posé; plusieurs attendent leur solution d'études, de vérifications ou d'investigations nouvelles. L'Héraion d'Argos mérite un regain d'intérêt. N'offre-t-il pas à l'historien de l'architecture archaïque et classique, sans compter les monuments secondaires, un temple et un portique du VIIe siècle av. J.-C., trois édifices (Edifices Nord-Est, Ouest et Est) originaux par leur plan, leur ordonnance et leur destination, un portique de la plus belle période du Ve siècle av. J.-C., un temple de la fin du même siècle, un ensemble de murs d'analemma à gradins sans équivalent sur aucun site de Grèce?

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## A FRAGMENT OF AN ARCHAIC VESSEL WITH STAMPED DECORATION

(PLATE 72)

A FRAGMENT of pottery of unusual interest (Pl. 72)<sup>1</sup> was found in the Argive Heraion in November 1949. The piece, now in the collection of sherds at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, was projecting from the foundation courses of the north wall of the East Building.<sup>2</sup>

As the profile drawing (Fig. 1)<sup>3</sup> shows, the sherd<sup>4</sup> includes a section of the



Fig. 1. Profile of Sherd (1:2).

bowl and the top of one leg of a kind of tripod vessel. Neither the width of the legs nor the height of the vessel are known precisely, but the proportions of the vase were probably like those of smaller tripod bowls or pyxides common at Corinth.<sup>5</sup> The salmon-pink clay is of coarse texture with numerous large brick-red grits throughout. The light brownish-yellow slip, 0.002 m. thick where the relief of the stamped decoration is highest, is much worn on the rim; on the interior it is so thin that the large

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Miss M. Alison Frantz for this photograph.

<sup>2</sup> C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, Boston, 1902, pp. 116-117, pl. XII.

<sup>3</sup> My appreciation to Miss Marion Welker for this drawing.

<sup>4</sup> H. 0.12 m., L. 0.23 m., Th. at rim 0.04 m., Th. where leg separates from underside of bowl 0.021 to 0.03 m., est. Diam. of bowl 0.38 m.

<sup>5</sup> S. Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, i, *The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*, p. 69, nos. 290, 291, pl. 37; pp. 72, 87; C. Boulter, *A. J. A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 229, no. 34, fig. 25. See also *supra*, p. 201, No. 250.



grits are visible. Comparison of both clay and slip with examples <sup>6</sup> from the Potters' Quarter and elsewhere at Corinth showed clearly that the vase is of Corinthian manufacture.

The decoration is divided into two portions, a zone 0.05 m. high just under the rim, and, below it ornamenting the legs alone, a band 0.02 m. high. The stamp unit of this band consists of two rows of three spirals with a fan-shaped element filling the space between the ends of the two rows of spirals.<sup>7</sup> The full unit of the stamp on the zone is preserved too, for the first two figures on the left repeat the last two figures on the right. This unit of four figures is marked off at both ends, to the left of the figure with the spear and to the right of the second gorgon, by a slight ridge of clay and faint lines of smoothing. This indicates that the stamp was not a cylinder which would have been rolled along continuously, but a mould-like stamp which was fitted against the curve of the vessel.

The scene represented is obviously the pursuit of Perseus by the gorgons. The second figure of the stamp unit, Perseus, like the Perseus on the shield of Herakles <sup>8</sup> who . . . ὥς τε νόημι' ἐποτάτο, has his right arm and hand with palm visible stretched forth at shoulder level as he hastens away to the left. On his feet are winged sandals, and a sword hangs across his chest. The identification of the *kibisis* which one would expect to find in his possession is less certain. The partially-preserved circle between Perseus and the figure ahead of him may be the *kibisis* swinging from his outstretched hand;<sup>9</sup> it may, however, be simply the remains of a filling ornament like the bird flying between Perseus and the first gorgon.

Two gorgons, in identical archaic pose with chest frontal and legs in profile, press hard upon Perseus. Unusual for gorgons, either Corinthian, Attic, or Chalcidian, is the straight-leg running position as well as the peplos split at the waist and the right leg projecting. The *Knienlaufen* pose and a short chiton are more common by far.<sup>10</sup> The closest parallel for this straight-leg running position with skirt split is the Rhodian plate of the late seventh century B. C. on which the gorgon in repre-

<sup>6</sup> Corinth Museum, Inv. C-39-281 (same clay), KP2788 (same clay and slip), C-38-684 (same slip), all unpublished.

<sup>7</sup> An exact duplicate of this spiral pattern is to be found on a bronze volute crater of the late sixth century B. C. which is most probably of Corinthian manufacture. B. Filow, *Die Archaische Nekropole von Trebenische am Ochrida-See*, Berlin, 1927, pp. 43, 45, figs. 38a, b.

<sup>8</sup> Hesiod, *The Shield of Herakles*, lines 216 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For *kibisis* swinging from hand see R. Cook, *B. S. A.*, XXXIV, 1933-1934, p. 60, pl. 19. For the more common *kibisis* swinging from arm see C. Albizzati, *Vasi Antichi Dipinti del Vaticano*, Rome, 1927, pl. 34, 335; *C. V. A.*, Bibl. Nat. I, pl. 46, 1, 2, 5, 6; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, Munich, 1923, fig. 190.

<sup>10</sup> H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia, a Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 79 ff., pls. 18, 43; G. M. Young, *J. H. S.*, LVII, 1937, p. 125, pl. 6, 1; *C. V. A.*, Bibl. Nat. I, pl. 46; C. Smith, *J. H. S.*, V, 1884, pl. 43; A. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pls. 55, 108, 117, 137, 145, 198.

sented as a Πότνια Θηρῶν.<sup>11</sup> The decoration of the peplos which consists of an all-over diamond pattern with a raised circle in the center of each diamond is common in archaic Greek art.<sup>12</sup> The hem of the peplos is indicated by a narrow band of parallel lines slanting from right to left. Among Corinthian gorgons the single pair of sickle-shaped wings is more usual than two pairs of wings.<sup>13</sup> The facial details of the first gorgon are partially preserved: the tongue protrudes, and a tusk projects from each corner of the broad-grinning mouth. There is no trace of a beard or of snakes in hair or at waist; these gorgons are clearly of the later Corinthian type which began to be humanized in the early sixth century B. C. and developed until gorgons became “. . . simple winged human beings of normal proportions with gorgoneia instead of ordinary heads.”<sup>14</sup>

A nude, bearded male figure with left hand resting on hip and right hand grasping a spear leads the procession. Though his identifying attributes are missing,<sup>15</sup> he is most probably Hermes, who, with Athena, figures largely in the myth as Perseus' helper.

In relief pottery, this representation of the Perseus myth is unique except on one complete Boeotian pithos and a fragment of another with a scene of Perseus beheading a strange half-horse Medusa.<sup>16</sup> The technique of the Boeotian representations is probably not stamping, however, but rather free-modelling of clay applied over an incised design with stamped decorations added afterwards.<sup>17</sup>

Waldstein<sup>18</sup> early recognized Corinth as a center for the manufacture of relief pottery, and, at Corinth itself a few sherds have been found. Only one,<sup>19</sup> however, which appears to be later in date stylistically<sup>20</sup> than this fragment from the Argive Heraion, has human figures. In the absence of comparable archaic ceramic relief with human representations, reference to the figure style of Argive-Corinthian

<sup>11</sup> J. Six, *J. H. S.*, VI, 1885, pp. 277 ff., pl. 59.

<sup>12</sup> *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1892, pl. 9 (Boeotian pithos with relief decoration); B. Graef, *Jahrbuch*, I, 1886, pl. 10 (Payne, *op. cit.*, no. 1461, Late Cor. I); E. Kunze, *Neue Meisterwerke Griechischer Kunst aus Olympia*, Munich, 1948, fig. 47.

<sup>13</sup> For Corinthian gorgons and other figures with a single pair of wings see Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 80, fig. 23e, pl. 18, 1, p. 87, fig. 27e; E. Curtius and F. Adler, *Olympia*, IV, Berlin, 1890, pl. 8, 78; B. Filow, *op. cit.*, pl. 8, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> At least two vase paintings of the pursuit of Perseus by the gorgons represent the assisting divinities without their attributes. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1882, pl. 9, 2; C. Albizzati, *op. cit.*, pl. 34, 335; J. D. Beazley, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, 1934, p. 113 (79).

<sup>16</sup> A. DeRidder, *B. C. H.*, XXII, 1898, p. 457, fig. 7, pls. 4, 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 511-512.

<sup>18</sup> *The Argive Heraeum*, II, Boston, 1905, p. 182, nos. 5, 6, pl. 63.

<sup>19</sup> Corinth Museum, Inv. CP-1911, unpublished.

<sup>20</sup> Professor Saul S. Weinberg, who is now working on the Corinthian relief fragments, has kindly suggested a date about the middle of the sixth century B.C. or a bit later.

bronze reliefs<sup>21</sup> and of Corinthian vase paintings<sup>22</sup> suggests a date just before the middle of the sixth century B. C. for the tripod fragment from the Argive Heraion. It therefore fills a noticeable gap in the history of Corinthian relief fragments between the seventh century B.C. sherds from the Argive Heraion and the later fragment found at Corinth. Furthermore, the sherd has interest for the entire field of relief pottery in the archaic period, refuting as it does the statement which Courby was able to make at the time of his study that “. . . on ne rencontre jamais, avant la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, un vase à relief qui puisse exactement se ‘transposer’ en vase peint . . .”<sup>23</sup>

SHIRLEY HERSOM

NORTHFIELD SCHOOL  
FOR GIRLS

<sup>21</sup> W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London, 1929, p. 120; M. Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, XVI, 1892, pp. 353 ff., pl. 11; E. Kunze, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fig. 45.

<sup>22</sup> Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 40, 2; E. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 190; C. Albizzati, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>23</sup> F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à Reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 39. It may be noted that the direction of Perseus' flight on the matrix was to the right, as it is usually represented in vase paintings. See *C. V. A.*, Louvre, III, pls. 15 and 16; *C. V. A.*, Bibl. Nat., I, pl. 46; *C. V. A.*, The Robinson Collection, I, pl. 17; *C. V. A.*, British Museum, III, He, pl. 10, 3; the Nessos vase, *Ant. Denk.*, I, pl. 57; C. Albizzati, *op. cit.*, pl. 34, 335.

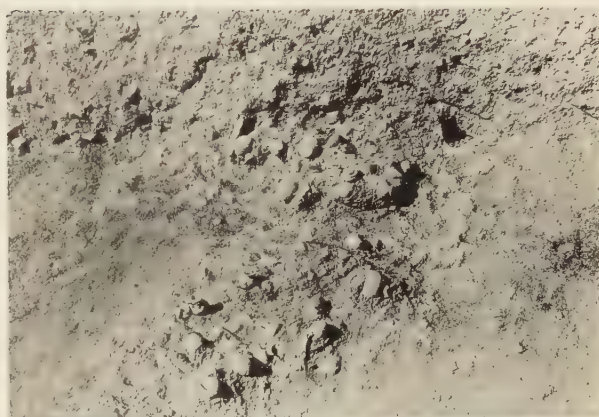




a. Area of Excavation, from Southwest



b. Area of Excavation, from South



c. and d. Archaic Deposit. Miniature Pots



e. Trench 1, Showing Walls of Mycenaean Period, from East

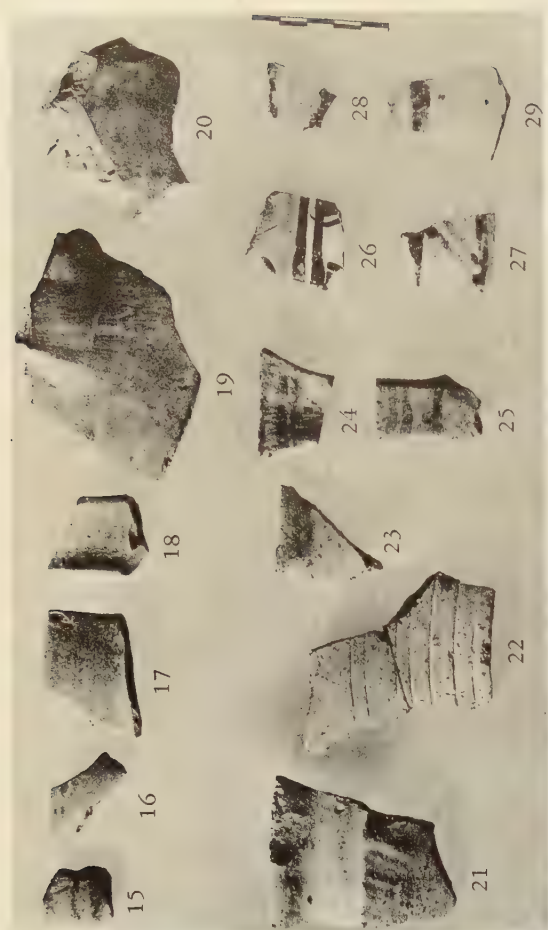


f. Excavation Behind Course 7 of Wall R, from North





Early Helladic Wares



Middle Helladic Wares



Mycenaean Wares

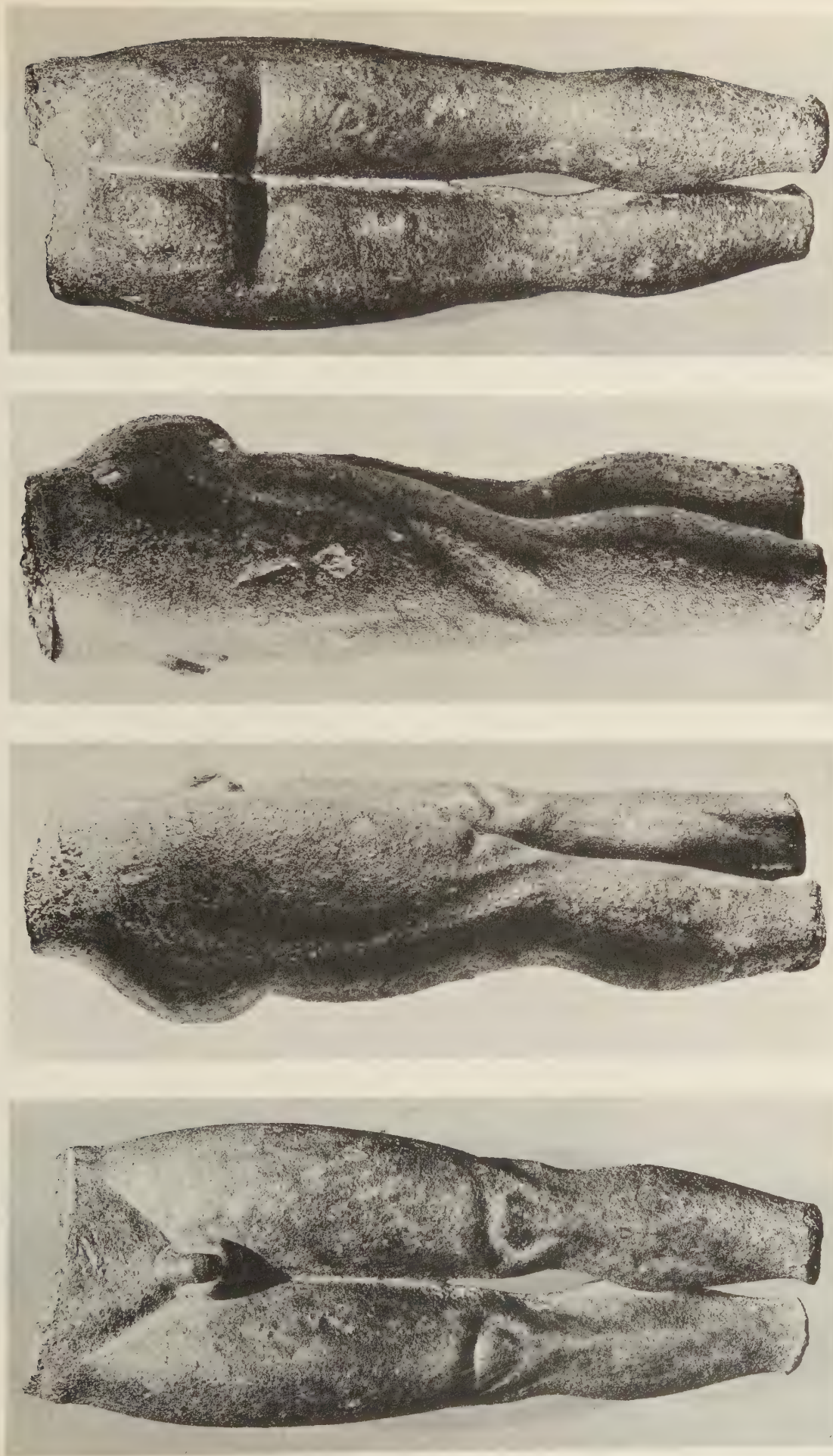


32. Head of Mycenaean Female Figurine (1:1)



35. Fragment of Mycenaean Animal Figurine (1:1)

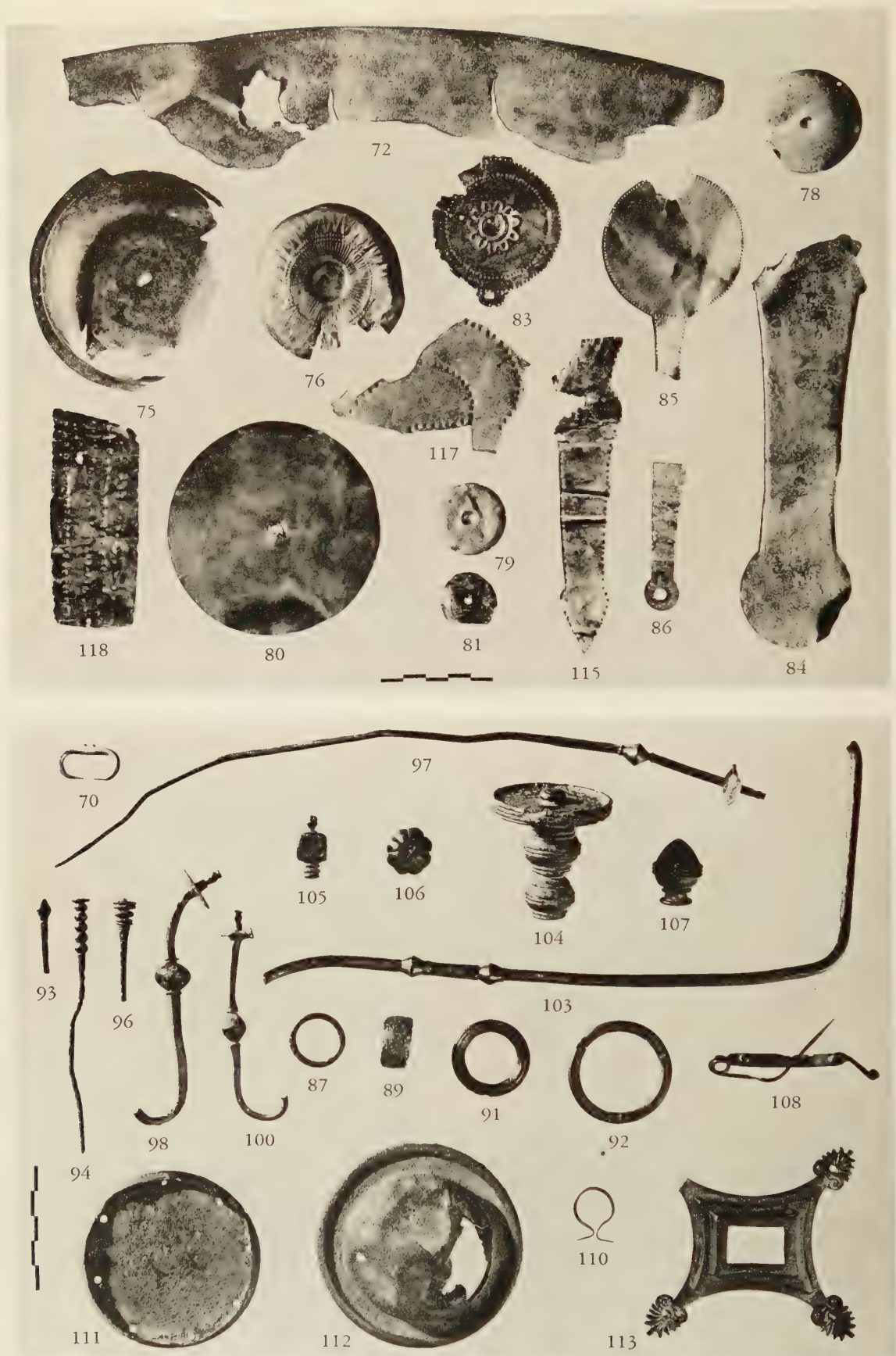




71. Bronze Statuette (1:1)

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Silver Clasp, No. 70, and Objects of Bronze (*ca.* 1:2)



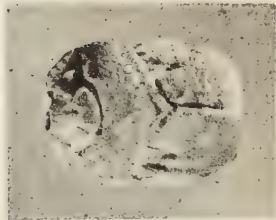
70. Silver Clasp (2:1)



119. Sealstone (2:1)



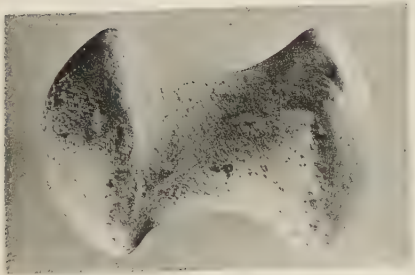
120. Sealstone (2:1)



121. Scarab (2:1)



135. Whorl (2:1)



139. Terra-cotta Spool (1:1)



Objects of Iron (ca. 1:3)





122 (1:1)



123 (1:1)



125 (1:1)



128 (1:1)



129 (1:1)



132 (1:1)



130 (1:1)



131 (1:2)

Terra-cotta Figurines

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133



133



133



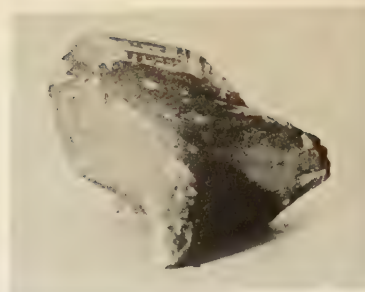
134



134

Plastic Heads (1:1)

JOHN L. CASKEY AND PIERRE AMANDRY: INVESTIGATIONS AT THE HERAEION OF ARGOS, 1949

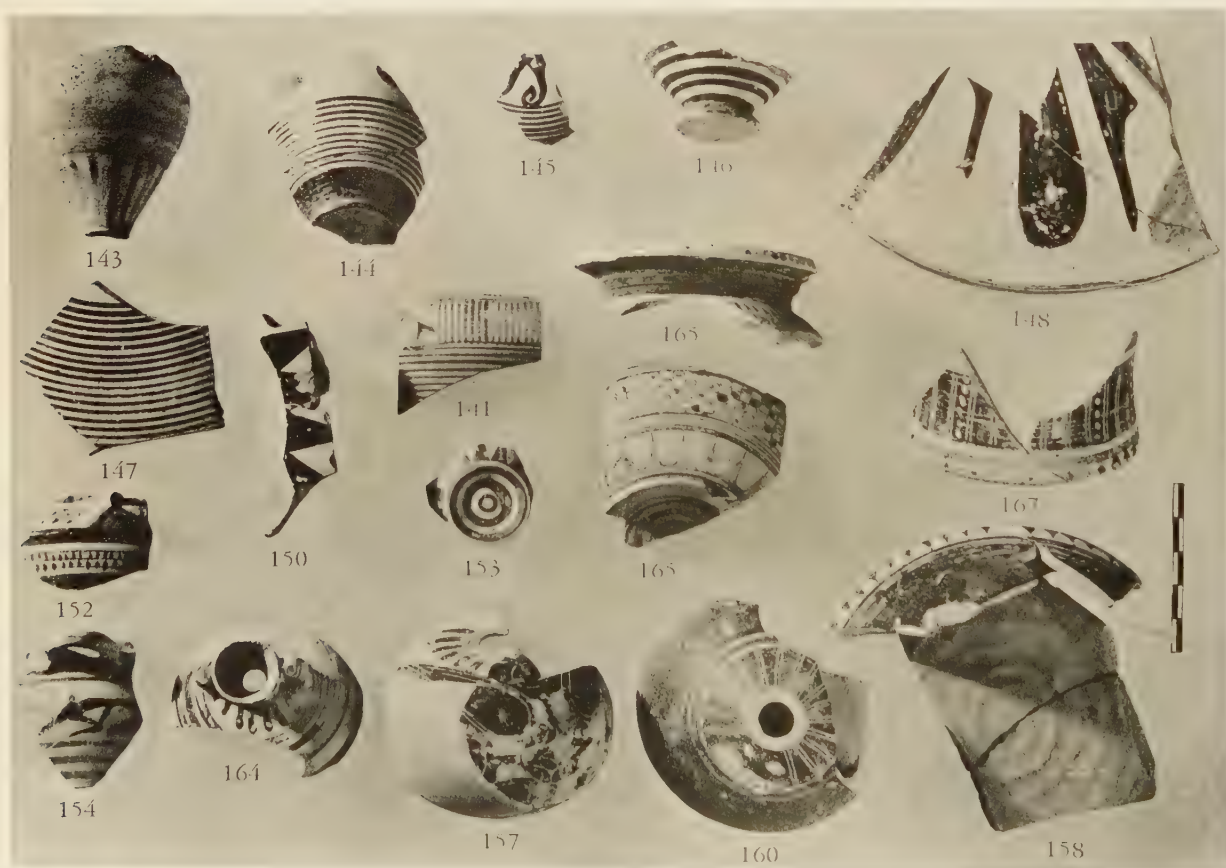


68 (1:2)



69 (1:2)

Geometric Wares (*ca.* 1:3)



Protocorinthian and Corinthian Wares (*ca.* 1:2)





142 (1:1)



149 (1:1)



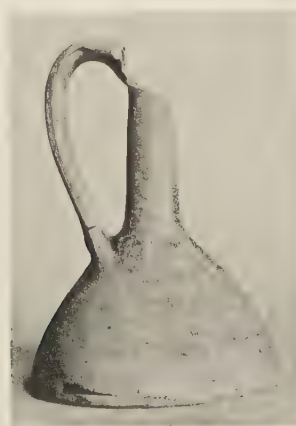
155 (1:1)



156 (1:1)



151 (1:2)



159 (1:2)



162 (1:2)

Protocorinthian and Corinthian Vases

JOHN L. CASKEY AND PIERRE AMANDRY: INVESTIGATIONS AT THE HERAION OF ARGOS, 1949

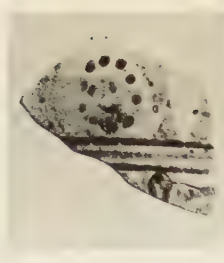




161 (1:2)



166 (1:2)



180 (1:2)



188 (2:5)



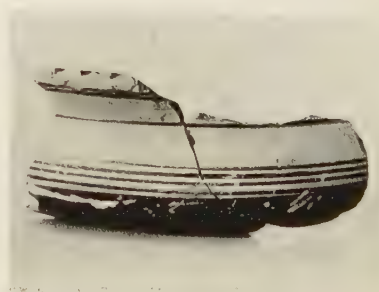
Lids of Corinthian and Argive Fabric (ca. 1:2)



253 (1:2)



185 (1:1)



187 (1:2)



190 (1:2)



192 (1:2)



195



196 (1:2)



197 (1:2)



198 (1:2)



199 (1:2)



200 (1:2)



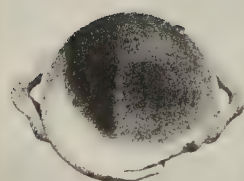
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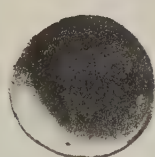
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203 (1:2)



184



183



186



194



237



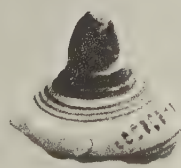
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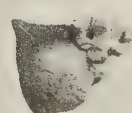
251



252



308



263

Vases and Sherds of Argive Wares. (ca. 1:2)

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204 (1:2)



205 (1:2)



207 (1:2)



206 (1:2)



211 (1:2)



212 (1:2)



214 (1:2)



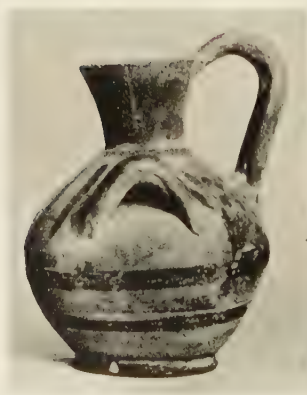
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222 (1:2)



223 (1:2)



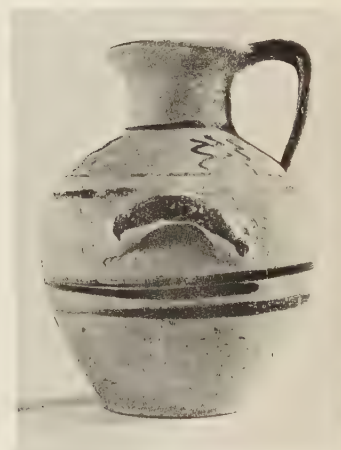
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235 (1:2)





239 (1:1)



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244 (1:1)

243 (1:1)



247 (1:2)

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248 (1:2)



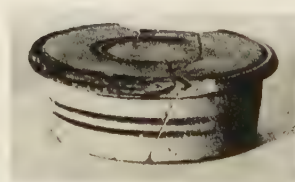
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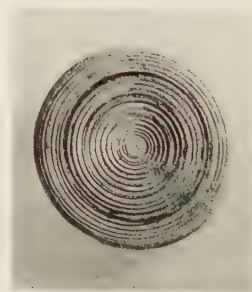
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268 (1:1)



306 (1:2)



307 (1:2)



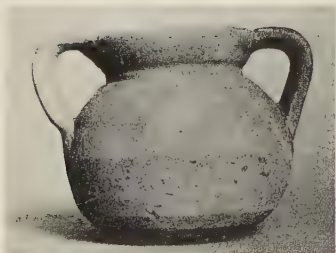
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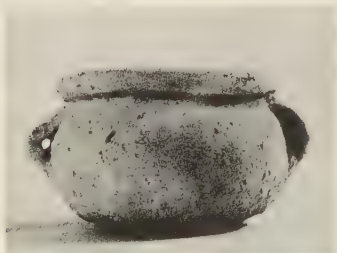
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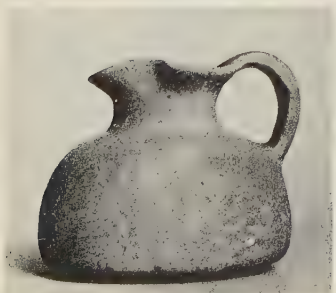
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311 (1:2)



312 (1:2)



271 (1:2)



272 (1:2)



273 (1:2)



313 (1:2)





275 (1:2)



276 (1:2)



277 (1:2)



279 (1:2)



280 (1:2)



282 (1:2)



284 (1:2)



285 (1:2)



286 (1:2)



290 (1:2)



292 (1:2)



297 (1:2)



298 (1:2)



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300 (1:2)



301 (1:2)



302 (1:2)



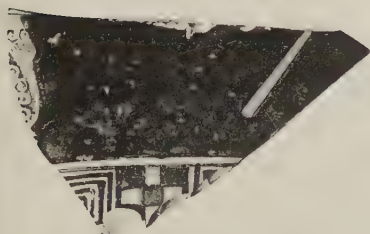
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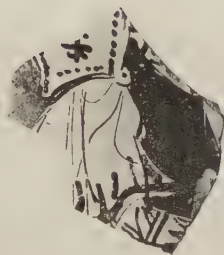
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305 (1:2)



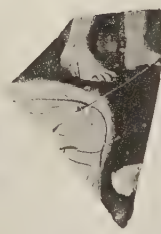
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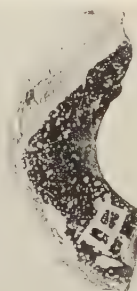
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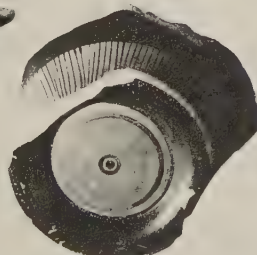
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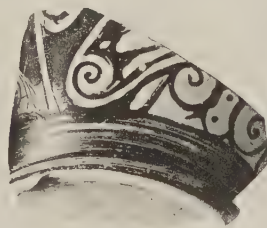
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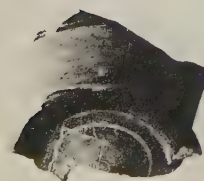
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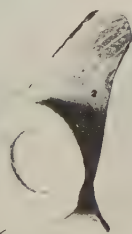
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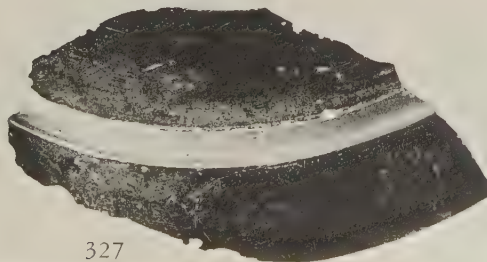
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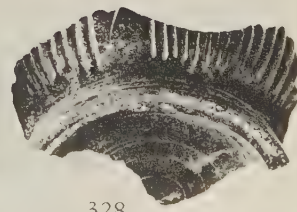
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327



328

Sherds of Red-Figure and Black Glazed Wares. (ca. 1:2)





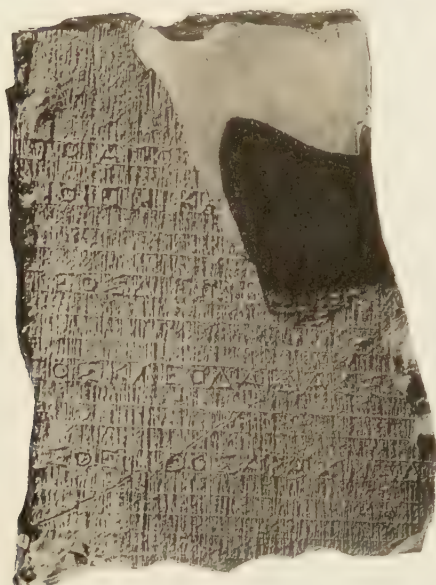
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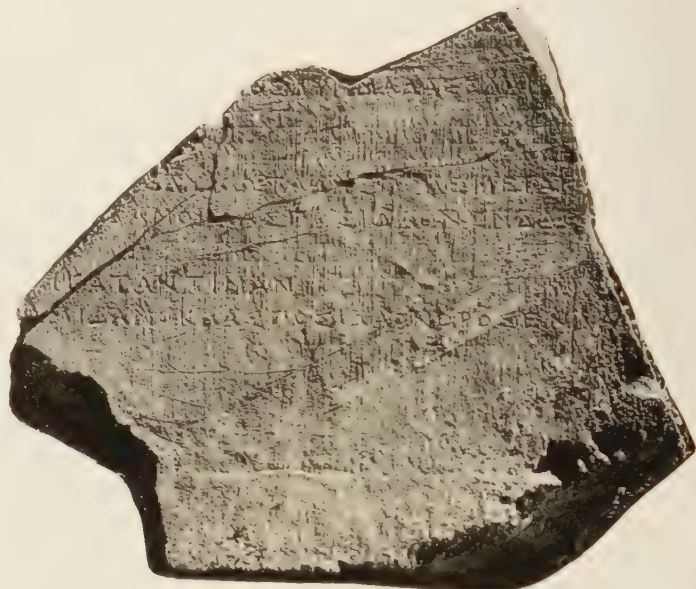
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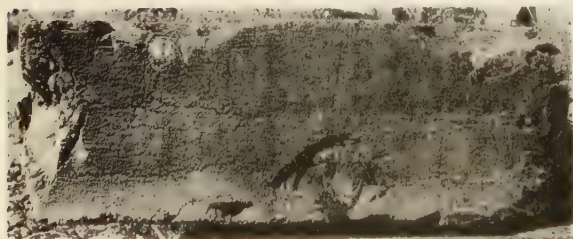
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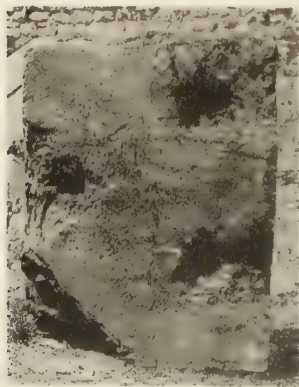
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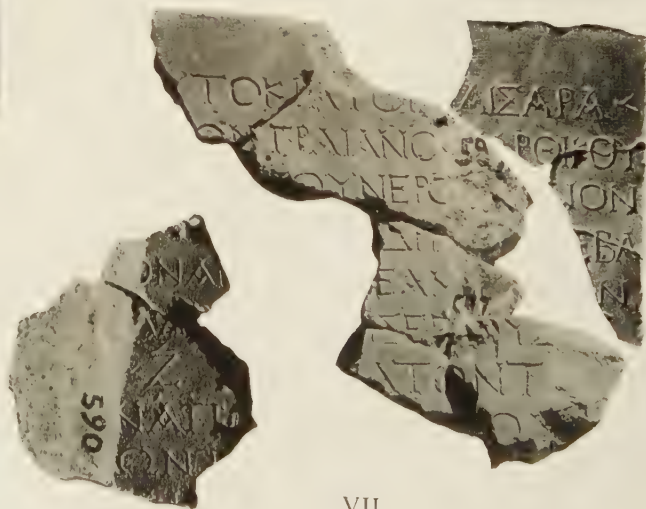
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IV

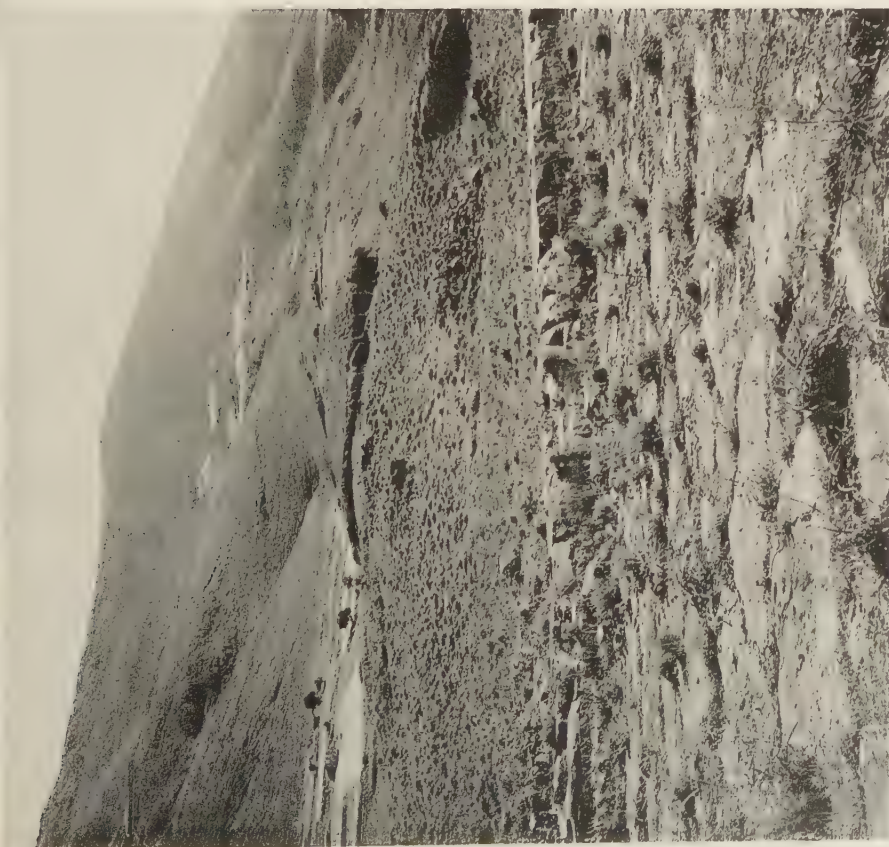


IV (Top view)

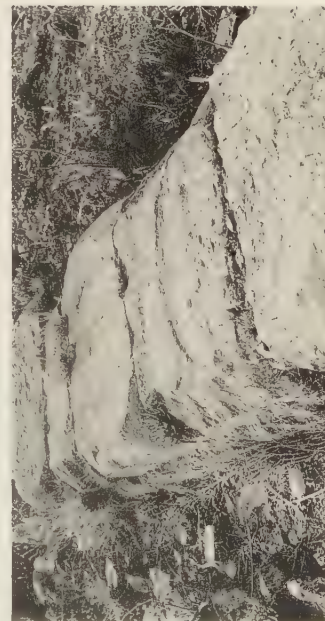


VII





a. Terrasse et stylobate du Vieux Temple



b. Trace d'une colonne du Vieux Temple



c. Stylobate du Portique Nord



d. Base de la colonnade intérieure du Portique Nord

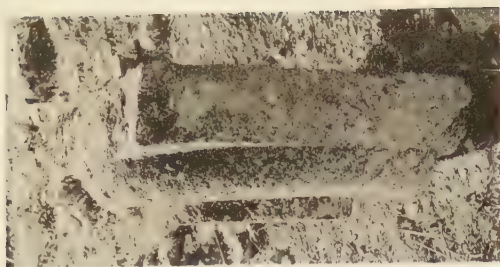




a. Portique Nord



c. et d. Chapiteau C



b. Tambour de colonne



e. et f. Chapiteau D





a. Angle N.O.



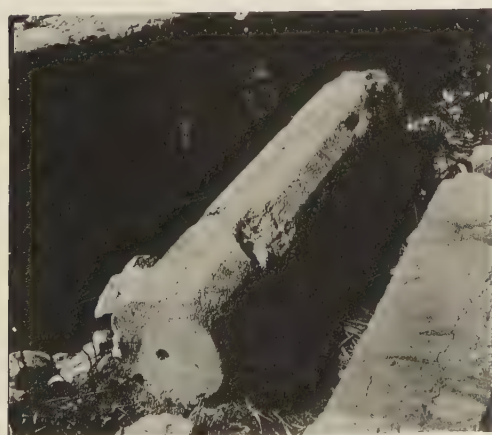
b. Inscription sur un orthostate remployé



c. Cavité de scellement sur un orthostate remployé



d. Fragment d'un fût de colonne



e. Fût de la colonnade intérieure



f. Partie supérieure du fût

Edifice Nord-Est





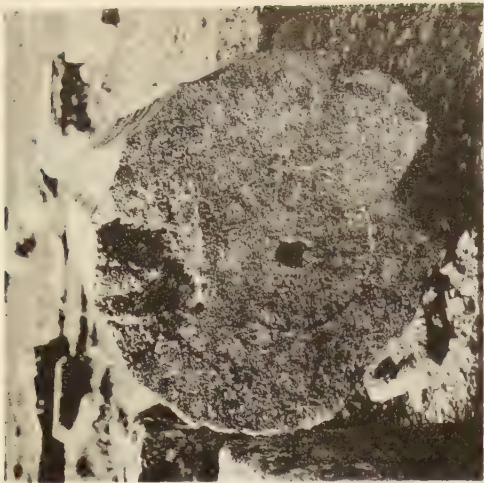
a. Vue d'ensemble



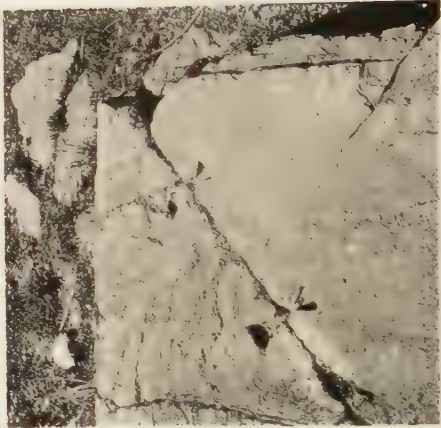
b. Mur Sud



c. Orthostates et assises du mur  
Sud de la chambre Est



d. Lit de pose d'un tambour de colonne



Edifice Ouest



e. et f. Détails du stylobate du péristyle





a.-c. Bloc de larmier



d.-f. Bloc de l'assise de couronnement du mur  
Edifice Ouest



PIERRE AMANDRY: OBSERVATIONS SUR LES MONUMENTS DE L'HÉRAION D'ARGOS





a. et b. Chapiteau E (Edifice Ouest)



c. Triglyphe  
(Edifice Ouest ou Portique Sud)



d. Larmier (Edifice Ouest?)



e. Larmier d'angle



f. Larmier (Mycènes)

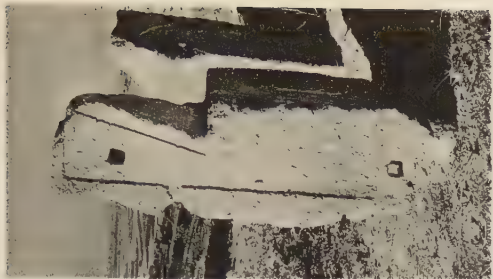




a. Portique Sud



b. Larmier du Portique Sud: lit d'attente



c. Larmier du Portique Sud: face latérale



d. Chapiteau du Portique Sud



e. Chapiteau du Nouveau Temple



f. Larmier du Nouveau Temple

PIERRE AMANDRY: OBSERVATIONS SUR LES MONUMENTS DE L'HÉRAION D'ARGOS





a. Portique Sud (mur Ouest); Edifice Ouest (angle S.E.);  
mur d'analemma Ouest; Nouveau Temple (angle S.O.)



b. Portique Sud (mur Est)



c. Angle N.O. du Portique Sud et mur  
d'analemma Ouest





a. Degrés au Sud du Portique Sud



b. Degrés au Sud et à l'Est du Portique Sud





a. Degrés à l'Est de l'Edifice Est



b. Mur de conglomérat



c. Mur Sud de l'Edifice Est





a. Mur d'analemma Ouest



b. Extrémité Nord du mur d'analemma Ouest



c. Extrémité Sud du mur d'analemma Ouest et angle N.O.  
du Portique Sud



d. Bloc de couronnement du mur  
d'analemma (?)





a. Sélinonte. Mur de l'acropole



b. Olympie. Mur de la terrasse des trésors

PIERRE AMANDRY: OBSERVATIONS SUR LES MONUMENTS DE L'HÉRAION D'ARGOS



SHIRLEY HERSOM: A FRAGMENT OF AN ARCHAIC VESSEL WITH STAMPED DECORATION

## TWO ATHENIAN GRAVE GROUPS OF ABOUT 900 B.C.

(PLATES 73-78)

IN HIS report <sup>1</sup> of the work done in and about the Agora in 1949 Professor Homer Thompson records the finding of the cremation burial of a warrior-craftsman dating from the late Protogeometric or early Geometric period. The discovery of a fairly rich grave of that hitherto little-known phase of transition is in itself a welcome archaeological event, and the contents of the tomb have a strong claim to attention. In the present instance the interest is perhaps increased through a comparison of the pottery from the grave with two vases, now in a private collection in Athens, that are said to have come, together with a bronze bowl, from a burial somewhere along Piraeus Street.

Little information is available concerning this accidental find, made some fifteen or twenty years ago. The vendor reported merely that he had come upon a burial while digging a trench for the foundations of a house, and the exact location of the latter was not divulged. The pots were taken out and thrust unceremoniously into a gunny sack by the finder, who thus conveyed them directly to Shoe Lane. The bronze bowl still sat in the mouth of a large oinochoe, where it may have been placed as a lid, and a small jug was nested in the bowl. It has seemed worth while to give an account of this hitherto unpublished material; the bronze bowl and the two pots have, therefore, been described in a catalogue following that of the objects from the grave excavated in 1949.

The Agora burial, designated as Grave XXVII, lay about 100 m. south of the boundary stone that stood at the southwestern corner of the Agora, barely 3 m. to the east of Grave XXVI, a rich cremation burial which was discovered in 1948 and has been published by R. S. Young,<sup>2</sup> and approximately the same distance to the south of an infant's pithos burial of the late Geometric period (Grave XXVIII) which also came to light in 1949.<sup>3</sup> Grave XXVII, like Grave XXVI, was a roughly rectangular shaft which had been sunk through earth on the west and a rising slope of bedrock on the east. The cutting was *ca.* 0.90 m. long from east to west, 0.60 m. wide and 0.60 m. deep against the rock (Fig. 1, plan and section). At the west only a shallow

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 330. For the privilege of publishing the grave I am indebted to Professor Thompson, for information about the excavation and the objects recovered as well as for much other help to Evelyn L. Smithson and Lucy Talcott, for the photographs to Alison Frantz, for the plans and sections to John Travlos, and for the drawings and watercolor to Marian Welker.

<sup>2</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 275-297, pls. 66-72.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 330 f.



depression remained to indicate the floor of the shaft. In the eastern half of the grave an oval pit had been dug to a depth of *ca.* 0.60 m. below the floor to receive the amphora that contained the burned bones of the cremated warrior. The urn, No. 15, a neck amphora 0.53 m. high, stood upright in the pit; its mouth was covered by a large field stone which projected slightly above the grave floor, as shown in the sections (Figs. 1, 2). As seen in the same illustrations, around the cover was a packing of small stones

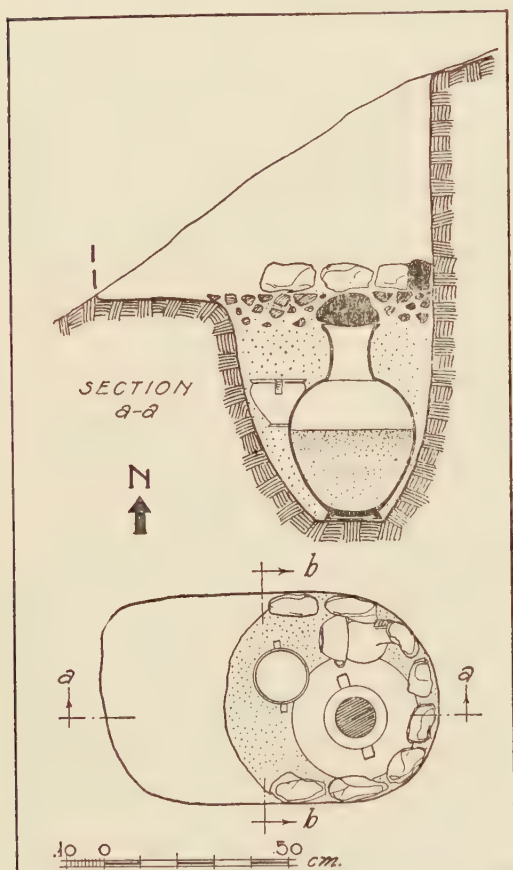


Fig. 1. Grave XXVII: Plan and Section (East-West)

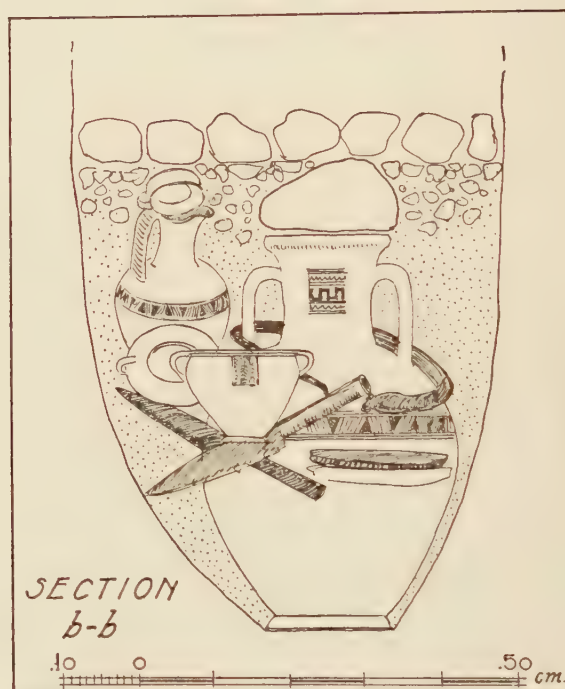


Fig. 2. Grave XXVII: Section (North-South)

enclosed in a ring of field stones which was open toward the west. On this side the packing had spread over on to the floor of the grave.

The packing contained fragments of pottery, burnt and unburnt, from which an oinochoe, No. 17, and a pyxis with its lid, No. 21, were restored, a clay ball, No. 14, an iron pin, No. 11, lumps of charcoal, and remains of carbonized figs and grapes. This was undoubtedly the debris swept up and removed from the pyre, which had evidently been burned elsewhere. The significance of the grapes and figs in connection

with the burial rites has been discussed by R. S. Young in his account of Grave XXVI (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 282). The sweepings lay scattered in the upper part of the packing, and did not appear below the rim of the amphora. The small stones had been packed closely around the neck and shoulder of the pot down to its greatest diameter, where the converging sides of the pit left little spare room about the jar.

To the north and above the shoulder of the amphora lay a cluster of four vases (Pl. 73b), intact except for a few chips, and not burnt: a goblet (No. 18), a two-

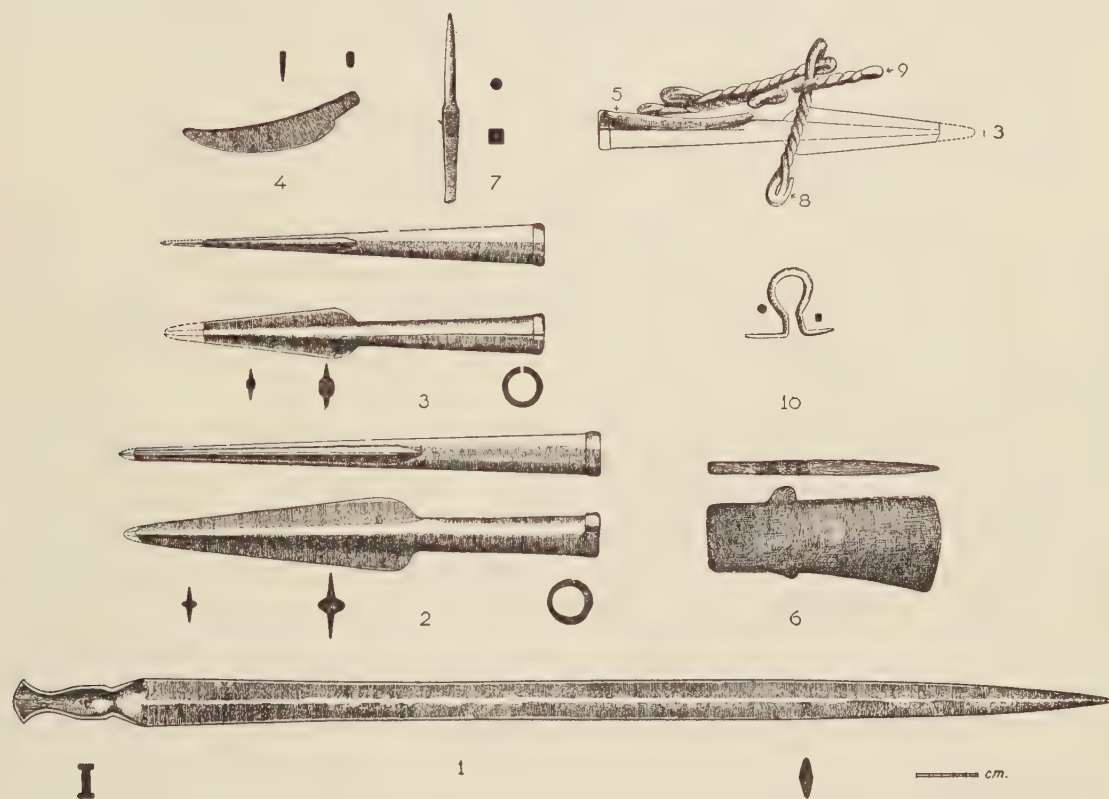


Fig. 3. Iron Objects from Grave XXVII: Nos. 1-10

handled cup (No. 19), an oinochoe (No. 16) and a small cup (No. 20) which had been placed over the mouth of the oinochoe as a lid. Beneath the pots and extending around somewhat farther to the west were the iron weapons and tools of the warrior (Fig. 2, section). They had apparently been placed on the pyre with the body and after the cremation was completed were gathered up in a cloth parcel or parcels and deposited in the grave. Clear traces of the warp and the woof of the fabric were visible on some of the pieces of iron. The weapons (Pl. 75c and Fig. 3) included a



long iron sword (No. 1), which had been bent into a band around the neck and shoulders of the amphora, two spearheads (Nos. 2 and 3), two knives (Nos. 4 and 5) and a broad axe or chisel (No. 6). There were also remains of what seem to have been two snaffle bits (Nos. 8 and 9), a loop with prongs (No. 10), and a small chisel (No. 7).

The burial urn contained the partly burned bones of a male, determined by J. L. Angel to have reached the age of about 34 years. With these remains were also found two small bone rings (No. 13). The jar was filled to about half its height with silt which had sifted through the packing and had covered the bones. The weapons and the tools deposited in the grave suggest that the occupant was a warrior and perhaps also a craftsman.

Grave XXVII is of a type well known in the Agora <sup>4</sup> and the Kerameikos.<sup>5</sup> In the latter cemetery, as noted by Kübler, graves that had the pit for the urn in the middle of the floor belong to the early or middle phases of the Protogeometric period, whereas in the late phase it became customary to dig the pit near one end (usually the east) of the shaft. Graves of the same kind continued to be used for a time in the Geometric period. It is clear, as will be shown below by an analysis of the pottery, that Grave XXVII must be assigned to a transitional phase between Protogeometric and Geometric.

The large neck amphora, No. 15 (Pl. 74a and b), that was used as the urn is of a shape that has many analogies in the late phase of the Protogeometric period. From the Agora itself may be mentioned, e. g., Inv. P 364, from Grave XXIII, found a little to the southeast of Graves XXVI and XXVII; Inv. P 6674 from Grave XXV on the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios; Inv. P 1040, from the filling of a well, J, at the northernmost foot of the Areopagus; and Inv. P 3938, from a well, L, in the southern part of the Agora square. Numerous examples were recovered in the Kerameikos cemetery: e. g., No. 581 from Grave C (*Kerameikos*, I, pl. 33); Nos. 573 from Grave 7, and 571 from Grave 19 (*ibid.*, pl. 57), Nos. 906 from Grave 31 and 2008 from Grave 40 (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 5), No. 1093 from Grave 43 (*ibid.*, pl. 6), No. 2024 from Grave 44 (*ibid.*, pl. 7). Similar amphorae continued to be made in the early phase of the Geometric period, for which several examples can be cited from the excavations in the Agora; e. g., Inv. P 3747 from well-group N, found near the southwest corner of the market square and Inv. P 6400 and 6423 from another well-group, O, in the northern part of the square; but the form undergoes changes in detail as it descends to the middle and late Geometric stages. An example from Eleusis (No. 813: *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XVIII, no. 1) may be cited, and one from Corinth

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, I: *Die Nekropolen des 12. bis 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1939, pp. 180-182; IV: *Neufunde aus der Nekropole des 11. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1943, pp. 1-4.

is also comparable.<sup>6</sup> The development of the shape of these neck amphorae from the early through the mature and late phases of the Geometric period has been discussed at length by Kahane (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 464-482) who marshals the evidence that establishes the sequence. The popularity of the shape of No. 15 in any event may be taken as overlapping the end of Protogeometric and the beginning of Geometric.

In its decoration, too, our amphora seems to belong to the age of transition. The neck panels with their meanders as the principal motive point to early Geometric, though the subordinate motive of the zigzag is a characteristic Protogeometric one, as are the opposed diagonals in the body zone. The neat herringbone pattern on the handles seems also to be more common in Protogeometric than in Geometric contexts.

The oinochoe, No. 16 (Pl. 75a and b), is of a shape that occurs frequently toward the close of the Protogeometric period and in the early stages of the Geometric. Grave XXVI yielded three examples of the same general type and of approximately the same date: No. 5 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pls. 67, 68), No. 6 (*ibid.*, p. 292, fig. 5, pl. 67), and No. 7 (*ibid.*, pls. 67, 68). The two latter are most like our No. 16. R. S. Young has called them Geometric, assigning them, however, to a transitional stage. Slightly earlier are Inv. P 6855, from Grave XI on the lower slopes of Kolonos Agoraios, which has no neck panel, and which carries a sawtooth pattern in its main zone, and Inv. P 20627 from a well-group, K, on the lower slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs, which bears a simple zigzag in its body zone, and has no neck panel. Two late Protogeometric pots from the Kerameikos cemetery, most closely analogous to our oinochoai, are Nos. 2009 and 2010 from Grave 40 (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 14) which are decorated with the same motive of opposed diagonals in the zone around the body. Neither has a panel on the neck. No. 574 from Grave 7 (*Kerameikos*, I, pl. 73) with a simple zigzag in its main zone, and lacking a neck panel, may also be compared. Here in our No. 16 we thus have a vessel of essentially Protogeometric shape and decoration; but its neck panel, in spite of its Protogeometric pattern, may betray the new style that comes in at the beginning of the Geometric period.

The short-stemmed goblet, No. 18 (Pl. 75a and b), finds its nearest analogies in four similar pots from Grave XXVI, Nos. 17-20 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 295-296, fig. 11, pls. 67, 69). In its decorative motives, zigzag and herringbone, of Protogeometric origin, our cup looks somewhat earlier than those from Grave XXVI, but the chronological difference may be slight. Protogeometric predecessors from the Agora are Inv. P 20608 and P 20609, both from well-group L; from the Kerameikos cemetery No. 750 from Grave 20 (*Kerameikos*, I, pl. 70), Nos. 919 from Grave 26, and 2031 from Grave 48 (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 21). The latter (No. 2031) has a higher stem than our cup. Good analogies for these goblets seem to be lacking

<sup>6</sup> S. S. Weinberg, *Corinth, VII, 1: The Geometric and Orientalizing Pottery*, Cambridge, Mass., 1943, pl. 6, no. 35.



in a pure Geometric context, although the decorative patterns on the examples from Grave XXVI are characteristically enough Geometric as well as Protogeometric. The designs of herringbone and zigzags on No. 18 are well rooted in the earlier period.

In its shape the two-handled kantharoid cup, No. 19 (Pl. 75a and b), appears to have few parallels in the material that has been published. A late Protogeometric kantharos, No. 919 from Grave 26 in the Kerameikos cemetery (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 21) is similar, but has had more emphasis given to its ring base. A fragment of a Geometric example, Inv. P 6420, from the Agora well-group O, may be a descendant, but its side is more sharply curved and the rim more prominent; whether it had a second handle or not is uncertain. The decoration of our cup, a key pattern with a filling of dots, recalls the more elaborate meander on a late Protogeometric goblet from Grave 48 in the Kerameikos cemetery (No. 2031, *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 21).

For the small flat-bottomed, one-handled cup, No. 20 (Pl. 75a and b), there is an excellent analogy, No. 582 from Grave C in the Kerameikos cemetery (*Kerameikos*, I, pl. 33). A late Protogeometric well in the Agora (Group L), yielded a comparable cup, Inv. P 3965, coated overall with red glaze except for a reserved band along the rim and a circle at the center of the interior. A similar black-glazed vessel of about the same date is Inv. P 1048 from well-group J.

The evidence of the goblet and the cups thus points directly to the stage of transition between late Protogeometric and early Geometric.

In shape and decoration the pyxis, No. 21 (Pl. 74c), restored from fragments recovered in the sweepings from the pyre, is almost identical, save for its slightly larger size, with No. 3 from Grave XXVI (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 67 and p. 290, fig. 3). For the shape, several Protogeometric analogies are available from the Kerameikos cemetery, No. 575 from Grave 7 (*Kerameikos*, I, pl. 73), Nos. 912, 913 from Grave 28, No. 1105 from Grave 45, No. 2066 from Grave 48, and No. 2151 from Grave 35 (all illustrated in *Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 20). Two other late Protogeometric pyxides, closely similar to the foregoing, were found in Grave XXII, on Kolonos Agoraios. As pointed out by R. S. Young (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 284), the type is characteristic of late Protogeometric, but the decoration of No. 3 from Grave XXVI is in the Geometric style. The patterns used on our pot, No. 21, would not be out of place at the close of the Protogeometric period.

The large oinochoe, No. 17 (Pl. 74d), has been left for consideration at the end of this discussion of the pottery from Grave XXVII. It is a wholly Geometric product. The shape is apparently an innovation, no real analogies for which are known from the final Protogeometric stage. A good many oinochoai of this type have, however, been found in the Agora in early and later Geometric deposits. It is unnecessary to cite them all—most of them have not yet been published—and a few examples will suffice: e. g., Inv. P 3874 from the early Geometric well-group N; Inv. Nos. P 6164, P 6203, P 6205, P 6408, P 6409, all from well-group O; and Inv. Nos. P 18618,

P 18622 from still another well-group, M, found in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. Three pots of the same general form found in graves at Eleusis (*A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XVII, nos. 1-3) have been assigned by Kahane to the early phase of the Geometric period. The shape is also well represented at Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, 1, pls. 4-6, nos. 29-34).

Our pot No. 17 is the only vessel from Grave XXVII that can be called pure Geometric in all its details of shape and decoration. But it is of the earliest type in the series of such oinochoai, and it does not stand in the way of attributing the grave, as we have done, to a transitional stage from Protogeometric to Geometric.

The large oinochoe, B (Pls. 76, 78), from the Piraeus Street grave, though somewhat plumper, is of essentially the same type as XXVII-16, and the comparisons cited above need not be repeated here. Grave XXVI, No. 5 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 68) is a fairly close analogy. The plumpness of form leads one to wonder if the oinochoe B was not perhaps made by a potter especially familiar with the shaping of amphorae, who might have been influenced thereby. The oinochoe was probably used as an urn in place of the more customary amphora. The best parallel for the contour of the body is at any rate offered by a late Protogeometric amphora, Inv. P 6674, from Grave XXV in the Agora.

More interesting than the shape, however, is the elaborate decoration of our oinochoe B, which may fairly be called a chef d'oeuvre of the miniature style that flourished in the final Protogeometric phase (Pls. 77a, 78). Several Protogeometric pots found in the Agora are decorated, though more simply, with similar motives, e. g. Inv. P 3171, a skyphos from Grave XI, P 5870, a skyphos from Grave IX, P 6704, a two-handled cup or bowl from Grave XXII and P 7076, a stemmed cup from Grave X. On all these and on some other contemporary examples panels with checkerboard squares appear regularly; but there are almost always panels filled with cross-hatching, a motive that is lacking on our oinochoe. Assigned to a transitional phase is a stemmed cup from Grave XXVI, No. 16 (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 295, fig. 10) which bears a checkerboard panel. The miniature style is also well represented in the Kerameikos cemetery: worthy of mention are a skyphos, No. 567 from Grave D (*Kerameikos*, I, pl. 34; cf. also a goblet in Munich, *ibid.*, pl. 49), a shoulder amphora, No. 595, from Grave 19 (*ibid.*, pl. 45), a two-handled jar, No. 599, from the funeral mound (*ibid.*, pl. 50), a tripod bowl, No. 555, from Grave 4 (*ibid.*, pl. 64), a neck amphora, No. 2012, from Grave 40 (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 8), and a shoulder amphora, No. 2131, from Grave 39 (*ibid.*, pl. 12), two stands, Nos. 2028 and 2029, from Grave 48 (*ibid.*, pl. 25), a deer, No. 641, from the same grave (*ibid.*, pl. 26), and several isolated pots (shoulder amphora, No. 959, *ibid.*, pl. 24; a goblet, No. 1266, pl. 34). On all these vases crosshatched panels appear alongside checkerboard, while zigzags and opposed diagonals are common motives. Very few of these pots show the carefulness



of treatment and the delicacy of execution that characterize our oinochoe. The closest to it in general spirit is perhaps the shoulder amphora, No. 2131.

The extraordinary delicacy of the drawing is particularly noticeable in the fine zigzags, and in the herringbone on the handle. If not the same hand, the work of the same atelier may perhaps be recognized in the herringbone on the handle of the amphora No. 15 from Grave XXVII, in the like motive and the zigzags that occur on the panel and on the handles of the stemmed goblet No. 18, and in the herringbone on the handle of the kantharoid cup No. 19. The herringbone on the handle of the lekythos-oinochoe C is drawn with comparable delicacy. Is it going too far to see in these vases from Grave XXVII in the Agora and from the unrecorded grave somewhere along Piraeus Street the products of one and the same potter's workshop?

The small jug C (Pl. 77c and d) is an unusual type of vessel: it looks as if it was designed to be a lekythos and was for some reason, by the substitution of a trefoil lip, metamorphosed into an oinochoe. The potter here has thus matched his exploit in combining in the large oinochoe B some elements derived from the form of the amphora. No exact parallel for this lekythos-oinochoe is known to me. Apart from its rare shape, its scheme of decoration, with a sawtooth pattern in its neck band and main zone, and a swastika in the shoulder panel, seems clearly to assign it to the phase of transition between Protogeometric and Geometric.

The iron weapons and implements recovered from Agora Grave XXVII are wholly consistent with this dating. The long sword, No. 1 (Pl. 75c and Fig. 3), finds its best analogies in Protogeometric graves in the Kerameikos cemetery, where four comparable blades have come to light. One, from Grave E (*Kerameikos*, I, p. 106, fig. 8), has a low midrib and a flanged haft with three rivets for fastening the handle; save that it is shorter and less elegant, it is much like our sword. A similar short sword came from Grave 6 (*ibid.*, pl. 76), and yet another, closely resembling ours, was found in Grave 2 (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 38). Grave 28 produced a sword that had been bent sharply into a hoop with the ends overlapping (*ibid.*, M 51, pl. 38); it had no doubt been placed around the neck of the urn as in our Grave XXVII. This sword, with a length of 0.90 m., is perhaps the closest parallel to ours, though the exact form of the hilt is not clear. An early Geometric sword was discovered in 1944 in a burial on the northeastern slope of the Areopagus (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 196, fig. 1). The hilt is much like that of the sword from Grave XXVII, but the blade seems to have no midrib. Other iron swords of the Geometric period are known from earlier excavations (*Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 297, fig. 2; XVIII, 1893, p. 108). The first mentioned has a hilt comparable to that of our No. 1.

For our two iron spearheads, Nos. 2 and 3 (Pl. 75c and Fig. 3), the nearest analogies must be sought in the Kerameikos cemetery, where three examples belonging to the late Protogeometric period are known. Grave 17 produced one (*Kerameikos*,

I, pl. 76) in a badly corroded state. Another, which has two rivet holes in the socket, came from Grave 34 (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 38); and the third, in highly oxydized condition, was recovered from Grave 32 (*Kerameikos*, IV, p. 36). Three spearheads of the same general type, but made of bronze, were discovered in early Protogeometric Graves A and B (*Kerameikos*, I, pls. 31 and 32).

Our two crescent-shaped iron knives, Nos. 4 and 5, are much like the examples from Grave XXVI (*Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 297, pl. 72), and from the early Geometric grave found on the northeast slope of the Areopagus in 1944 (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 196, fig. 1, pl. XLI). A straight knife of middle Protogeometric date was found in Grave 17 in the Kerameikos cemetery (*Kerameikos*, I, p. 220, pl. 76); and what looks like a long narrow stiletto came from the late Protogeometric Grave 28 (*Kerameikos*, IV, M 52, pl. 38). Knives are said to be of relatively rare occurrence in Geometric graves (*ibid.*, p. 29).

The flat axe or broad chisel, No. 6 (Pl. 75c and Fig. 3), may be compared with a similar implement of late Protogeometric times from Grave 40 in the Kerameikos cemetery (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 38), which seems to have traces of lateral projections like those on our piece.

For the snaffle bits, Nos. 8 and 9 (Pl. 75c and Fig. 3), I have been unable to discover good Protogeometric or Geometric parallels. A discussion of ancient horse-trappings and especially of bits may be found in *Olynthus*, X, pp. 487-495; but the subject, as there stated, seems still to need a thorough study. It is worth noting, at any rate, that the jointed bit, or snaffle, was already known at the turn of Protogeometric to Geometric. Indeed this form was evidently used in Mycenaean times, as shown by a jointed bronze bit that was found at Mycenae by Tsountas (*Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, col. 25) and illustrated by Reichel (*Homerische Waffen*, 2nd ed., p. 142, fig. 90). A pair of similar bits in the Berlin Museum (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, X, 1935-1936, pp. 334-338, fig. 13; Bossert, *Altanatolien*, p. 60, fig. 600) is said to have come from a late Mycenaean tomb (unpublished) at Miletos. These Mycenaean examples all have cheekbars, which are not present on the bridles from Grave XXVII in the Agora.

The other objects from Grave XXVII—the iron hasp and fragmentary pin, the whetstone, and the two bone rings—seem to offer little basis for useful comparisons and nothing helpful for dating.

For the bronze bowl, A (Pl. 77b and Fig. 4), from the Piraeus Street burial, there is no good analogy from the late Protogeometric graves in the Kerameikos cemetery. Grave 48 yielded one example (*Kerameikos*, IV, M 1, pl. 38), and Kübler refers to a ceramic imitation of this metallic form (*ibid.*, p. 16; No. 1092 from Grave 38, pl. 23). Two other bronze bowls (Inv. M 16 and M 62) are exhibited in the Kerameikos Museum in a case containing late Protogeometric pottery; but neither they nor Inv. M 1 are of the mesomphalic type. The early history of the mesomphalic



phiale is not yet clearly known. It was formerly thought to make its appearance in Greece about 700 B.C.,<sup>7</sup> and Luschey suggests the possibility that the shallow bronze bowl traces its origin to Assyria, a theory Mrs. Dohan found not altogether convincing.<sup>8</sup> In any event we now have an example that must be some two centuries earlier.

The omphalos in Bowl A rises in a conical form almost to a point; this feature may perhaps be a mark of relatively early date. In the later Geometric, at any rate, a broader, more rounded or flattened omphalos is the generally prevailing type. A bowl with a pointed conical omphalos was found in a Geometric grave at Corinth; Mrs. S. Weinberg, who has published it (*Corinth*, XII, *The Minor Objects*, no. 517, pp. 68-70), dates it to the middle of the eighth century.

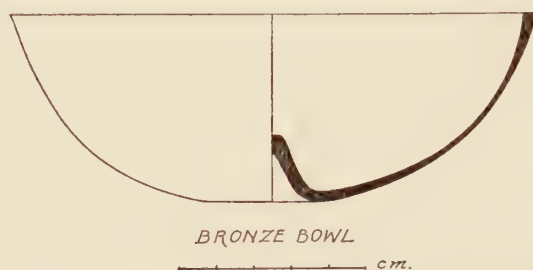


Fig. 4. Profile of Bronze Bowl A from the Grave near Piraeus Street.

The foregoing survey and analysis of the pottery and the other objects recovered from the two graves here discussed will have called sufficient attention to the mixture of elements represented, Protogeometric and Geometric. On a quantitative basis the Protogeometric—in the shapes of the pots and the decorative patterns—seems to predominate, but the Geometric also appears full-fledged—in the neck and shoulder panels and especially in the oinochoe No. 17. These graves may accordingly be assigned to the phase of transition between the two periods or, in terms of the usually accepted chronology, to about 900 B.C. They may be a few years earlier than Agora Grave XXVI, in which Geometric elements look slightly more advanced, but all three tombs probably belong to the same generation, and both Agora Grave XXVII and the Grave near Piraeus Street almost surely precede the “Grave of the Warrior” in the Kerameikos (*Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 240 and figs. 26, 27) to which Grave XXVII bears an obvious resemblance.

<sup>7</sup> Hans Luschey, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode am Herz, 1939, p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *A. J. A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 125-127. On the history of the phiale, cf. also Dunbabin in Humfry Payne, *Perachora: Architecture, Bronzes, Terracottas*, Oxford, 1940, pp. 148-156.

## CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS FROM AGORA GRAVE XXVII

## IRON

## 1. Sword. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1058. L. 0.883 m.; l. of blade 0.775 m.; l. of hilt 0.108 m.; w. of hilt at junction with blade 0.038 m.; w. of hilt at outer end 0.035 m. Badly rusted and bent into a hoop, but unbroken except for tip, which is missing.

From a width of 0.038 m. at the hilt the blade tapers to the point. Neither edge was sharp, and the narrow, relatively thick blade, which apparently was stiffened by a low midrib on each face, was clearly designed for thrusting rather than for slashing. The hilt, symmetrically shaped in a quadruple curve on each side and an arc at the back, was edged with a projecting flange, which thus provided a socket on each face for the fitting of the handle. The latter was made of two flat plates which were held in place by four rivets, a pair, 0.024 m. apart, near the junction of hilt and blade, and single centered studs, 0.045 m. and 0.087 m. distant toward the back. Three of the rivets have survived, but there are no vestiges of the handle pieces, which were presumably made of wood.

## 2. Spearhead. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1057. L. 0.373 m.; l. of socket 0.15 m.; l. of blade 0.223 m.; d. of socket at end *ca.* 0.035 m.; w. of blade at shoulder *ca.* 0.058 m. Broken across socket, badly rusted, but almost complete: only tip missing.

A heavy reinforcing rib runs down the middle on each side of the blade. The socket was made of a flat sheet of iron rolled over and welded to form a tube. No rivets or rivet-holes recognizable. The wooden shaft inserted in the socket was perhaps fastened by binding with wire.

## 3. Spearhead. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1059. L. pres. 0.275 m.; l. of socket 0.157 m.; l. pres. of blade 0.124 m.; d. of socket at end *ca.* 0.035 m.; w. of blade at

shoulder *ca.* 0.04 m. Broken into three pieces and point missing; badly rusted.

Heavy midrib runs down each face of blade. Socket made from sheet of iron rolled over to form tapering tube. There is no sign of rivets or rivet-holes.

## 4. Knife. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1061. L. *ca.* 0.143 m.; l. of haft 0.026 m.; l. of blade 0.117 m.; w. of blade at heel *ca.* 0.02 m. Not so badly corroded as the other pieces.

Blade of slightly lunate shape with convex cutting edge. The haft preserves no traces of rivets for fastening the handle.

## 5. Knife. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1065. L. pres. 0.122 m.; w. at heel 0.025 m. Point missing. Badly rusted and still adheres to the spearhead No. 3 (IL 1059). Of curving shape like No. 4, with convex cutting edge. No clear division between haft and blade.

## 6. Axe or broad chisel. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1062. L. *ca.* 0.194 m.; w. at butt end 0.055 m.; w. of peen 0.076 m.; th. at butt 0.008 m.; th. in middle 0.013 m.

Peen convexly rounded; butt flat and almost straight. At *ca.* 0.05 m. from butt end there were projections of some kind from the top and bottom of the implement; the projections have rusted or been broken away and only the stumps are left. They were presumably meant to aid in the fastening of the handle.

## 7. Javelin point or small chisel. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.

IL 1060. L. 0.152 m.; l. of haft 0.08 m.; l. of blade 0.072 m. Haft (or chisel) end rectangular in section, 0.013 m. thick; blade rounded, with a diameter of *ca.* 0.09 m. Other end bevelled to a chisel edge. Badly corroded and encrusted.



**8. Snaffle bit. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.**

IL 1063. L. *ca.* 0.286 m. Complete in five fragments. Consists of two approximately equal sections, 0.142 m. and 0.144 m. long, joined by interlocking loops, each section terminating at the other end in a free loop. Made from two strands of thick wire twisted together in rope-fashion, the ends being tucked back to form the loops.

**9. Snaffle bit. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.**

IL 1066. L. *ca.* 0.24 m. Almost complete in four fragments. Like No. 8 (IL 1063), it consists of two nearly equal sections, 0.12 m. long, joined together by interlocking loops. Each section terminates in a free loop at the other end. Made from two strands of thick wire twisted together, with the ends tucked back to form the loops.

**10. Loop or hasp with ends bent out flat at right angles to longitudinal axis of loop. Pl. 75c and Fig. 3.**

IL 1064. L. of loop 0.055 m.; w. of loop 0.038 m.; w. across pronged ends 0.068 m. The loop is oval in shape made of a small bar or a thick wire (0.007 m. thick) roughly rounded in section. The ends are flattened, rectangular in section, and bent back as if meant to be fastened against a piece of wood. Traces of wood fibre were noted still adhering to the iron. No rivet holes recognized in ends.

**11. Fragment of pin. Pl. 75c.**

IL 1067. L. *pres.* 0.049 m.; th. 0.0075 m. Rectangular in section. Part of shaft and point of nail or pin.

## STONE

**12. Whetstone. Pl. 75c.**

ST 463. L. 0.206 m.; max. w. 0.064 m.; th. *ca.* 0.025 m. Irregular in shape, rough on all sides except honing side, where it is smooth and hollowed longitudinally from wear.

## BONE

**13. Two small rings. Pl. 75c.**

BI 641. (a) H. *ca.* 0.005 m.; d. *ca.* 0.011 m. (b) H. *ca.* 0.003 m.; d. *ca.* 0.011 m. Two small sections sliced from a leg bone in clean-cut strokes. Purpose unknown.

## CLAY OR TERRACOTTA

**14. Ball. (Not illustrated).**

MC 802. H. *ca.* 0.02 m.; d. *ca.* 0.016 m. Irregular in shape. Possibly knob from pyxis lid, No. 21.

## POTTERY

**15. Amphora. Pl. 74 a and b.**

P 20177. H. 0.517 m. to 0.525 m.; d. of lip 0.165 m.; d. of neck 0.116 m.; d. of body 0.337 m.; cracked and repaired; only a few small chips missing. Fine pinkish buff clay.

Swelling rim; neck has concave profile; oval body; well made ring base. Handles extending from neck to shoulder. Except for a reserved panel on each side of neck, a narrow zone around shoulders and the handles, the surface is coated solidly in good black glaze, which is fairly well preserved, and marked here and there by a few red blushes. The black glaze is carried down *ca.* 0.015 m. along inside of rim.

The neck panel is divided horizontally by four groups of triple parallel lines into one broad and two narrower bands. The broad band in the middle of the panel bears a meander made of two parallel lines, the space between being filled by multiple chevrons which here and there give way to simple diagonal hatching. The upper and lower narrow bands carry a delicately drawn continuous net-like zigzag. The panels were painted in freehand style, but with sure and confident strokes. The shoulder zone bordered above and below by three parallel lines, drawn while the pot revolved on the wheel, is decorated with opposing groups of diagonal lines, each group separated from its neighbor to right and left by a triangle in solid black. The groups of opposed diagonals are

not of uniform size; the number of lines in each varies from 12 to 17, but is most frequently 14. The diagonal lines are somewhat irregular, and were painted freehand. The broad flat handles are crossed by four horizontal stripes at the top and seven at the bottom; the mid-section, bordered by a pair of lines on each side and divided into two longitudinal panels by another pair, is decorated with neatly painted opposed diagonals or feathering.

**16. Oinochoe. Pl. 75 a and b.**

P 20178. H. 0.244 m.; d. of mouth along axis of handle 0.095 m.; d. of lip (transverse) 0.094 m.; d. of neck 0.058 m.; d. of body 0.151 m.; d. of base 0.068 m. Small chips of rim missing. Pinkish buff clay.

Trefoil lip; neck slightly concave in profile; piriform body; well made ring base. Except for a reserve panel on the neck opposite the handle, a narrow zone around the middle of the body, and the top of the handle, the surface was coated solidly in black glaze. The glaze on the neck and one side of the body has almost entirely worn off, but where preserved it still retains much of its original lustre.

The neck panel, framed by two horizontal lines above and two below, is decorated with a band of the dogtooth or sawtooth motive. There are 15 elongated teeth in black pointing upward. The zone about the body, bordered by paired horizontal lines above and below, bears the familiar group of opposed diagonals. There are 16 groups all told, the number of lines varying from six to eleven, usually nine or ten. The outer surface of the handle, with a stripe along each edge, is filled with a ladder pattern of 21 horizontal strokes.

**17. Oinochoe. Pl. 74d.**

P 20183. H. rest. 0.294 m. to 0.30 m.; d. of lip at right angles to axis of handle 0.108 m.; d. of neck 0.072 m.; d. of body 0.192 m.; d. of base 0.14 m. Restored from 32 fragments; greater part missing; upper part of body does

not make actual join with lower part, but restoration cannot be far wrong. Pinkish buff clay.

The pot has a broad flat base edged with a low rolled ring, a truncated piriform body, high neck slightly concave in profile, trefoil lip, and relatively thick ribbon handle. Except for the handle and a panel on the neck, only scanty traces of the frame of which are preserved, the vessel was coated solidly in black glaze that has worn off almost everywhere, but is still lustrous where it survives.

The decorative motive in the neck panel is lost altogether. The handle bears five transverse lines at top and bottom, and the space between was filled with a herringbone pattern (or opposed diagonals) bordered by a line along each side and separated into two parts by a line down the middle.

**18. Goblet. Pl. 75 a and b.**

P 20179. H. 0.124 m.; d. of rim across handles 0.142 m.; d. of rim, transverse, 0.148 m.; d. of body 0.15 m.; d. of stem 0.045 m.; d. of foot 0.063 m. Intact except for small chips of rim and foot. Pinkish buff clay.

Slightly outturned rim, deep body, short stem, well made splaying foot, hollow underneath, two fairly thick ribbon handles. Except for the handles, reserved bands along lip and edge of foot, and a small shoulder panel on each side, the goblet was coated solidly in black glaze, inside and out. There was a small reserved circle at the bottom of the interior. The black glaze inside is badly worn away and has also suffered somewhat on the exterior; but where well preserved, it is still fairly lustrous.

The two panels bear similar patterns, but are not identical. One is bordered and divided by four groups of triple vertical lines into three sections, the central section decorated with a herringbone motive, the lateral sections with zigzags. The opposite panel is smaller, since the bordering and dividing lines are double instead of triple; but the herringbone and zigzags are repeated. The handles bear parallel transverse lines below (four on one side, six



on the other) and above (four on each), and a herringbone in the middle section. The strokes everywhere were drawn free hand with a fine brush, and are for the most part neat and delicate, especially in the details of the panels. A stripe in the reserved band along the rim was drawn while the pot revolved on the wheel.

**19.** Kantharoid cup. Pl. 75 a and b.

P 20180. H. 0.087 m.; d. of rim along axis of handles 0.127 m.; d. of rim transverse, 0.135 m.; d. of body 0.137 m.; d. of base 0.07 m. Intact save for small chip of rim.

Similar to P 20179 in shape, but the body is more truncated below and has a broad ring base, slightly hollow underneath, instead of a stemmed foot. Except for a reserved band along the rim, a shoulder panel on each side, a reserved circle in centre of interior, and the handles, the cup was coated overall in black glaze. The glaze, for the most part worn to a dull black, shows traces of its original lustre here and there.

The reserved band along the rim bears two stripes, regularly drawn while the pot revolved on the wheel. The shoulder panels differ in size, and, though the decorative patterns are similar, in details of execution. The large panel, with a lower border of three free hand lines, carries a key pattern of four sections; it is formed by two parallel lines, and the space between is occupied by a continuous single row of dots. The smaller panel, like the other in its lower border, has a three-sectioned key pattern; here there are two rows of dots, one along each side line of the key. The handles, with transverse lines above (three on each) and below (three on one, four on the other) are decorated in their main panels with a centrally ribbed herringbone. In these patterns the lines, drawn free hand, are somewhat irregular, but neat.

**20.** Small cup. Pl. 75 a and b.

P 20181. H. 0.056 m.; d. of rim 0.082 m.; d. of body 0.085 m.; d. of base 0.04 m. Intact. Pinkish buff clay.

Fairly broad flat base, slightly hollowed underneath; slightly offset rim; one handle. Except for the handle and a reserved band along inside and outside of rim, and a circle in centre of interior, the cup is coated solidly with black glaze, which still shows a metallic-looking lustre. The glaze was evidently applied while the cup revolved on the wheel, and the reserved band along the rim is neatly delimited. It bears a regular stripe on the inside and outside of the lip. There are no shoulder panels. The only further decoration consists of six careless transverse lines on the upper surface and a few daubs on the under side of the handle.

**21.** Pyxis with lid. Pl. 74c.

P 20182 a and b.

a) Pyxis: H. rest. 0.133 m.; d. of rim 0.107 m.; d. of body *ca.* 0.146 m.; d. of base *ca.* 0.068 m. Restored from 14 fragments; badly damaged by fire, and about three fourths missing; upper part makes no actual join with base.

Globular form with fairly high ring base, hollow underneath, and broad outturned rim, flat on top. Set opposite each other in the rim are two pairs of string-holes. The pot was coated with black glaze overall, except for a wide zone about middle of body and perhaps a reserved band along the rim. The glaze has worn off, and little or no trace of its original lustre is now preserved.

The decorated zone is divided by four groups of quadruple parallel lines into three subordinate zones. The central one, which is wider than the others, carries the main pattern, a continuous meander that is formed by two parallel lines enclosing a simple diagonal hatching. The narrower upper and lower divisions have as their decoration a continuous zigzag. The horizontal dividing lines were drawn with great regularity while the pot revolved on the wheel. The meander and the zigzag were apparently done free hand, but with sure neat strokes of a fine brush.

b) Lid: H. 0.025 m.; h. rest. including knob

0.047 m.; d. 0.10 m. Restored from eight fragments; knob and almost one half of lid missing.

Saucer-shaped with plain edge. One pair of string-holes 0.015 m. apart, near edge; corresponding pair on opposite side missing. Upper surface was coated solidly, except for a re-

served zone, in black glaze, badly worn and damaged, retaining no trace of original lustre. The reserved zone has a triple line border above and below, the middle being filled with short transverse strokes.

#### CATALOGUE OF OBJECTS FROM GRAVE NEAR PIRAEUS STREET

##### A. Bronze Bowl. Pl. 77b, Fig. 4.

H. 0.05 m.; d. 0.142 m. to 0.145 m.; d. of base 0.035 m. Complete when found, but part of one side disintegrated during process of cleaning. Shallow handleless bowl with small centered conical omphalos thrust up from below, and rising *ca.* 0.014 m. above inner floor. Walls of vessel 0.005 m. thick at bottom, grow thin along curving side, and thicken again to form plain rim, flat on top. Though it bears no decoration, the bowl was shaped with good lines and has an air of elegance.

##### B. Large Oinochoe. Pls. 76-78.

H. 0.512 m. to 0.521 m.; d. of mouth along axis of handle 0.193 m.; d. of mouth, transverse, 0.186 m.; d. of neck 0.122 m.; h. of neck 0.149 m.; d. of body 0.342 m.; d. of base 0.144 m. Cracked, but complete, save for small chips. Fine pinkish buff clay; smoothly finished surface.

Sturdy offset foot; ovoid body; broad neck with slightly concave profile; trefoil lip, pinched out to form a pour-channel opposite handle; large, broad ribbon-handle attached to lip, sharply bent and descending vertically to middle of shoulder. This oinochoe is unusually large; perhaps it was used as the urn instead of the more customary amphora. Apart from handle, strip along outer edge of rim, neck band, and broad zone around middle of body, the whole pot was coated with black glaze. The glaze is badly worn on one side of vessel, and has suffered considerable damage on the other, but wherever well preserved, it still retains its original lustre.

The strip along the edge of the rim, *ca.*

0.026 m. wide, bordered above by one and below by two parallel lines, bears a series of opposed diagonals, each group separated from the next by a triangle in solid black pointing alternately up and down. There is a triangle of this kind below the axis of the pour-channel. The number of lines in the groups of diagonals is usually six, sometimes seven or eight.

The band, 0.037 m. wide, running all the way around the neck is bordered above by three, below by two lines. In the central space is a continuous sawtooth pattern, with reserved triangles pointing downward, and triangles in solid black pointing upward.

The main zone around the middle of the body is *ca.* 0.12 m. wide, bordered above and below by triple horizontal lines, and divided by two groups of similar triple lines into three strips. The upper and lower strips, which are narrow, carry a running zigzag. The main strip, 0.063 m. wide, is divided vertically into a series of panels, all of which are elaborately decorated in the miniature style.

These panels are of two kinds which might be called dividers (or spacers) and principal panels. Certainly to be regarded as a divider is the vertical simple zigzag, bordered on each side by three parallel lines. This occurs five times in doubled form, 18 times singly, always framing a main panel on each side. Somewhat less certain as to its character is the motive of opposing diagonals set vertically: it occurs nine times, always bordered on each side by the simple zigzag just mentioned (in one instance by a pair of zigzags to right and left). But even with its border it is rather narrow to be meant to serve as one of the principal panels.



The latter are 14 in number, chief among them being the checkerboard with fine squares, which appears eight times. No two of the latter are exactly alike in size or in number of squares. Beginning at the left in the drawing (Pl. 78) they show the following variations: 6 by 19 squares, 10 by 17, 11 by 16, 10 by 14, 9 by 16, 9 by 16, 8 by 14, and 9 by 14 (the first figure referring to horizontal, the second to vertical count). The checkerboard panels are not symmetrically spaced, though it may be noted that if the zone be bisected directly under the pour-channel, four checkerboards will be found in each half. In each half there is also one checkerboard of another type with large squares in three rows of three. Here the corner squares are filled with cross hatching, those between left blank, while the central square bears a fine checker design in the miniature style (the number being 6 by 6 in one instance and 6 by 5 in the other). The checkerboard is obviously the favorite motive of the painter of the oinochoe.

A panel of different design occurs three times. It shows a horizontal division into six (seven in one instance) narrow subdivisions which are variously decorated. One panel of this kind bears (reading from top to bottom) simple zigzag, sawtooth, zigzag, diamond, zigzag, and sawtooth motives. Another has zigzag, sawtooth, zigzag, diamond, zigzag, and diamonds. The third panel shows zigzag, sawtooth, zigzag, checkerboard (16 by 3 squares), zigzag, sawtooth, and zigzag patterns. Here too the zigzag is the divider.

What may have been regarded as the central panel, directly beneath the spout and opposite the handle, offers a complicated design of successively reduced panels within panels. Here the simple zigzag is the only filling pattern until the small central space is reached, where there is an upright column of six diamonds in solid black, point to point.

The decoration on the upper surface of the

handle is relatively simple. Beneath an upper border of ten transverse lines, the so-called ladder pattern, is a delicate herringbone design, edged on each side by a pair of parallel lines, and with a similar double division down the middle.

#### C. Small Lekythos-oinochoe. Pl. 77 c and d.

H. *ca.* 0.164 m.; d. of mouth 0.054 m.; d. of neck *ca.* 0.024 m.; h. of neck 0.03 m.; d. of body 0.121 m.; d. of base 0.06 m. Intact. Fine light tan clay.

Trefoil mouth, slender neck of slightly concave profile, globular body, well made ring base, narrow, but fairly thick handle. The shape is unusual and original: it looks like a lekythos transformed by its trefoil mouth into an oinochoe. Save for a reserved band along the rim, a neck panel, a shoulder panel, zone around the middle of the body, and the upper surface of the handle, the pot was completely coated in black glaze. The glaze is now rather dull, but still retains some traces of its original lustre.

The stripe along the outside of the rim is decorated with fine multiple chevrons, lying on their sides, with points toward the right. The panel which runs about three quarters of the way around the neck, bears a sawtooth motive, bordered above and below by triple parallel lines. The relatively small shoulder panel, which is not properly centered on the axis of handle and spout, carries a swastika; it is formed by two parallel lines, the space between which is filled with multiple chevrons in a somewhat irregular arrangement.

The main zone, girdling the middle of the body, has an upper and lower border of three neatly drawn parallel lines that frame a band of bold sawtooth, in which the solid black teeth point upward.

The handle is coated with black glaze on either side; its upper surface is decorated with a delicate, centrally ribbed herringbone which is delimited by a single transverse line above and below.

CARL W. BLEGEN.

# PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA

(FRONTISPIECE AND PLATES 79-86)

## INTRODUCTION

PHEIDIAS and the Parthenon, for a century and a half, have been regarded as virtual synonyms. The kinship has so far extended itself that certain characteristics of the one have been transferred to the other. Thus Athena springing full-grown from the head of Zeus is paralleled by the style of Pheidias erupting suddenly and maturely from the mind of the artist. Such a parthenogenic concept is unique in the history of art.

The standard interpretation of the life and style of Pheidias was evolved in the nineteenth century. It represents a fusion of the antique with the romantic science of its creators. The nineteenth century coupled fervent imagination with a thorough sense of order; and when thought soared up to garner stars, practicality sorted, evaluated, classified and filed the harvest in the best tradition of the Victorian house-keeper's motto: "A place for everything, and everything in its place." It took good care that its treasures might remain secure.

The current version, of which Miss Richter's account in her *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* is not only the best known, but also the clearest, fullest and fairest, needs no retelling here. It may reasonably be assumed that the reader will be familiar with it. The present account is written on the basis of another type of selection and evaluation. The controversial points between the two are largely considered in the appendices.

It should be added that this study was provoked with no iconoclastic intent, but merely as an attempt to determine, if possible, the source of the architectural sculptures of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, using the evidence from antiquity rather than modern hypothesis as a guide. The solution, however, lay on the fringes of the legends that inevitably cling to and obscure great names. To search for what they covered was inevitable.

There is little in this article that may be claimed as purely new. An adequate bibliography with full credit at every point would be more extensive than the text itself. For purposes of simplification the more familiar chapter and verse references have been omitted wherever it seemed reasonable to the author. It is assumed that Miss Richter's *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* and Overbeck's *Schriftquellen* will be readily available to those scholars who will wish to check. To all those who have studied these problems in the past from whatever standpoint some measure of thanks is due. Personal indebtedness for opinion and advice is gratefully acknowledged to Benjamin D. Meritt, Lucy T. Shoe and Homer A. Thompson.



## THE LEGEND OF PHEIDIAS

The chief glories of the museum at Olympia are the fragments of the pediments and metopes of the Temple of Zeus. Amazingly well-preserved, they have stood since their discovery as the finest group of sculptures surviving from the decades that followed the Persian Wars, and as a subject of extraordinary controversy. Few now doubt their aesthetic excellence, but few would agree on their origin. Fully to understand the background of this uncertainty, we must dip into history; and in so doing we promptly encounter the legend of Pheidias.

The modern legend of Pheidias began to take shape nearly two centuries ago when Winckelmann, in 1764, wrote: "I did believe that Pliny placed the bloom of Pheidias in (448-444 B.C.) because he had probably completed at that time the statue of Olympian Jupiter; but this is a mere supposition on my part and not based on any authority."<sup>1</sup> And, in his notes: "It is not yet ascertained which of the two works (the Athena Parthenos and Olympian Zeus) was executed first . . . But about this time (448-444 B.C.) the artist must have begun his Athena . . . because it was finished in 431 . . . Indeed it must have been finished several years earlier, for in the comedy of Aristophanes, *The Peace*, Mercury names as the first among the secret causes of the war an accusation against Pheidias, which at the time was based on the embezzlement of gold, but afterwards on the crime of having put his own likeness and that of Perikles on the shield of Athena. The accusation had its effect; although Pheidias did not die in prison, as Plutarch relates, he was obliged to flee. According to Eusebios, the artist completed the Athena Parthenos in 439, and he placed his name below it."<sup>2</sup>

Winckelmann does not give his reasons for preferring the Scholiast on Aristophanes to Plutarch, though on the indictments of Pheidias he seems to have confused the two. But with a choice to make between two statements of apparently equal value, and nothing to influence one or the other except personal inclination, one cannot quarrel with his decision. On the literary evidence available a purely subjective conclusion was inevitable.

Half a century later the first masonry was erected on Winckelmann's cornerstone. Between 1803 and 1812 two hundred packing cases filled, in part, with sculptures from the Parthenon arrived in England. Lord Elgin, their importer, claimed that they represented the style of Pheidias. Mr. Payne-Knight, President of the Society of Dilettanti, insisted that they were nothing of the kind. The protracted controversy achieved an acrimony not lost on a public fascinated both with the prominence of the protagonists and with excitement for all things classical. Lord Elgin's claims may be summarized in the words of Benjamin Robert Haydon who, relying on Plutarch's statement that Perikles put Pheidias in charge of all the new

<sup>1</sup> *History of Ancient Art*, II, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, note 18 on Chapter II.

artistic works of his administration, wrote: "—Where would it be more likely for Pheidias to put his hand than on the finest temple in Athens, built by his patron Perikles, when he (Pheidias) was director of all public works?"<sup>3</sup>

The House of Commons, by voting a partial reimbursement to Lord Elgin in 1816, put a tacit but popular seal of approval on this opinion. For sixty years the Elgin marbles were the accepted standard for the style of Pheidias and for all his associates as well.

It was Jefferson's belief that a revolution was required every thirty years to keep the principles of liberty fresh and alive. But in the twice thirty years that followed the vote in the House of Commons, though storms of dissension disturbed many other studies in Greek sculpture, the established concept of Pheidias remained unchallenged, and enthusiastic individuals labored at its more monumental building. The particular qualities of the sculptures were defined, analyzed, expanded. Scholars nosed industriously through museums ferreting out potential copies of the works of Pheidias and of his entourage. No shortages delayed nor strikes deterred their pleasant sequence of construction.

When the spades of the German excavators first rang out in the Altis at Olympia in 1874 they commanded the ears of a wide and interested audience. Curiosity centered chiefly about the Temple of Zeus, and its sculptures. Everyone knew that Pheidias himself had made the great cult image of gold and ivory, but no one seriously dared hope that any of these precious materials had survived. On the other hand Pausanias had explicitly stated that: "The western gable is the work of Alkamenēs, a contemporary of Pheidias and second only to him in the sculptor's art." Pedimental sculpture would be in marble. No works of Alkamenēs had yet been identified in copies with any certainty; but it would be reassuring to see for oneself that the prophesied refinement and delicacy of the latest of the Parthenon sculptures were really his. When the vision of the Venus Genetrix was replaced by the Sterope of the east pediment and the Lapith Women of the west, it was only the mechanics of publication that delayed the chorus of denial. Ears attuned to Mozart had been presented with Gregorian Chant.

But no self-respecting seer makes public prediction unless he is convinced of the validity of his powers. In 1874 all living authorities, and all their distinguished predecessors, had subscribed to the specific theory that the sculptures of the Parthenon exclusively represented the style of Pheidias and his fellows. Nineteenth century scholarship inclined always to place its emphasis upon theory, supported if possible by material evidence. If this evidence could not be used for such confirmation, it, not the theory, was suspect. In this case fact and fiction seemed irreconcilable. Under the circumstances it is small wonder that material fact was discarded.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography and Memoirs of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, p. 207.



That the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus offered possible new light on the entourage of Pheidias seems to have occurred only to a handful of scholars, whose courageous objectivity is their epitaph. They asked for a thorough review of all that was known of Pheidias and Alkamenēs; but their colleagues were far more concerned with patching up the cracks in their elaborately-built fabric than in studying its foundation. In the ferment of their disappointment the possibility of a second, and not necessarily antithetical, cornerstone being established was rigidly forbidden.

To maintain and isolate the existing concept of Pheidias was easy. Only Pausanias had, in antiquity, named Alkamenēs as the sculptor of the west pediment; and it could be shown that Pausanias had made mistakes. The affirmation that here again was an error came easily to those who specialized in textual emendation and criticism, too easily, perhaps, when one considers that these same judges rested much of their case for Pheidias on Plutarch's account of his overseership under Perikles while citing the same authority for perjury in his account of Pheidias' death.

Thus was the prevailing evaluation of the style of Pheidias retained and reinforced. For it was tacitly ordained that the sculptures of the Parthenon, and *only* these, might be considered as criteria for his work. This, of course, confirmed the Scholiast's story of the late date of the Olympian Zeus; it removed Pheidias, and with him his disciple Alkamenēs, from any participation in the original work on the Temple at Olympia. It clarified and congealed a grand concept, and at very little expense: charging another slip to Pausanias, and making the Olympia sculptures orphans of an academic storm.

This outline brings us to the original problem of this paper: the citizenship, if not the precise parentage, of the metopes and pediments of the Temple of Zeus. To establish this, only the sculptures themselves can supply the necessary clues, all other aid having been denied them. We must now turn to these for enlightenment.

## THE ORIGIN OF THE OLYMPIA SCULPTURES

No inscriptions have, with certainty, been associated directly with the Olympia sculptures.<sup>4</sup> But the figures themselves offer two potential types of information; and the first of these is their style.

Stylistic comparison, as a type of evidence, is inherently subjective. In order to remain as strictly factual as possible, similarities to the Olympia style have been rigidly limited to original works of certain provenance, or to universally accepted copies of lost originals of known provenance. The following list excludes all copies of debatable identification and all other works of doubtful authenticity or uncertain provenance. It includes:

<sup>4</sup> Excepting possibly that on the base of the Nike of Paionios for which see *infra* p. 309.

- "Blond Boy", from the Athenian Acropolis (Pl. 79a)
- Stele of an athlete crowning himself, from Sounion (Pl. 82a)
- The metopes from Temple E, Selinous (Pl. 81a)
- Relief of Demeter, Triptolemos and Persephone from Eleusis (Pl. 81c)
- The sculptures of the Hephaisteion, Athens (Pl. 79f)
- The metopes and frieze of the Parthenon, Athens (Pls. 79c, d, g, h; 81e; 82c; 83e)
- The Tyrannicides, after Kritios and Nesiotes, originally set up in the Agora at Athens, and included here because a sufficient number of copies is known to assure the accuracy of transcription from the originals. (Pl. 80a)
- The Varvakeion Athena, and the Strangford Shield, after Pheidias, here included because of their general acceptance as reasonably accurate reflections of the original cult image in the Parthenon. (Pls. 82b; 83c)

The eye sees most strongly what it wishes to see; and words, a limiting means of communication, inevitably stress only what has seemed significant to the eye. In an effort to minimize the effect of prejudice, the parallels for separate comparative features are illustrated on the plates with only the barest verbal sketch at this point in the text to accompany them.

**Hair:** The Olympia sculptures use four different formulae for representing hair. The first type, tight curls, is most closely paralleled in the "Blond Boy" and a Lapith head on a Parthenon metope, but in its more formalized concept in the Harmodios, and in the Zeus and Herakles from the Selinous metopes (Pls. 79 b, a, c; 80a; 81a). The second type, zig-zag locks, is also used on the "Blond Boy," the reliefs from Sounion and Eleusis, the Selinous metopes and on many figures of the frieze of the Parthenon (Pls. 80b; 79a; 82a; 81 c, a; 79d). The third variant, short, flat locks, had previously appeared only on the Aristogeiton, and was to become, with modifications, virtually standard in Greek sculpture (Pls. 80a; 79c). The fourth, a cap-like mass without detail, is new at Olympia, and, except as it is retained sporadically in the metopes of the Hephaisteion and certain sculptures on the Parthenon, otherwise unique (Pls. 81b; 79 f, h). The only parallels between Sicily and Olympia are the two mentioned in this paragraph.

**Head:** Parallels between the head of the Apollo of the West Pediment, the "Blond Boy" of the Acropolis and the Sounion Stele have long been cited (Pls. 80b; 79a; 82a). Those of the Centaurs reappear in the Eurystheus and Skiron of the Hephaisteion metopes and finally in some of the heads of Centaurs on the Parthenon metopes (Pl. 79 e, f, g). The baldness of the Old Seer is repeated in the Eurystheus of the Hephaisteion, in two of the centaurs on metopes of the Parthenon, and in the Pheidias on the Strangford Shield (Pls. 83a; 79 f, g; 83c). No similar types are found outside of Attica.



Body: The huge, solid and simple anatomy finds its only real parallels in the Tyrannicides (Pl. 80 a, b).

Drapery: The doughy, round-ridged folds and overall heaviness of the Olympia garments find few parallels. The vague lacunae, well illustrated in the Kneeling Boy, are reflected in the Lapith Woman of one of the Parthenon metopes (Pl. 83 d, e); the rigid vertical folds of the standing women at Olympia in the Demeter of the Eleusis Relief, the Maidens of the Parthenon Frieze (Pls. 80c; 81c; 82c), and the Varvakeion statuette which last is unique in repeating the firm triangular fold running from knee to instep on the relaxed leg of the Athena on the Atlas metope at Olympia (Pls. 82b, 81b).

Pose: The informality of Athena's attitude in the Stymphalian Birds metope recurs on one of the Parthenon metopes which also preserves close, though not detailed, similarities to the Olympia drapery style (Pl. 81 d, e).

The inference, based on likeness to sculptures of impeccable nationality, is almost exclusively in favor of Attica. That more comparative material, and from other localities, is not available supplies reason for regret; but the consistency of the Attic parallels seems as conclusive proof as stylistic analogy can ever supply. And though stylistic reasoning is always in part subjective, the material evidence here represented is infinitely more reliable than all the hypothetical arguments which in the past have generated schools of sculpture in Northern Greece, Paros, the Peloponnesos and Elis combined. Within the limits of this method, this testimony is overwhelmingly in favor of Attica.

One other approach to the origin of the sculptures is offered by their iconography. The selection of subjects for architectural decoration in Greek times seems to have been limited by few, if any, restrictions.<sup>5</sup> The choice seems to have been guided by a predilection for myths and legends, either of particular local significance or of general Hellenic interest. Thus in their Treasury at Delphi the Athenians recount the prowess of their special hero Theseus, the labors of the international athlete Herakles, and an event of dual significance since it applies equally to both heroes, the battle of Greeks and Amazons. In the Hephaisteion at Athens, despite the cult, Hephaistos plays no known, and certainly no important, part in the decoration. Theseus again performs on the flanks of the main façade, while Herakles' deeds occupy the metopes on the eastern face, and his reception into Olympos fills the east pediment.<sup>6</sup> The sculptures of the Parthenon devote the principal pediment to Athena's birth on Olympos, the secondary to her most important local exploit. The metopes include the battle of Gods and Giants; the Trojan War; the battle of Centaurs and Lapiths, of local

<sup>5</sup> For a recent discussion of this topic see H. Kähler, *Das Griechische Metopenbild*, Munich, 1949.

<sup>6</sup> See H. A. Thompson, "The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 243 ff.

interest because of Theseus' participation; and, again, the battle of Greeks and Amazons.

In approaching the search for iconographic indications in the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus it is important to keep this flexibility in mind. Choice of subject is significant only if it seems to differ from these two general principles of local importance or general Hellenic concern.

#### TABLE OF ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

##### The Metopes: The Labors of Herakles.

Appropriateness: Unquestionable. The story was not only part of the pan-Hellenic legend, but, according to one tradition, Herakles founded the Olympic Games.

Interpretation: Except for some of the attempts at new compositions which seem to have been part of the overall experimental quality of much of the Olympia sculptures, the only striking deviation from the norm is the ubiquity of Athena. She appears three, probably four, and possibly more times. As the chief deity of Athens next to Zeus, she greets Theseus on the metopes of the Delphic Treasury and Herakles on the metopes of the Hephaisteion, but on the Attic buildings she never feels it necessary to participate in the performance of their specific exploits. Her participation at Olympia is without parallel in sculpture.<sup>7</sup>

Conclusion: The scenes of the Labors of Herakles are unusual iconographically because of the frequent, and, in sculpture, unique participation of Athena in the action scenes.

Inference: Attic influence.

##### The East (and more important) Pediment: The Chariot Race of Pelops and Oinomaos.

Appropriateness: Unquestionable. According to one tradition this contest was regarded as the inauguration of the Games.

Interpretation: Normal; no peculiarities apparent.

Conclusion: The selection and interpretation of the subject are entirely within the expected formula.

##### The West (and less important) Pediment: The Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths.

Appropriateness: Questionable, for it represents neither local legend, nor a myth

<sup>7</sup> The association, however, was common in Attic black-figured vase painting. For an unusual interpretation of the Hephaisteion metope, see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 245.



of general Hellenic significance.<sup>8</sup> Possible explanations have been proposed as follows:

1. Peirithous was said to have been a son of Zeus;
2. Theseus was said to have been a grandson of Pelops;
3. Apollo, who plays no necessary part in the story, but here occupies the central position, was said to have been the ancestor of the Lapiths;
4. The Lapiths lived on the slopes of Mt. Olympos, the dwelling place of the gods.

Aside from these morsels of erudition, there is no link between Olympia and the legend.

Interpretation: The selection of a theme for conspicuous presentation that had no local and little general Hellenic interest at this time is at least peculiar. It was of special Athenian importance, particularly at the time of the building of the Temple at Olympia when Theseus' bones had recently been installed in a magnificent compound in Athens after their transfer from Skyros by Kimon. It should be further noted that the Centaurs, except as they appear on the imported chest of Kypselos, are unique at Olympia; where also Peirithous appears only once again, in company with Theseus, on the decorations by Panainos of Athens that accompanied the cult image of Zeus by Pheidias, an Athenian. The only ancient description of the pediment that has survived records the central figure as Peirithous, though its scale clearly denotes a god, and the cuttings in the right hand and wrist indicate a missing bow. Why the mortal offspring of Zeus should have taken precedence over one of his immortal sons in the minds of ancient commentators may perhaps best be explained as inability to comprehend Apollo's inclusion in the pediment at all. His commanding position cannot be justified by the importance of his worship at Olympia, although according to one tradition his match with Hermes had inaugurated the Games. At all times he was the patron god of Olympia's chief pan-Hellenic rival, Delphi. During the years that the sculptures were carved, pan-Hellenism was of vital interest to all Greeks and a major commercial one at Olympia. At this time Apollo, in addition to his customary high veneration by the Athenians, held for them an additional importance as the presiding deity of Delos, symbolic and fiscal center of their empire.

<sup>8</sup> Because of its choice for the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus, it has often been held that it represented a pan-Hellenic symbol of the victories of the Greeks over the Barbarians. The proof of this is lacking except in Attica.

Conclusion: the subject is unique at Olympia, but popular at Athens. The prominence of the essentially Ionian, and rival, god Apollo, and the choice of a legend generally associated with the Athenian hero Theseus is difficult to explain except by:

Inference: Athenian influence.

Both stylistic and iconographic testimony indicates Athens as the source of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus. Neither type is, in itself, conclusive; but, combined, the two present a consistent and persuasive picture. Two similar results may be considered a coincidence that only a third can convert into a certainty. The one remaining scrap of evidence from ancient times directly concerning the sculpture is to be found in Pausanias' account in which he unhesitatingly ascribes the west pediment to Alkamenes of Athens and the east pediment to Paionios of Mende, a sculptor now recognized on the basis of his later Nike as an exponent of the Attic style.

All the evidence of classic date is in. Three different approaches achieve the same conclusion. Yet this result has been firmly disallowed and Pausanias' statement considered wrong. It becomes essential to review the reasons for this rejection, centered largely about prevailing reconstructions of Paionios and Alkamenes. To do this in perspective we must first consider the development of Attic sculpture in the decades that followed the Persian Wars.

### THE REVOLUTION IN ATTIC SCULPTURE

The precise steps by which the revolt away from the decorative mannerisms of the archaic style began are not yet clear. From the similarities between the heads of the "Blond Boy" and the Olympia Apollo we may assume that even before the Persian sack in 480 certain definite changes had been initiated. That they had already achieved a considerable degree of development becomes evident in the unprecedented, but maturely expressed, concept of the Tyrannicides (Pl. 80a). In these figures, whose originals were installed in the Agora at Athens in 477, only the smiles and the hair of the Harmodios retain the stamp of archaism. Thus far no adequate precursors have been recovered for the heavy rounded masses of the bodies and the heroic vitality that infuses them; but it is obvious that the forms of the revolution, singularly appropriate to express the stern resolve evoked by the victories over the Persians, were ready for immediate adoption in Attica. These incorporated the direct with the powerful, the physical implication of superhuman might, and the calm determination that accompanies confidence in divine guidance. They are the embodiment of the characters of Aischylos.

In all these respects the Olympia sculptures represent a continuation, with some modifications and experiments, of an established manner. In them the last direct



imprints of archaic formulae disappear. The smile is replaced by a serenely impassive mouth. Only the bitten Lapith (Pl. 79b) curves his lips upward at the corners, but here the expression is clearly intended as a realistic grimace, not as a survival of archaism. The short flat locks of Aristogeiton recur in one of the Centaurs (Pl. 79e), are repeated in some of the sculptures of the Parthenon and later become standardized in the type of Polykleitos. The tight arbitrary curls of Harmodios are loosened a little at Olympia and varied; although if one considers the type used in the "Blond Boy" it is evident that the hair of Harmodios is a survival of an earlier symbol sporadically continued into Periklean times, and that the hair of Apollo, of Sterope, and others at Olympia merely progresses from the "Blond Boy" toward the Apollo on the Parthenon frieze.

As for the physical type, the Olympia figures retain the qualities of the Tyrannicide group almost without change.

Other fields for comparison with Harmodios and Aristogeiton are limited to the drapery over the arm of the latter. This detail, of little consequence in that group and so perhaps less reliable in the surviving replicas, recurs many times at Olympia with its overall flatness and deliberate variety in the spacing of folds and the outline of edges. It may be seen most clearly, perhaps, in a Lapith woman in the west pediment (Pl. 83b), where the sculptor seems still determined to evade archaic pattern while retaining the shallow parallel planes. This tendency never died out, and very possibly contributed one of the terms of ultimate compromise that resulted in the style of the Parthenon.

Thus far the comparison of the Tyrannicides and the Olympia sculptures demonstrates a close continuity of elements, some of which remain virtually unchanged while others lead toward later and new solutions. But in certain respects the later sculptures exhibit characteristics not to be found in the earlier group. Some of these trends are to remain of unique or limited implication. Others provide skeleton themes for later and greater development.

In the first category falls a definite, though sporadic, flirtation with realism.<sup>9</sup> We have already noted this in the bitten Lapith of the west pediment whose arc-shaped mouth suggests the adaptation of an earlier convention to complement the furrowed brow in an expression of pain. In the east pediment the wrinkled forehead of the Old Seer expressly implies alarm (Pl. 83a). In this figure other details owe their existence to the same trend: the folds of middle-aged flesh under the chest, the twist of the edge of the robe about the waist, the partial baldness of the head. The flabby body does not appear again in Greek sculpture until the age of the City State has passed. The baldness, common earlier in red-figured vases of the Brygos-Douris group, rarely recurs in painting after the middle of the century. In sculpture it is

<sup>9</sup> Miss Richter, in *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture*, considers this an outstanding characteristic of the period.

repeated only in the Eurystheus of the Hephaisteion metope, in two Centaurs on the Parthenon metopes and in the self-portrait of Pheidias on the shield of the Athena Parthenos as seen on the Strangford shield. The last instance has peculiar significance since it is not only unique among human types in Periklean art, but seems thoroughly contrary to all we know or may infer concerning the set principles of physical idealism of that age.

Another experiment of the Olympia artists consisted in the rendering of hair in a solid, cap-like mass (Pl. 81b), so appropriate to the broad simplicity of the type it adorned that it recurs only in the metopes of the Hephaisteion and some of the sculptures of the Parthenon. After that, elaboration overwhelms it.

A further, less easily demonstrated, note of attempted realism may be found in much of the drapery. The lower part of the Seer's body is largely hidden by doughy lumps; and the shoulder of the kneeling boy is obscured by a similar textile that fairly oozes down it in curious open loops. Here again, the sculptor seems to be trying to evolve a type of stuff appropriate to the forms it covers, thinking in terms of thick rounded ridges and revealing more of the character of heavy material than any previous style had shown. The uneven border that follows neckline, chest and hip of several figures further increases the sense of naturalism.

A final manifestation of tentative realism may be seen in the unconventional pose of Athena, perched casually on a rock to receive the Stymphalian Birds. Her crouching pose and awkward twist at the waist reappear only once, in a metope from the north side of the Parthenon where she engages Hera in conversation.

But if the Olympia sculptures continue earlier precedents, and explore variations that enjoy at best a limited vogue and at worst no further emulation, they also carry over, or invent new forms that endure. The simplest of these to demonstrate is a type of hair, derived from the "Blond Boy" and the relief of a man with a kylix in his hand from the Persian debris of the Acropolis.<sup>10</sup> The head is covered with crisp parallel zig-zag ridges terminating, on the "Blond Boy," in tight, slightly varied curls. This coiffure is repeated in the Apollo of the west pediment, and with increasing freedom in the Sterope of the east pediment and the Demeter of the Eleusis relief, in the Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis of the Parthenon frieze, and continuously thereafter, especially on female heads, for generations.

The lips of the Olympia Apollo are slightly parted, a mannerism softened and amplified in the Eleusis relief, and thereafter standard in Greek Art.

While the rounded planes of the bodies of the Tyrannicides continue to dominate the Olympia sculptures, the careful eye may discern, especially in the torso of Apollo (Pl. 80b), the faint beginning of the flatter planes and crisper transitions that are to be developed into a standard characteristic of the Periklean style. It will certainly

<sup>10</sup> H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pls. 129, 130.



detect, in the veins on the hand of one of the Centaurs an early acceptance of the prevailing trend toward multiplicity of details already evident in contemporary Sicilian sculpture and soon to be manifest extensively in the Parthenon.

The most important original contribution, and the one which more than any other was to find a glorious culmination in Attic art of the later fifth century, was the concept of using the lines of the drapery to amplify the modelling and the motion of the figure. Such a formula was latent, but thoroughly dormant, in pre-Persian archaism. The Acropolis maidens pull their skirts tightly about their buttocks and legs revealing the anatomical outlines; but this idea is never consciously developed by the arrangement and direction of the folds. At Olympia the dishevelled chiton of a Lapith woman clings to one breast while its folds seem to frame it and accent its curve as they part and flow down on either side (Pl. 84b). The edge of the chiton follows and heightens the contours of shoulder and chest. More familiar is the magnificent broad sweep of the cloak over the hips and thigh of the Kladeos, and the gradually contracting curves of its folds as it wraps itself about the knees, legs and feet (Pl. 84a). The basic formula for the recumbent "Fate" of the east pediment of the Parthenon is already announced (Pl. 84c). It awaits only a further evolutionary step that took place during the decade following the Olympia sculptures.<sup>11</sup>

This development followed two courses. The first was complication, the multiplication of ridges, deepening of hollows. The second was a shift paralleled in anatomical style, from an emphasis on roundness of planes to a partial return to the flat planes and angular transitions of archaic days. Both of these may be simply but clearly shown in a comparison of the chiton of Sterope with its few folds and heavy rounded edges; to the Demeter of the Eleusis Relief where the pleats are more numerous, the edges sharp, and the clarity emphasized by a shallow concavity along the top of the flat vertical ridges; to the Maidens of the Parthenon frieze, the Varvakeion Athena, the Caryatids of the Erechtheum, etc. If one remembers the close similarities of the heads of the Eleusis Demeter and the Sterope (Pls. 81c; 80c), it is necessary only to glance at the other side of the Eleusis Relief to the figure of Persephone and find in the hair, the eye, the chiton and himation the style of the Parthenon in full flower.<sup>12</sup>

Thus the Olympia sculptures provide not only a vivid extension of the potenti-

<sup>11</sup> Many of the Olympia drapery mannerisms appear in the partly-finished backs of certain of the pedimental figures of the Parthenon. Cf. Pl. 84d.

<sup>12</sup> While the Eleusis relief is clearly in mind, it is instructive to consider the third figure, Triptolemos. Though the firm curls of his hair derive from Olympia they are a step closer to the freer rendering of the Parthenon. His body in pose, proportion, foreshortening and detail is almost identical with that of the youth on the Sounion stele, whose head presents so striking a parallel to that of the Olympia Apollo. Further transitional details on the Eleusis Relief may be noted in the eye of Demeter which, though retaining the heavy upper lid of Olympia, carries it beyond its junction with the lower; and in the mouths of all the figures as already noted.

alities inherent in the style of Kritios and Nesiotes, but also the earliest clear premonitions of the style of the Parthenon. They are the source from which came the massive form and easy flow of the "Theseus" and the recumbent "Fate" of the latter's east pediment. It is from their dynamic questioning that the ultimate compromise between force and sophistication is found.

This solution was achieved by the consolidation of the characteristics of the Olympia style with a separate tendency stemming more directly and pacifically from the late archaic. We have seen that the Olympia sculptures find their only known parallels in Attica, earlier in the Tyrannicides, later in a whole series of monuments including the Parthenon itself. But there was another trend in Attic sculpture at this time that paralleled the development in Sicily. We cannot follow it as clearly; but literary references to the interest of the Athenian Kalamis in veins and sinews relate him to similar experiments by the Sicilian Pythagoras. These may be seen in the metopes from Temple E at Selinos, which show much lighter physical types than the Olympia figures, and consistently develop minor anatomical detail while retaining archaic mannerisms in the drapery.<sup>13</sup> None of them faintly suggests the bulk or the dynamic linear qualities which imbue the sculptures of the Parthenon.

The partial modification of the heroic physical type of Olympia, seen first in the Sounion stele and the Triptolemos of the Eleusis relief, and then in the metopes of the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon, supplied the earliest opening concession to the compromise. From this point the adaptations toward greater softness, ease and complication, more minor detailed realism combined with an agreeable overall idealization, rapidly shaped the final draft of the treaty which we call the Periklean style. The modifications were inevitable, for at this time the raw power of Aischylos was undergoing a similar adjustment in the suaver persuasion of Sophokles.

## THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

(See also Appendix A)

The apparent digression on changes of style, necessary because they are so often ignored, has temporarily drawn us away from the next logical topic for consideration. For as it is generally held that neither Paionios nor Alkamenes had a part in the work on the Olympia sculptures, despite the statements of Pausanias and the apparent Athenian origin of the pediments, there must be very sound reasoning, or proof, or both to maintain this position. We must then scrutinize what is known of these artists and weigh the justness of this opinion.

Was Pausanias right or wrong in his attributions of the pediments? There is no

<sup>13</sup> The veil of the Hera on the Selinous metope and the cloak (?) of Zeus embody certain mannerisms later used in the sculptures of the Parthenon, though Hera's chiton and the dress of the figures on the other metopes is rigidly archaic.



suspicion of corruptness in the text. He does not qualify his statement in any way; and since he eschews the phrases "they say" and "it is said" which he uses to indicate unreliable sources of information, we may be sure that he gave his assertion without reservation. It is easy to say Pausanias was wrong. His was a human fallibility, and scores of avid critics nearly two millennia later have shown conclusively that he did, on occasion, err. But the burden of proof lies with the prosecution, and must be shown valid before it can be sustained. This particular accusation has been supported by the claim that neither Paionios nor Alkamenes, for reason of their dates and their styles, could have executed the Olympia pediments.

### PAIONIOS

What do we know of Paionios of Mende? He is mentioned only twice in ancient literature; and both monuments have survived, thereby establishing a unique record in correspondence of evidence. Pausanias names him as the sculptor of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus, and, later, as the artist of the Nike dedicated by the Messenians of Naupaktos which stood near by.

The sculptures of the east pediment have already been noted (Pls. 80c; 83 a, d). They are consistently in the Olympia manner, presumably no later in date than 458 when the Temple is considered to have been complete, and, except for their embryonic experiments with the formula of amplifying the body through the lines of the drapery, seem not especially advanced.

The Nike is a magnificent example of the full-blown Periklean style, the long free-sweeping ridges of the chiton giving action and direction to the otherwise scantily clad form (Pl. 85c). Of the stiffness of Sterope and the bulk of the Old Seer no traces whatever remain. The mannerisms of the sculptor are so similar to those of "Master B" of the parapet of the Nike Temple in Athens that Carpenter is tempted to identify him as Paionios,<sup>14</sup> and this proposal together with its implication of strong Athenian association with the artist have generally been accepted.

The date of the Nike is not certain. Neither the letter forms of its well-preserved inscription, the mouldings of its lofty pedestal, nor the unspecified victory it commemorated can be placed surely within a limit of thirty years or more. It is now generally dated about 425; so far as style is concerned it can hardly be much earlier.

The Nike is unquestionably the work of Paionios of Mende, for the inscription bearing his name survives to demonstrate that, this time at least, Pausanias made no mistake. Because of the probable date and the highly developed and complex style of the Nike, it has been maintained that Paionios cannot also have been the author of the east pediment.

The first part of this argument is clearly untenable. It arbitrarily assumes that

<sup>14</sup> *The Sculptures of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 35.

an artist's life is brief, whereas one needs only to compute the average age of the artist members of the Century Association to make a good case for the opposite. This proposal is misleading and irrelevant.

The second argument, that the differences in style between the two monuments make it impossible for Paionios to have done them both, ignores countless parallel instances in the history of art in general, and in particular, the development of Attic sculpture between 460 and 425. One cannot conceive of the mass demise of the Olympia sculptors before 450, and yet the traces of their mannerisms had almost entirely disappeared by the time the metopes of the Parthenon were carved. It would be as startling to find Sterope on the Nike base as to discover the Nike herself taking part in the chariot race in the pediment.

Unless further proof is forthcoming we should in fairness accept Paionios as the author of both monuments; and in support of this contention certain further indications are available.

The head of the Nike is virtually destroyed, but copies of it have been recognized in a less battered condition. Carpenter, pointing out their similarities to a head by "Master B," notes that: "the features seem smooth, clear and shallow, with quiet and rather massive hair above expressionless cheeks and eyes";<sup>15</sup> and indeed the early qualities of these details have been used to demonstrate a date before 450 for the Nike. Such a date is plainly impossible either for the rest of the Nike or for the work of "Master B" on the Nike Temple parapet. But these heads are closer in feeling and in style to the heads of the Olympia sculptures than to most of those on the metopes and frieze of the Parthenon.

A characteristic of the drapery of the Nike, mirrored in the work of "Master B," is the curious tubular type of ridge which the artist raises in long lines from the clinging chiton. When one remembers that though many of the sculptures of the Parthenon retain the Olympia roundness of fold, one of the essential technical developments of the Periklean style was the flat, or even slightly depressed, ridge with crisp edges, it is possible to conceive of this peculiarity as a well-disguised survivor of the rounded ridges of Olympia.

A third indication is to be found in the inscription which reads: "Paionios of Mende made (the Nike), and he was victorious in making the ἀκρωτήρια on the Temple." The common translation of "ἀκρωτήρια" would imply that Paionios was referring to the gilt victory and kettles that crowned the three angles of the pediment. These, being gilded, were presumably of bronze, and have not survived. It is doubtful, that what is now a technical term of precise meaning was similarly connoted in the fifth century B.C.<sup>16</sup> Literally "ἀκρωτήρια" means "the higher-up things," and might

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>16</sup> For a very full discussion of the word as meaning "extremities" or "tips of an object" see Dorothy B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 291 ff.



have been used to refer to the sculptures of the pediment. No certain decision on this point can be reached. It is important, however, to note that Paionios specifically puts himself on record as participating on certain exterior sculptures of the Temple of Zeus.

The results of this review of Paionios may be summarized as follows:

1. Both works ascribed to Paionios by ancient writers have been recovered.
2. The Nike is certainly an original by Paionios.
3. There is no reason to assume a short life for Paionios.
4. There is every reason to assume, and none to refute, that all Attic artists changed their style markedly about 450, and that Paionios was an artist associated with Athens.
5. The head and drapery of the Nike both suggest earlier mannerisms largely out-moded by the time of the Parthenon sculptures.
6. The signatory inscription definitely associates Paionios with work on the temple.
7. There are no valid reasons for rejecting Pausanias' ascription of the east pediment to Paionios.

This proposal accepts both the Nike and the east pediment as originals by Paionios. It invokes all the evidence from ancient times in its support.

#### ALKAMENES

Of Alkamenes we know more that is vague, and less that is tangible, than in the case of Paionios. He is mentioned many times in ancient literature; but aside from a few generalities which may be helpful, only a handful of references are of real value in visualizing his work and his career.

Three dates, two specific and one implied, have come down in ancient literature as associated with him:

*ca.* 460—the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia;

448/45—in which years Pliny says he flourished along with Pheidias, Kritios, Nesiotes, and Hegias;

404/03—a colossal relief by Alkamenes was dedicated at Thebes.

The first two dates are compatible; the second and third are of possible, the first and third of unlikely, consonance. On the evidence of these three dates alone it is more reasonable to accept the first and second, than to insist on the third at the expense of the first.

Whereas for Paionios all the known attributed examples were available for study,

only three possible works, one a copy, by Alkamenes have been preserved. The first of these, the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Pls. 79 b, e; 80b; 83b; 84b), we have already discussed. Like the east pediment it is largely in the heroic style with occasional prophecies of future development, such as the modelling of the Apollo and the drapery of the Lapith woman whose head is the most delicately carved of all the architectural sculptures of the temple.

The second is a Herm, unearthed at Pergamon in 1903 (Pl. 86d). It bears an inscription reading: "You will recognize Alkamenes' beautiful statue, the Hermes Propylaios. A Pergamene set it up." The combination of snail-shell curls and formalized beard with eyes and mouth of the Parthenon style have long perplexed the very scholars who, at the same time, believe it to be a copy of a Herm which Pausanias noted in front of the Acropolis of Athens without recording its artist. Many other copies demonstrate that it was not only from a famous original but that the archaic elements were no whim on the part of the copyist. Some of them even render eyes and mouth in an earlier style.

The discrepancy of hair and beard has usually been explained as conscious archaism on the part of Alkamenes. The argument would carry more weight if it could be shown that any such tendency ever existed in the sculpture of the later fifth century. Taken at its face value, the combination recalls the Demeter of the Eleusis relief and the Nike of Paionios where the same type of juxtaposition of styles is to be found.

The third sculpture is a badly-battered group of a young woman and a small boy, found more than a century ago on the Athenian Acropolis (Pl. 86 a, b, c). Pausanias listed there: "a group representing Prokne and Itys, at the time when Prokne had taken her resolution against the boy, was dedicated by Alkamenes."<sup>17</sup> He does not specifically state that Alkamenes, the *famous sculptor*, was the dedicator (neither does the copyist of the Herm from Pergamon). If, as is certainly possible, it was he, it is a fair presumption that the work was his own. Dedications by artists were by no means rare on the Acropolis. As for Pausanias failing to qualify the name, we ourselves rarely amplify the names of "Rembrandt," "Bernini" or "Raphael" today.

The group has found small favor with those who would insist on Alkamenes being reflected only in the type of the Venus Genetrix. Prokne's pose is formal. Her flowing garments are clearly in the Parthenon style, better paralleled by the conservative forms of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos than by more advanced and complex mannerisms. Her shattered face retains only the curve of the cheek, the heavy chin and eye, the plain forehead framed by heavy locks. In these features the impartial viewer will more readily recognize the similar qualities of the Varvakeion Statuette, the Demeter of the Eleusis relief, less distinctly those of Sterope, than the usual variety

<sup>17</sup> I, xxiv, 3.



of types of the Parthenon. Here again, as in the Pergamene Herm and the Nike of Paionios, the earlier and the later styles are met in a somewhat less than perfect blend.

This concludes the specific evidence from antiquity for Alkamenes. It may be summarized as follows:

1. Two of the ascribed dates agree well. The third does not.
2. The three extant candidates to represent the style of Alkamenes agree well with each other and with the first two dates.
3. None of the extant candidates supports the third date.

Therefore, on the basis of the unity of two dates and three monuments as opposed to a single date, such proof as there is strongly supports the attribution of the west pediment to Alkamenes.

In addition to the above selections, there are many more or less explicit references to the style and career of Alkamenes in ancient literature. Some of these are valueless, such as Lucian's reference to his "symmetry" and "delicacy," for we do not know by what standard he measured these terms. If he had in mind the refinements of the Nike Temple parapet or of the Venus Genetrix, he implied one thing; but if he was thinking of the style of Kritios and Nesiotes with whom Pliny linked Alkamenes he was suggesting another. It is more interesting to note that Alkamenes was mentioned more often with Pheidias than alone, and always in his company when style is the chief consideration. He appears much less often with Polykleitos; and Quintilian tells us that the latter lacked the "pondus," translated by Miss Richter as "lofty serenity," of Alkamenes and Pheidias. "Pondus" seems better to suit the sculptures of the Parthenon and of the Temple of Zeus than the restlessness of the Nike Temple parapet. As had already been noted, Pliny does not hesitate to include Alkamenes in the same date with Pheidias, Hegias, Kritios and Nesiotes.

In essence, the trend of the evidence for the style of Alkamenes would easily show him to be an earlier and middle period artist except for two factors: the date of 404/03,<sup>18</sup> and his close association with Pheidias. It is almost safe to conclude that, but for the problem of Pheidias, the single late date would never have been considered a serious matter. In fact, the evidence for Alkamenes would in itself be strong enough to carry Pheidias with it except that: Pheidias was regarded as a greater man; there is much more literary and much less monumental evidence for him; and there is a tradition, two centuries in building, for the opposite point of view. Unless there is real reason to question this, all other indications will continue to be ignored. We are at last confronted directly with the master.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix A.

## PHEIDIAS

(See also Appendices B and C)

The greatest of all Greek sculptors is known to us today only indirectly. The ivory and gold and bronze which he fashioned has long since been recut or melted down. Only one of his statues, the Athena Parthenos, is certainly identified, in small, lack-lustre copies (Pls. 82b; 83c). Fragments of undecorated stone that once formed parts of the pedestals for some of his greatest works tell us tantalizingly little of value. A single inscription seems surely to record the accounting connected with his colossal Athena Promachos. Compared to this the monumental evidence for Alkamenes looms large indeed.

In partial compensation, ancient literature abounds with references to Pheidias, his works and his style. For the most part their contents are not very meaningful, for their generalities intrigue rather than satisfy, opening up an infinity of speculation that will remain forever theory until more specific information becomes available. At best they represent a small handful of fact; at worst they confuse and contradict each other. The elusive quality of the evidence for Alkamenes is multiplied. For here is greatness, and greatness inspires poetry rather than prose.

In chronological sequence, the following dates and events have been associated with Pheidias at one time or another and with varying degrees of acceptance.

*Ca. 500-475, Apprenticeship*

Pheidias is said to have been a pupil of Agelaidas of Argos. Agelaidas made statues for two athletes whose Olympic victories were won in 520 and 516, and of a third who was put to death in 507. His dedicatory group for the Tarentines was apparently set up early in the fifth century. One of his statues of Herakles stood in Athens, suggesting a period of residence there.<sup>19</sup>

Pheidias is also said to have been a pupil of Hegias of Athens. Pausanias calls Hegias a contemporary of Agelaidas and of Onatas, who was certainly working at Olympia before the Temple of Zeus was built. Hegias is also considered as a contemporary of Kritios and Nesiotes whose Tyrannicides are dated 477, and whose dates are amplified by three bases on the Athenian Acropolis bearing letter forms of 460 or earlier. A base on the Acropolis, signed by Hegias, resembles those just mentioned epigraphically, and, further, was damaged by fire, probably at the time of the Persian sack in 480. Pliny lists Hegias as a contemporary of Pheidias and Alkamenes along with Kritios and Nesiotes under the date of 448/5.

Thus both named masters of Pheidias were active in Athens before the Persian

<sup>19</sup> Tzetzes, *Chil*, VIII, 325.



Wars and the known works of most of his "contemporaries" ante-date the completion of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. This indicates a period of training for Pheidias before 480; and possibly shortly thereafter.

*Ca. 477-461, Marathon Memorial*

Pheidias received three of the largest commissions the Athenians had to award for monuments to their victories over the Persians. One of these, the bronze Athena Promachos, seems surely to have been executed as late as 455; and there is reason to believe the second, the acrolithic Athena Areia at Plataia, was done at about the same time. But the third, comprising bronze gods and heroes which were set up at Delphi in honor of Marathon, included a portrait statue of Miltiades. Portrait sculpture was a rarity in Greece in the fifth century, and the inclusion of a mortal among divinities and heroes was unique in its time. Because of this it has been inferred that the group was erected under the patronage of Kimon, the son of Miltiades, whose supremacy at Athens endured between 477 and 461, the year in which he was exiled. There remains, of course, the bare possibility that Miltiades himself set it up; but Miltiades died in 488, two years after the battle and his name was regarded with definite reserve by his immediate successors. Thus we may reasonably place the figures between 477 and the year of Kimon's exile.

*Ca. 470-458, Olympian Zeus*

The temple of Zeus at Olympia was built between these dates as is clearly shown by both literary and monumental sources. Pheidias is known to have made the cult image; and though its contemporaneity with the building which housed it has been questioned, there is considerable evidence that supports this date for the colossal figure.<sup>20</sup>

The manufacture of a new cult statue seems almost always to have been synchronous with that of the temple it occupied. There can have been no long lapse, if any, in this instance, for the Temple of Zeus was built in the mature lifetime of Pheidias.<sup>21</sup>

The architectural sculptures of the Temple, certainly contemporary with the building, are said to have been carved by two artists, one of whom was the most famous pupil of Pheidias and the other a man who worked in the Attic style. The sculptures are remarkable for their uniformity, implying a single supervisory authority.

<sup>20</sup> For a full discussion of the later date, see Appendix B.

<sup>21</sup> The completion of the cult images for the Hephaisteion in Athens in 420 whereas the building was begun in 449 has been used as an argument to sustain the concept of later dedications. But there is good reason to think that the completion of that temple itself was considerably delayed.

Pausanias, in his elaborate description of the decoration of the throne of Zeus, records numerous subjects some of which relate to the cult of Zeus, some to general Greek mythology, and some very reminiscent of the Athenian peculiarities already noted in the architectural sculptures. Thus the Battle of Greeks and Amazons appear twice, each time featuring Theseus, once as the ally of Herakles and once alone. The reliefs on the pedestal apparently placed Hephaistos next to Zeus and Hera. Hephaistos had but a single altar at Olympia as compared to Apollo's two. In Pausanias' whole tour of Greece the only temple to Hephaistos that he notes was the one above the Agora in Athens, a city which venerated him as midwife to Zeus during the birth of Athena, and as god of the artisans to whom Attic commerce owed so much. As in the metopes, Athena appears with Herakles. Apollo and Poseidon are included. On the barriers under the throne the nine panels painted by Panainos include two with a strong Attic bias, for Salamis is grouped with Greece and, reminiscent of the west pediment, Theseus is paired with Peirithous. The close correspondence between the subject matter of the architectural sculptures and the decorations of the cult image not only implies Athenian prejudice in each, but urges contemporaneity of execution and a single directing mind.

Panainos, the painter, is sometimes called the brother or the nephew of Pheidias. Aside from his work on the Olympian Zeus, his only other suggested date is given by his painting of the Battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile in Athens. The recently recovered fragments of this latter building show it to have been built between 460 and 450, a date which perfectly suits Polygnotos who also painted there.

The date of Panainos is important. As the brother of Pheidias they must both be considered middle aged before the end of the second quarter of the fifth century. As the nephew of Pheidias he would seem to make our dating for the apprentice years of the master conservatively late. In either case, the description of Pheidias as an old man in 438 is amply justified.

Pausanias records that in his time the workshop of Pheidias, where he wrought the image "piece by piece," was still to be seen at Olympia outside the Altis. Just north of the Leonidaion, which Pausanias mentions in his next sentence, the excavators unearthed the remains of a series of structures remarkably suited to this purpose. A row of small and lightly built rooms face an open area on the north, on the west side of which a single huge room faced east. The complex is just outside the Altis, as near to the Temple as it was possible to place it except within the sacred enclosure.

The large building is remarkably similar in orientation, dimension, material, plan and construction to the cella of the Temple. A comparison of the plans of the two structures reveals that their only real difference is (Fig. 1 a, b) in the substitution in the temple of columns for the spur walls of its counterpart.

The choice of brick for all but the lower part of the walls, and the lack of flutes



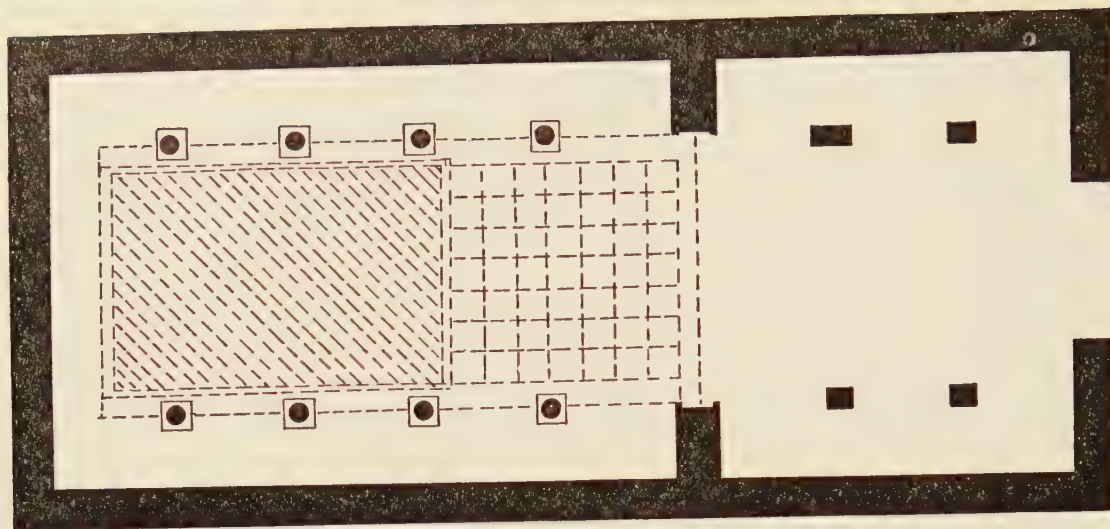


Fig. 1 a. Plan of the Workshop of Pheidias, with the base and reflecting basin of the Temple cella superposed in hatched lines

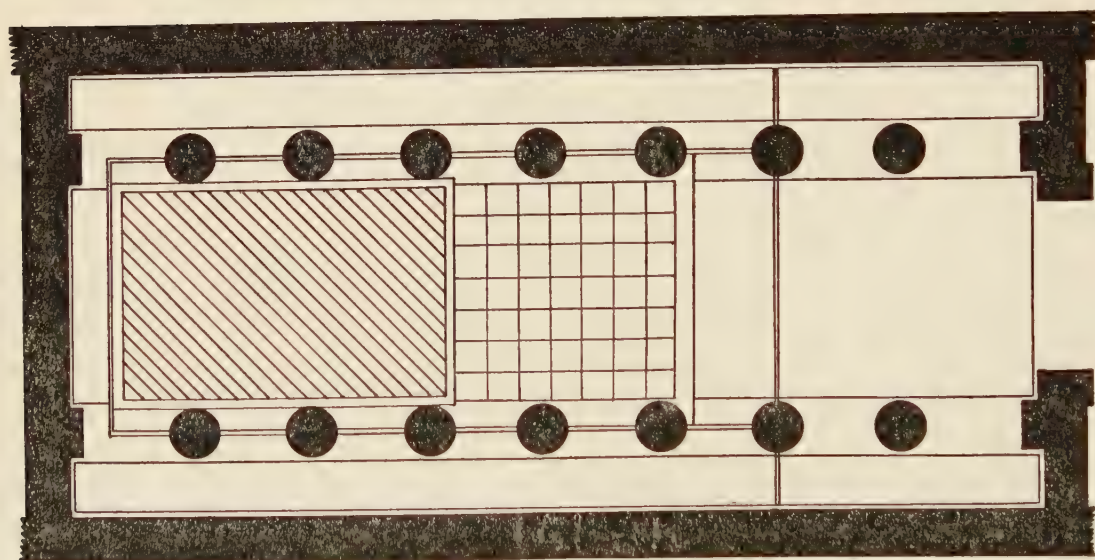


Fig. 1 b. Plan of the cella of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia.

on the interior columns of the "workshop" clearly suggest a building intended for relatively temporary and utilitarian purposes.

The large hall and its associated inconspicuous structures are perfectly adapted to the complexity of the construction of a colossal chryselephantine statue. The wood and ivory carvers, the goldsmiths and other metal workers, the carpenters all had special equipment and requirements which could best be met by special workrooms. Large lumber could be stacked in the courtyard until needed. The single huge building served in its eastern part to store the supply of unworked precious materials, while in the larger section to the west the great image could be assembled "piece by completed piece." The spur walls supported wooden doors or other types of barrier which would normally be closed, but which could be removed to study the effectiveness of the growing statue.<sup>22</sup> The solidity of the building's structure ensured the security of its valuable contents.

How perfectly the "assembly area" of the Workshop was suited for its purpose may be seen in Figure 1 a where the areas of the image base and of the dark paving with its raised rim of white marble have been transposed from the plan of the cella, Figure 1 b. Allowing a space between the back of the base and the rear wall equal to that which exists in the cella, the front edge of the white rim projects just half way into the space between the spur walls. It is also significant that the overall width of the pavement precisely corresponds to the distance between the ends of these spur walls.

The dark pavement may have served, as Pausanias noted, as a shallow reservoir for the oil which kept the wood and ivory of the statue from warping and cracking. It seems also to have served as a giant mirror by which light from the doorway was deflected upward. One of the most serious problems confronting Pheidias at Olympia was the lighting of his colossus. The cella, for all its relatively generous dimensions, was dwarfed by the enormous Zeus whose head must nearly have scraped the rafters. The sturdiness of construction and proportion of the architecture further tended to increase the sense of crowding gloom that the mighty doorway could not dispel. To counter this, at least in part, the dark blue limestone pavement, drenched with liquid (oil had the great advantage over water in its relative slowness of evaporation) anticipated the modern phenomenon of a macadam highway in the rain.

This interpretation finds support in the position of the eastern barrier in the cella. Instead of coinciding with the front face of the basin rim, it was placed between the second columns of the interior colonnades, chopping off a small section of the normal pavement of the cella. The explanation of this curious procedure may be found by plotting the lines of the angles whereby direct exterior light could reach the reflecting surface. If we postulate the position of the barrier as set up in the Workshop at the edge of the basin rim we note that more than three-quarters of the area received this

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gardiner, E. N., *Olympia, Its History and Remains*, p. 244.



light through the outside doorway (Fig. 2, A1). Conditions within the cella were different, the depth of the pronaos and peristyle more than doubling the distance between the pool and the open air. If the barrier had been retained at the edge of the basin less than a third of its surface would have been directly serviceable (Fig. 2, A2). By moving the barrier eastward to its actual position light could again reach the precise point it had achieved under the conditions of the Workshop<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 2, B 3).

If the Temple of Zeus had been completed before Pheidias arrived to begin his work, the cella itself would have been a logical assembly point for the image. The

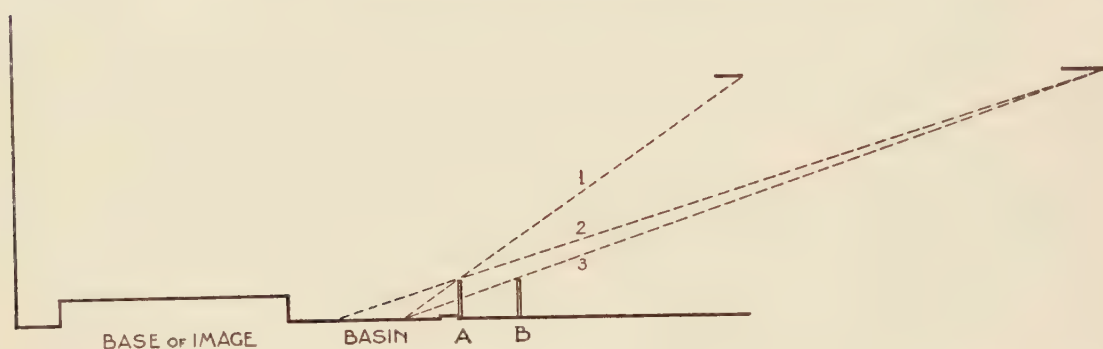


Fig. 2. Diagram of the maximum reflecting angles of the basin before the statue of Zeus:

1. Within the Workshop with the barrier (A) at the edge of the basin
2. Within the cella with the barrier (A) at the edge of the basin
3. Within the cella with the barrier (B) in its actual position

whole expensive operation of constructing a separate structure for which no other reasonable purpose has ever been assigned, and the difficult, delicate, not to say dangerous, task of dismantling, transferring and re-erecting the myriad parts of the intricate, but gigantic, statue would have been obviated.<sup>24</sup>

#### Pre 455, Pellene Athena

Travelling through Achaia Pausanias noted at Pellene a chryselephantine statue of Athena, and added, "They say it was made by Pheidias before he made the images of Athena on the Acropolis and at Plataia."<sup>25</sup> It is not clear from his text whether

<sup>23</sup> The lesser angle of refraction achieved, however, was less efficient. It is interesting in this connection to recall the lighting surprises that confronted Daniel Chester French when his colossus was installed in the Lincoln Memorial in Washington only a generation ago.

<sup>24</sup> It might be objected that the process of gradual assembly in the cella while the building was in use would be intolerable to the priests. It should be remembered that the Pope and Cardinals regularly celebrated Mass in the Sistine Chapel during the four years that the structure was filled with Michelangelo's scaffolding; and that he and his helpers worked continually between the services.

<sup>25</sup> Pausanias, VII, xxvii, 2.

his qualifying "they say" refers to the authorship of the statue or to its relative date. If the statement is true, it shows that Pheidias was at work on a major commission in the northwest Peloponnesos before 455 when we know him to have been engaged in fabricating the Athena Promachos on the Acropolis.

In addition to the Zeus at Olympia and the Athena at Pellene, Pheidias is credited with two other works in this general area, a chryselephantine Aphrodite Ourania at Elis and a victor statue in the Altis at Olympia. The construction of a gold-and-ivory statue of whatever size was a time-consuming task, and both the Athena and the Aphrodite were cult images, hence presumably larger than life. No direct clue as to the date of the Aphrodite at Elis has survived. It is significant that Panainos and Kolotes, both of whom assisted Pheidias on the Zeus, also worked at Elis; for this implies that Pheidias and his chief aides on the Zeus were continuously at work together for the Eleans over a considerable period of time. The construction of the Zeus must have required years.

These commissions seem best to fit the period before the Zeus was started. Pheidias was working in Athens by the early fifties of the century, and from then on we know enough of his career, however interpreted, seriously to doubt that he can later have made a protracted stay away from his native city. The clue to the date of the Athena at Pellene further urges this conclusion. Except for the Marathon Memorial at Delphi, Athens seems to have offered little in the way of orders for monumental sculpture between 480 and the Athena Promachos.

#### *Ca. 460-450, The Athenas Promachos and Areia*

The fragmentary inscription that apparently records the accounts connected with the making of the bronze Athena Promachos for the Acropolis at Athens is to be dated in this decade. The accounts cover a nine year period. Dinsmoor believes that they began a little before 460,<sup>26</sup> but Meritt prefers to date the cutting of the inscription toward the end of the decade.<sup>27</sup> Fragments of the base have survived. They include a large, heavy egg-and-dart moulding and a band of the same blue Eleusinian stone used by Pheidias for the pedestal and the pavement in front of the Olympian Zeus.

A combination of sources leaves little doubt that this bronze colossus stood about twenty-five to thirty feet in height.<sup>28</sup> The material was already familiar to Pheidias from his work on the Marathon Memorial at Delphi. He was also apparently familiar with statues larger than life, for his Athena at Pellene, if not the Olympian Zeus, seems to have been done before this time. The record of the fabrication of the Promachos covers nine years, a period equal to that in which he made the Athena Parthenos, a larger and more complicated image done while he was carrying the full

<sup>26</sup> *A.J.A.*, XXV, 1921, pp. 118-129; XLV, 1941, p. 427.

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 362 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See G. P. Stevens in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 491 ff.



organizational responsibility for Perikles' program. Obviously he cannot have been entirely occupied with this one figure during this time.<sup>29</sup>

The Athena Areia at Plataia was an acrolithic image, apparently only slightly smaller than the Athena Promachos. Its date seems to be linked with that of the Promachos in Pausanias' account of the Athena at Pellene. A further clue is supplied by the known active period of Polygnotos who painted decorations within the shrine that housed Pheidias' statue. For Polygnotos was fully employed for a long time before the middle of the century, but we have no indication that he worked later. Certain dates have been associated with him on reasonable grounds. The murals in the Lesche of the Knidians must antedate the death, in 468, of the poet Simonides. The daughter of Miltiades is said to have been one of his models. He adorned the walls of the Theseion, erected on the slopes of the Acropolis in honor of the recovery of the bones of Theseus by Kimon about 470. He worked with Mikon and Panainos on the Stoa Poikile in Athens, built as we have seen between 460 and 450.

Beyond the relative size of the figure and the fact that it was acrolithic we have no specific information about this statue. The materials of marble and gilded wood, requiring relatively little piecing, cannot have been as costly of time as gold and ivory. Plataia is not far from Athens. Pheidias, on the basis of the known date of the Promachos and the presumed date of Polygnotos' work in the sanctuary of Athena Areia, probably made the two statues concurrently.

#### 449-438, Hephaisteion, Parthenon and Parthenos

Plutarch states that Pheidias became Perikles' supervisor of the great rebuilding and adornment program for the shrines of Athens. The author further adds: "The several enterprises had great architects and artists besides," all of whom came directly under the authority of Pheidias.

Dinsmoor dates the beginning of work on the Hephaisteion in Athens in 449. Stylistic parallels between its metopes and the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus have already been noted. This small temple seems to have been the first enterprise of the new program headed by Pheidias. The metopes were surely the first carvings for its adornment. It is perhaps not too subjective to suggest that Pheidias entrusted these first commissions to his associates of a decade before at Olympia. How far the stylistic revolution had affected them may be seen in the physical proportions of the figures. How tenacious certain features of the earlier manner proved is apparent in the preserved heads.

In 447 work was initiated on the Parthenon. This was a very much larger and more elaborate undertaking than the Hephaisteion. From the disparity in style be-

<sup>29</sup> Michelangelo, working under much the same conditions as Pheidias, but with little experience in bronze and only one larger-than-life figure to his credit, executed the twice life-size bronze of Julius II at Bologna in a little more than a year.

tween the metopes and friezes of the latter, it is clear that a considerable amount of time elapsed between their respective productions. The lingering traces of the Olympia mannerisms on the metopes and, more faintly, on the frieze of the Parthenon imply that work, in sculpture at least, was temporarily suspended on the Hephaisteion, and its sculptors transferred to the Acropolis. The somewhat later character of the mouldings of the interior friezes of the Hephaisteion compared to those of the exterior and of the Parthenon, the advanced style of these reliefs and of the pedimental sculptures, and the date of 420 assigned to the cult images all confirm this interruption in favor of the Parthenon.

The relationship between Pheidias and the sculptures of the Parthenon has long been debated. Less than a decade intervened between the laying of the foundations of the building and the dedication of the Athena Parthenos. During this time Pheidias was responsible, not only for the statue and for the work on the temple as a whole, but for all the rest of the extensive program. The new Telesterion at Eleusis was built, the plan for the Propylaia was drawn up, and that for the Temple of Ares. Between 449 and his death Pheidias was credited with the manufacture in Athens of a marble Aphrodite Ourania and possibly with the thus far undatable and unidentified Athena Lemnia and the Parnopian Apollo on the Acropolis. He is said to have lent a helping hand to Alkamenes on his Demeter for the Metroon and to Agorakritos on his Nemesis for Rhamnous.

Considering the known social status of an artist in ancient Greece, no caste barrier prevented Pheidias from joining his employees directly on any project. It is possible but highly unlikely that he chiselled some of the extant figures for the Parthenon. The search for these will doubtless continue, with more profit to those who take the copies of the Athena Parthenos as their guide to the style of Pheidias at this time, rather than basing their conclusions on imagined criteria.<sup>30</sup>

In the sculptures of the Parthenon the final phases of the stylistic revolution appear in plain but uneven sequence. The physical type had already been established by the time of the Hephaisteion metopes in which heroic form had been in part subjugated by a less bulky, more agile mould. The severities of head and hair were somewhat softened and made more generally lifelike. Certain peculiarities such as the eyelids and lips had already been incorporated in the Eleusis Relief. The uncertainties of the Olympia draperies had almost disappeared except for rounded ridges which were steadily replaced by the sharp-edged naturalistic sweep and revelation of cloaks and chitons. By the time the pedimental figures were carved in the thirties the transition was complete.

The colossal gold-and-ivory Athena Parthenos by Pheidias was dedicated in 438. This is the only one of Pheidias' creations that has been preserved for us in copies,

<sup>30</sup> See E. Langlotz, *Phidiasprobleme*, 1947.



and of these the Varvakeion Statuette is the most useful (Pl. 82b). Despite the mechanical character of the workmanship, the style of the Parthenon is manifest, especially in the design and arrangement of the draperies; but the parallels are rather with the more conservative mannerisms of the metopes and frieze than with the undulating elaboration of the pedimental sculptures. This severity is enhanced by the heavy impassive face. A detail, the heavy squarish fold that hangs down from the relaxed knee, repeats a motive found elsewhere only in the Athena of the Atlas metope and the Sterope of the east pediment at Olympia. It does not occur in the sculptures of the Parthenon.

The appearance of the inner part of the shield is in part recoverable in the Strangford Shield (Pl. 83c) which bears out Plutarch's tale that in presenting the Battle of Greeks and Amazons "Pheidias represented himself as a bald old man lifting high a stone with both hands and also an excellent likeness of Perikles fighting with an Amazon . . . contrived to conceal the resemblance which can, however, be clearly seen from either side."<sup>31</sup> The relief is of such inferior technical skill that minute inferences may not be drawn from it. The modelling of the anatomy, especially in the figure of Pheidias, suggests more the type of the Olympia figures than the flat-planed bodies of the Parthenon. Certainly the draperies seem little advanced in plan, and repeat none of the more charming convolutions sometimes seen in the frieze of the Parthenon. We cannot check on Plutarch's reference to the portrait of Perikles; but Pheidias' head is clearly bald in the manner of the Old Seer of the east pediment at Olympia.

#### 438-432, ?

There are two irreconcilable accounts of these years preserved in classical tradition. According to one he continued on in Athens and died there; but the other made him a refugee in Elis where he fashioned the Zeus and was then executed or exiled. Since this latter version has materially affected the standard reconstruction of Pheidias, Alkamenes and Paionios—indeed of the whole development of Attic sculpture after the Persian Wars—it is of vital importance to reconsider their evaluation.

Plutarch, as reliable a source as any that has come down to us from antiquity and our chief authority on all other matters pertaining to Pheidias' relationship to Perikles and his program, writes: "Pheidias . . . being a friend of Perikles, and wielding strong influence over him, made enemies because of the jealousy he incited. These foes persuaded one Menon, an aide of Pheidias, to take refuge in the Agora and claim immunity if he should lodge information and accusations against Pheidias. The people accepted the man's proposal, and indicted Pheidias. Embezzlement was not proven, for the gold of the statue from the very start had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Perikles, that it could all be taken

<sup>31</sup> *Perikles*, 31.

off and weighed, and that is what Perikles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time . . . .”<sup>32</sup> But a charge of sacrilege, based on the inclusion of the portraits on Athena’s shield, was raised and “Pheidias was accordingly led off to prison, and died there of sickness; or as some say of poison which the enemies of Perikles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on the motion of Glykon, the people gave immunity from taxation, and enjoined upon the generals to make provision for his safety.”<sup>33</sup>

A Scholiast, reliability otherwise unknown, comments on a passage in Aristophanes, *Peace* as follows: “Philochoros, writing on the archonship of Pythodoros (432; but usually amended to read ‘Theodoros,’ archon in 438), says: ‘The golden image of Athena was placed in the great temple. Pheidias, the artist, was thought to have been guilty of stealing ivory from the serpent’s scales, and was put on trial. He fled to Elis, where he is said to have accepted the contract for the image of Zeus at Olympia, and, having executed it, to have been put to death by the Eleans in the archonship of Skythodoros (this archon otherwise unknown).—And they say, when Pheidias the sculptor was found guilty of swindling the city and banished, Perikles, worried because he had been connected with the making of the statue, and because he had been party to the theft, signed the anti-Megarian decree and went to war with them to avoid giving an accounting to the Athenians while they were wrapped up in the war: so he charged the Megarians with putting to the plough a strip of land belonging to the goddesses. *But suspicion about Perikles seems unfair, since the happenings to Pheidias took place seven years before the war.* When Pheidias, as Philochoros says, in the archonship of Pythodoros (read Theodoros?) made the statue of Athena, he stole the gold from the serpents of the chryselephantine Athena, was detected, and fled. While in exile in Elis he made the statue of Olympian Zeus for the Eleans, was condemned by them, and perished in exile.”

Judged on their own inherent merits the relative credibility of these accounts seems simple enough to determine. That of Plutarch is straight-forward, factual, precise. It lists the name of an important minor character; and includes with reservations an alternative detail which the author is inclined to discount but unwilling to discard entirely. It bears all the hallmarks of sound scholarly investigation.

The Scholiast’s is generally vague. It names Philochoros as a source for a part, how much we cannot tell, of the story. The two versions differ on what Pheidias stole, under what circumstances he left Athens, what happened to him in Elis. The archon’s names are senseless throughout; though the Scholiast repeats that Pheidias fled from Athens in 432 and states that this was seven years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. It is consistent on only three points: Pheidias was found guilty of

<sup>32</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> *Loc. cit.*



theft in Athens, made the Zeus at Olympia, and was found guilty of theft by the Eleans. It bears all the hallmarks of backstairs gossip.

There is no doubt that both of these contradictory accounts co-existed in ancient times for other authors, none as reliable as Plutarch, refer to one or the other. There is varied evidence to support either tradition,<sup>34</sup> but the ultimate decision may briefly be reached within the limits of ancient literature.

The Scholiast is specific on one vital point: "the suspicion about Perikles seems unfair, since the happenings to Pheidias occurred seven years before the war." His whole statement is prompted by the passage in Aristophanes' *Peace* in which the poet cites the downfall of Pheidias as the first cause of the Peloponnesian War which began in 432/1.<sup>35</sup> The Scholiast, to put it bluntly, says that Aristophanes was wrong. Now the credibility of the Scholiast and of Philochoros has been defended on grounds of the latter's relatively early date, *ca.* 300 B.C., compared to Plutarch's; but Aristophanes, as a mature Athenian, had lived through the times of which he wrote, and he was writing specifically for an audience a large part of which had also been direct or indirect witnesses to the events. Thus Plutarch finds a host of supporters of impeccable calibre, while the Scholiast is left only with Philochoros.

We must then conclude that Pheidias, after the completion of the Athena Parthenos in 438, continued for six years as general supervisor for Perikles. During this time the Propylaia and the Temple of Ares were built and the pediments of the Parthenon completed. Possibly Pheidias occupied his spare moments with work on the marble cult image for the reconstructed Metroon. In 432 political intrigue caused his trial and condemnation. He died shortly thereafter in an Athenian prison.

Ancient literature is in accord on one crucial point regarding Pheidias: he was a stylistic innovator. This has been true of every great artist in history. Each has evolved from an established style with varying speed a different and more perfect form of expression than had existed before. Unless we infer an incredible uniqueness for Pheidias, the style of his earlier works must have been modified in his later ones. We have seen that during his lifetime Attic sculpture underwent a marked and consistent change. Tradition supports the conclusion that Pheidias led this development and consequently his own progress was parallel to and slightly in advance of it.

If his Marathon group dates from soon after the Persian Wars, we should expect it to have been made much in the spirit of the Tyrannicides incorporating their massive dynamism.

If the Zeus at Olympia was made synchronously with the Temple, his style at that time should be admirably reflected in the architectural sculptures of that building,

<sup>34</sup> Support for Plutarch is included in the above text under the discussion of the Olympian Zeus. Items in favor of the Scholiast are discussed in Appendix B.

<sup>35</sup> Lines 605-609.

the forms of the Tyrannicides sublimated with majesty, and the first indications of the new style beginning to ameliorate the earlier crude force.

If the Athenas Promachos and Areia were erected between 460 and 450, we may presume that Pheidias' Olympia manner was modifying in the directions indicated by the Eleusis Relief.

In the Parthenon the evolution of the master is complete, but the mannerisms of the new forms are already carried on and beyond him by a host of younger men, who like all gifted pupils could imitate, exaggerate and complicate genius without changing its essentials. The style of the Parthenon dominated Greek sculpture for three quarters of a century.

## APPENDIX A

### THE CASE AGAINST PAIONIOS AND ALKAMENES

#### I

The only serious objection to accepting Paionios as the author of the east pediment is based on style. This has already been countered in the main text; but since these appendices are largely concerned with conjecture, a further development of this theme may be hazarded at this point. Important sculptors do not seem to have taken commissions for architectural sculpture in antiquity. These were considered an integral part of the building they adorned and a field for the assistant or promising pupil of the master. They are rarely mentioned or described in ancient literature. Pausanias who might be expected to discuss them more than other authors seldom names artists; and his description of the figures on both pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is the fullest in his travelogue. For the Parthenon he gives only the subjects of the two gables with no reference to their authors. This state of affairs is paralleled in our own times. Only when a helper later becomes famous do the historians recollect his decorative works as an apprentice. The volumes on Rodin rarely specify his products as an aide to Carrière-Belleuse.

From this observation we may with some reason postulate that the metope and pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Zeus were a part of an overall commission, delegated to likely assistants. Thus both Paionios and Alkamenes should be regarded, about 460, as young men of tested worth and hopeful promise.

We may also suggest that the names of Paionios and Alkamenes were remembered in connection with these sculptures largely because of their subsequent reputations. The normal anonymity of pedimental sculptures may very well have induced Paionios pridefully to have included a reference to them in his inscription on the base of the Messenian Nike; for the Temple of Zeus, thanks largely to Pheidias' image, had



already achieved great fame, and these youthful works tied him in neatly with the whole. It is certainly difficult to imagine him referring so pointedly to the pair of gilt kettles and the Nike which were the literal "acroteria."

## II

The greater reputation of Alkamenes and his close association with Pheidias have occasioned more varied arguments against his participation in the work at Olympia. These may be considered as follows:

1. The date of 404/3 for the colossal relief by Alkamenes. This is the sole item of evidence from ancient times that disagrees with all the rest. As has been indicated in the text, pressure to accept it, and it alone, as meaningful for Alkamenes seems unreasonable. A simple explanation may serve to place it in perspective. The occasion for the dedication of this relief was the formal recognition by Thrasyboulos of the aid Thebes had given him in overthrowing the Tyranny of the Thirty in Athens. The years following Aigospotamoi were not favorable to large-scale sculpture in Athens. Yet victory and dedication followed closely on one another, suggesting that Thrasyboulos sent the Thebans a monument already in existence.

This solution is entirely in keeping with others advanced and generally accepted. Thus the dedicatory date of 430/429 for the Herakles Alexikakos by Kalamis is explained to every one's satisfaction, though at that time the sculptors of Athens seem to have been numerous and employed. To accept such an explanation in the case of Alkamenes' relief is not only consistent with the rest of the ancient evidence, but puts to a final rest another old confusion which would split the sculptor into two separate persons.

2. The Prokne group has been called an unlikely product of Alkamenes' hands because of "inferior workmanship." This argument has been considered in the text. It may be further observed that the statue suffered dreadful mutilation when used as a building block in the Propylaia during the Middle Ages, but that despite the damage the preserved sections seem technically the equal of many of the best of the sculptures of the Parthenon and superior to much of the rest. This statement is as subjectively vulnerable as is the opposition's; it is the result of an equally strong conviction.

3. The sculptures of the Temple of Zeus have been called non-Attic in origin. The central theme of this article maintains that the essential impediment to recognizing the sculptures as Attic has lain in their consequent association with Alkamenes, and through him with Pheidias. In order to justify the late date for the statue of Zeus it has been customary to subordinate or ignore the Attic associations of the sculptures and to explain their origin in other ways.

The dearth of known parallels except in Attica has led to the association of the

sculptures with other "schools," some accredited, others entirely invented. A group of sculptors of similar training and ideals is clearly implied by the unusual unity of metopes and pediments. Pheidias as supervisor, Alkamenes, Paionios and lesser assistants would be the perfect explanation if it were not *tabu*. A similar organization in another locality must be visualized.

The search for an alternative proposal has been greatly aided by the nineteenth century's interest in ancient "schools" of sculpture. The Roman authors were fond of speaking of the "Aeginetan," "Argive," "Sikyonian" Schools. Their visual reconstruction, except for the Aeginetan, has been somewhat impeded by lack of material evidence. Nevertheless the Argive School has been restored in the following fashion: Agelaidas was an Argive who made statues of athletic victors; fifty to a hundred years later other Argives were making victor statues; ergo, the Argive School specialized in athletic types. A pleasing bronze statuette, found in Ligourio in the Argolis, seems to date from about the time of Agelaidas. The type is sturdier than that found in the pediments from the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina. Thus the Argive type is visualized as stocky and athletic. The Sikyonian School is supposed to have been lighter than the Argive, on the basis of two statuettes evidently adapted from an Apollo by Kanachos. These resemble each other in little but pose.

The Olympia figures fit none of these at all well. They have the known agility of Aigina and the presumed bulk of Argos. We know that active massiveness is surely associated with Kritios and Nesiotes in Attica, and at more nearly the same time.

Since none of the "Schools" mentioned in ancient times except the Attic serves well, others have been imagined. Paionios' origin in Thrace suggests the possible existence of a North Greek School not noticed by ancient writers, and no traces of which have survived. Because at the time of the building of the Temple there was an Elean sculptor working at Olympia, an Elean School, otherwise unknown, has been proposed. Because some of the Olympia characteristics have been noted on a group of anthropoid sarcophagi in Asia Minor, and because these are of Parian marble, a Parian School, otherwise unknown, has been created.

But within the limits of what we *know*, the sculptures are demonstrably Attic.

4. Schrader saw in the repaired three figures in the corners of the west pediment the hand of Alkamenes. His proposal antedated Blümel's observations in the technical field which found them to be centuries later than Alkamenes; and Dinsmoor's account of the earthquake and repairs to the Temple in the second century confirms Blümel.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Blümel, *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, pp. 34 f.; and Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 339 f.



## APPENDIX B

## THE CASE AGAINST AN EARLY DATE FOR THE ZEUS

The Scholiast on Aristophanes' *Peace* has always formed the main support for dating the Olympian Zeus after the Athena Parthenos. The reliability of the Scholiast has been considered in the text. In its support, however, an assortment of related items has been gathered; and while without the Scholiast they present severally or collectively no impressive force, they should in fairness, be reviewed.

1. The first is cyclic. Pausanias mentioned a statue of a boy tying a fillet about his head in the Altis at Olympia. He does not name the subject, but gives Pheidias as its author. Furtwängler identified as a copy of this figure the "Farnese Boy" in the British Museum, basing his attribution on the pose and on the stylistic similarities to the sculptures of the Parthenon. In so doing he presupposes that Pheidias was at work in Olympia after the Parthenon was built. The conclusion of the assumption is then turned about and used as proof of the correctness of the original premise. One is reminded of the late Gertrude Stein's: "A rose is a rose is—."

2. It has been suggested that Pheidias was more likely to have been commissioned to make the Zeus after his reputation was at its height, i. e. after the completion of the Athena Parthenos. Since the Zeus was undoubtedly his most famous work, we must reckon its completion as marking the height of Pheidias' reputation, from which secure point we may postulate on this premise any or all of his other works as later. More seriously, the Marathon Memorial at Delphi was of a magnitude, and set up in a sufficiently famous shrine, to have established his reputation many years before the Athenas Promachos and Parthenos. We might further suggest that Pheidias' work under Perikles involved an image of almost comparable scale to the Zeus plus an organizational problem of far larger scope, from which fact we can proceed to imagine that Perikles, to whom organization was no stranger, selected a man of proven ability to head his program—one, for example, who had demonstrated just these qualities in his work at Olympia.

3. Of only slightly less subjective character is the recognition of Pheidias' Zeus in a series of coins issued by Elis in the reign of Hadrian that bear on their reverse a seated Zeus, and on their obverse a head of the same god. The seated Zeus seems well to suit the pose of the cult image, but the scale of the reproduction is so small as to make any effort at interpreting detail futile. The head on the obverse presents a type more advanced than that of the pedimental sculptures of the Temple, and very reminiscent of the style of the Parthenon. The recognition of famous statues on coins has enjoyed a considerable vogue; and though there is unquestioned value in this approach to the study of ancient monuments claims are often overpressed. Pausanias

records dozens of statues of Zeus in the Altis at Olympia. So much attention has been given this one series that another, minted about 420 B.C. by the Eleans, has been overlooked or discounted. On these coins appears a profile head of Zeus precisely in the style of the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus. One expects to find earlier forms in Hadrian's time; but except as they continued traditional types, the Greek die-maker of the second half of the fifth century was almost exclusively concerned with devising brilliant designs in the new style disclosed by the Parthenon. Why Elis departed from the current trend is conjectural, but there is an obvious answer.

4. In clearing the Temple of Zeus, the excavators noted that the sunken floor of blue Eleusinian stone in front of the base of the image had replaced an earlier pavement, and that the rim of white marble that enclosed it had been fitted in under the edges of the columns after these had been installed. This fact has been used as proof that the cella was altered some time after it was completed, i. e. after Pheidias' presumed flight to Elis. But Dinsmoor<sup>37</sup> finds no difficulty in dating the change before the building of the Parthenon; and indeed the alterations may have been made at any time after the setting of the lowest drums of the interior colonnade.

In this connection we may be permitted to speculate on the origin of this unique floor. The Athenians had used this dark blue stone in other ways in building as early as the sixth century,<sup>38</sup> Pheidias had seen it employed in a massive scale on the Altar of the Chians at Delphi, and later used it in a band on the pedestal of the Athena Promachos. It appears nowhere in the Parthenon over which he had complete control. Clearly the floor was an isolated experiment used to overcome certain specific problems of the cella of the Temple of Zeus.

The cella, due to the heavy proportions of the Temple's order, was dark, and the colossal image reached nearly to the ceiling virtually filling the whole inmost third of the chamber. We know from Pausanias that the use of oil in the preservation of the statue was unusual.<sup>39</sup> Pheidias, either by accident or inspiration resolved his dual problem of light and moisture by combining them in a novel reflecting basin. We have noted the way in which the spur walls of the "Workshop" seem to have been used to support movable barriers, and how the same areal proportion of this division in the "Workshop" was retained in the cella, even though there the low barrier was set well to the east of it and did not correspond to a change in the type of pavement. Thus the correspondence between the area of the dark blue flooring and the "Workshop," combined with the early date of the latter, suggests a date contemporary with rather than later than the building of the Temple.

It has been suggested that certain arrangements in the Parthenon served as pro-

<sup>37</sup> *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, p. 71; XXV, 1921, p. 129; XLV, 1941, p. 427.

<sup>38</sup> Lucy T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 341 ff.

<sup>39</sup> V. xi. 10.



totypes for those in the Temple of Zeus. This argument is a double-edged sword which Dinsmoor found no menace in placing the revision of the Olympia cella before the building of the Parthenon.

5. Pausanias recounts the hereditary honors held by the descendants of Pheidias, a fact substantiated by an inscription found in the excavations.<sup>40</sup> Though this has been proposed as supporting the late date of the Zeus, it seems surely an argument for the contrary. The Scholiast is consistent in saying that Pheidias was either exiled or executed by the Eleans, and for stealing from their mighty image, hardly a good basis for heaping honors in perpetuity on his descendants. If we accept Plutarch, the story makes sense, for the family of the artist, disgraced and imprisoned by the Athenians, could reasonably expect to find sanctuary and support in a community which held his greatest work.

6. The legend of Pantarkes offers the one possible corroboration for the Scholiast, and we must consider it in full. Pausanias, describing the throne of the Olympian Zeus states: "On the bar which faces the entrance there are seven images: the eighth has disappeared, they know not how. These may be representations of the ancient contests, for the contests for boys were not yet instituted in the time of Pheidias. They say that the boy binding his head with a fillet is a likeness of Pantarkes, an Elean youth, said to have been a favorite of Pheidias. Pantarkes won a victory in the boy's wrestling match in 436."<sup>41</sup>

This is one of the strangest passages in the whole of Pausanias. His first explanation begins with some reservation: "These may be—," and the last part of the sentence is used to justify the interpretation just offered, namely that the eight figures represented the first eight events established in the Olympic Games, all of which preceded the boys' events. Pausanias had earlier<sup>42</sup> listed these, with their dates, and had then gone on to enumerate the successive institution of the contests for boys in chronological order, beginning nearly two centuries before Pantarkes. His second explanation opens with his more usual cautionary phrase: "They say—," after which he recounts Pheidias' affection for Pantarkes, and gives the date of the boy's victory.

That the eight figures represented athletes is fairly certain or Pausanias, instead of inclining to his first interpretation, would have rejected it at once. In the time of Pheidias, Pausanias had recorded only three contests for boys, running, wrestling and boxing. Consequently the eight cannot have been intended as personifications of these events; yet one was called Pantarkes.

Clearly Pausanias was confronted with two distinct traditions concerning these

<sup>40</sup> *Olympia*, V, no. 259.

<sup>41</sup> V. xi. 3.

<sup>42</sup> V. viii.

figures. Where he encountered the first is not clear, but it was apparently not hearsay, which the second specifically was. A possible explanation for his one demonstrable error is to presume that he intended to write: "for the contests for boys were not instituted among the first eight events," but found his ears attuned to the gossip of the second version and instead wrote down nonsense. That he was well-disposed to believe the legend is clear a little later in his text when he comes across the victor statue of Pantarkes in the Altis, makes no mention of its sculptor but states, without qualification: "... Pantarkes ... was beloved of Pheidias." Rarely can one trace so quickly and clearly the germination of rumor.

The seed that was planted in the usually cautious mind of Pausanias found no nourishment in other pagan authors, but almost immediately began to flourish in the Christian moralists. Here is the record of its growth:

*Ca.* 200 A.D. Clement of Alexandria states that Pheidias engraved the name of his beloved "Pantarkes kalos" on the finger of Olympian Zeus. The Scholiast on Clement adds that some Athenians say that the inscription was on the finger of the Athenian Parthenos; but that Libanios the Sophist states Pheidias wrote it on the finger of the Aphrodite.

4th c. A.D. Gregory of Nazianzus says that Pheidias wrote "πάντ' ἀρκεί καλῶς" on the finger of the Parthenos.

5th c. A.D. Arnobios returns to the first version and puts the inscription "Pantarkes kalos" on the Zeus, at the same time emphasizing the moral implication.

10th c. A.D. Suidas, after Photios, says that Pheidias wrote "Pantarkes kalos" on the finger of Zeus, and adds that Pantarkes was an Argive.

Here, in full, is the substance of the strongest support for the Scholiast's account of Pheidias' last years. It first appears as a guide's tale current at Olympia in the reign of Hadrian which Pausanias first recorded in an atmosphere of doubt and then accepted. Almost immediately the Christians welcome it as linking perversion with a famous pagan name. The legend becomes a matter of civic pride, and we find Pheidias' fellow Athenians trying to secure it for their native city. Later scholars revert to the original form of the story. If accuracy is their objective, it is interesting that the latest of them all calls Pantarkes an Argive, thereby negating the date associated with an Elean victor.

It does not seem to me that either the Scholiast or the Pantarkes legend are in any sense of comparable value to the accounts of Plutarch and Diodoros with Aristophanes and his Athenian audience behind them. But on the old association of fire with smoke it is perhaps worthwhile to speculate as to how these traditions came to exist as they clearly did in ancient times. The following is almost entirely based on a normal individual experience with tracing the origins of rumor.



How the Pantarkes legend began may possibly be explained by its partial rebirth in modern times. In his wanderings through the Altis, after he had described the Zeus, Pausanias encountered a statue of a youth binding his hair with a fillet by Pheidias. He is careful to say that the identity of the victor is not known.<sup>43</sup> A little later he came upon the statue of Pantarkes, the beloved of Pheidias, but gave no sculptor. It has been argued that Pausanias separately listed the same statue twice, and that the victor bronze of Pantarkes was the boy with the fillet, and consequently was fashioned by Pheidias. Let us presume that the sculptor of the Pantarkes statue, working in 436, or a little later, modelled his figure after one of the athletes on the bar of the throne of Zeus, already famous throughout Hellas. Portrait sculpture was reserved for triple victors, a condition impossible for boy contestants to achieve. Some time later a recording eye noted the similarity between the decoration on the throne and the unsigned state of the image in the Altis; and human nature took its course.

As for the story of the Scholiast there is nothing but the type of psychology of which our generation has been the uncomfortable witness to guide us. We may presume, indeed we often do presume today, that the Athenians rapidly repented of what seems, at the safe distance of more than two millennia, to have been a purely political accusation against Pheidias, and, in the most normal of human reactions, attempted to shift the blame. That Pheidias had been accused of theft and condemned for impiety they could not hope to deny; but, in a period when newspapers and long-range files were rare, could they not start a back-fire and blame the Eleans for the outrage instead of themselves? It was a thoroughly unlikely story, but readers of "Mein Kampf" will recall the cynical dictum that the bigger the lie and the more often repeated the likelier it is to be believed. The Scholiast's record has had wide acceptance in the last two centuries.

Philochoros seems to have appeared on the scene as a scribe at the moment when Athenian culpability was too well-known to have been discarded but when the Elean emendation was taking hold. Later the Athenians were absolved through the medium of a fancied loan-at-a-price, and the Eleans were cited as maiming, or torturing and executing, Pheidias.<sup>44</sup> The late authorities place all the blame on the Eleans. We may be grateful that Plutarch took the trouble to sift those records for which Athens seems to have been remarkable in ancient times and presented the true story stripped of its fanciful duplication. Perhaps he, as well as we, was indebted to the enduring qualities of Aristophanes.

<sup>43</sup> VI. iv. 5.

<sup>44</sup> See Seneca, *Controvers. Excerpt.* Book VIII, contra 2; and *Rhet. graec.* I, p. 455, Spengler ed.

## APPENDIX C

## A " BIOGRAPHY " OF PHEIDIAS

Hypothesis is no substitute for fact; but in reconstructing fragments of the past the two are traditional companions. The following " biography " combines the two, fact in italics, hypothesis in roman. There is an accredited segment of fact in almost every paragraph. It incorporates or explains virtually all the ancient evidence, literary and monumental.

*Pheidias was born in Athens, the son of Charmides, about 500 or a little earlier.* The final expulsion of the Peisistratids had recently taken place, and the city was in an intoxicating state of reorganization. The childhood of the future sculptor was framed in the exciting atmosphere of new-found freedom. As a boy *he was apprenticed to Agelaidas of Argos*, who like other non-Attic artists was presumably at work in Athens at this time. During this period or soon after it, *Pheidias was associated with Hegias, his fellow citizen. Sculpture was beginning to shake off the formalities of the archaic style and to explore the possibilities of plainer and more plastic forms, better suited to the realities of young but enthusiastic democracy.*

*Marathon was fought and won in 490.* Pheidias, either just too young or just old enough to participate in the fighting, shared the city's exaltation and sense of chosen destiny. During the next decade, he completed his training and began his career as an independent artist.

*In 480/79 Athens was sacked and burned by the Persians, its citizens dispersed to the islands, and its fighting men engaged in gaining the victories at Salamis and Plataia.* No certain clue relating to Pheidias' role at this time has survived. He, a young man, was more likely to have been among the fighting troops than with the refugees. He was later favored by generals, first by Kimon and then by Perikles. In his work *he caught for the first time the perfect image of the Greek concept of divinity, a sublime majesty, like that of Aischylos who, in his epitaph, considered his combat with the Persians his most important contribution.* The impress of participation is always more powerful than that of observation. The work of Pheidias bore the print of profound experience.

*In 477 the Athenians awarded an important commission, new statues of the Tyrannicides to replace those plundered by the Persians in 480. The award went to Kritios and Nesiotes.* Either Pheidias was otherwise engaged at this time or was considered less able than *his two, possibly older, contemporaries.* In any event, when Kimon was looking for an artist about this time for the much more extensive *Memorial to Marathon (and his own father) at Delphi, Pheidias was chosen. Thirteen figures, including Athena and Apollo, presumably of bronze and placed in a row, faced the*



*lower part of the Sacred Way just inside the precinct wall. This was by far the largest and most conspicuous monument yet erected by a single state in honor of the defeat of the Barbarians.*

The figures may reasonably be presumed to have represented the style of Kritios and Nesiotes, known to us from the copies of the Tyrannicides and described by Lucian<sup>45</sup> as "closely knit and taut and stiff and severe in silhouette." Displayed at the very entrance of one of the greatest pan-hellenic shrines, these massive, vital forms, phrased in the style of the Tyrannicides were immediately known to all Greeks.

Athens offered little work for its best sculptors in the ensuing decades. *Kritios and Nesiotes found some employment at home. Kalamis, who seems to have retained the lighter masses of archaic art and added to them more realistic anatomical detail, ranged far and wide for work, some of which was done at Olympia.* The Peloponnesos, untouched by the Persian invasions offered much richer fields for the artists of Attica and of Sicily where the repulse of the Carthaginians had temporarily strained local economies.

About 472 Pheidias was offered an opportunity to work in gold and ivory on a large scale. *For the citizens of Pellene in Achaia he executed an Athena.* The Eleans were impressed. They were looking for an artist to undertake the much larger projected Zeus in the same materials for the great temple they were planning in Olympia. They commissioned Pheidias to make a chryselephantine Aphrodite for their capital on the completion of his work at Pallene. The Aphrodite a success, Pheidias received the commission for the Zeus, and moved to Olympia.

There was much to be done before beginning the colossal image. Work on the temple had already progressed, metopes would soon be needed for insertion into the frieze of pronaos and opisthodomos. The pediments must soon be initiated. An overall iconographic plan must be conceived, sketched and passed through the local board of censors. Huge quantities of Parian marble must be ordered, cut and delivered; gold and ivory in massive amounts must be procured; the right sizes, ages and types of timber must be selected and brought to the Altis. More than this, an army of expert artists and craftsmen must be assembled. The very unity of workmanship and ideology that pervades the architectural sculptures and the Zeus postulates the kind of co-operation that comes most easily from common ideals and a common background. Pheidias may well have gone to Athens to select Alkamenes, Paionios, Kolotes and his relative Panainos, to aid him. In any case a solid corps of Athenian artists were soon gathered in the workshops just outside the Altis.

The complex business of these days would have taxed the energies of a younger man. Sketches and models were needed for the Zeus whose essential form had to be determined before the engineers and carpenters could begin the giant framework.

<sup>45</sup> *Rhet. Praecept.* 9.

The metopes and pediments required outlining for subject matter and design and a board of Elean supervisors persuaded to accept them. Considering their Attic emphases no little time, erudition and diplomacy were required for this. *The company of craftsmen working on the wooden under-skin, the ivory and the gold required continuous supervision. Constant inventory of the precious materials was imperative.*

Paionios and Alkamenes could be trusted with the immediate supervision of their assistants, but they in turn needed consultation, direction and advice. *The remarkable unity that binds the patent idiosyncracies of many hands in the Olympia marbles is eloquent proof of the force and effectiveness of a single presiding genius.* These are the perfect surviving exponents of Pheidias' style in the sixties of the fifth century. From them we can best form an idea of the fabulous Zeus of the master.

These were stirring times for sculptors at Olympia. *Pythagoras of Rhegion may still have been at work, turning out athletic statues renowned for their liveness and fine anatomical detail. Kalamis of Athens was busily fashioning similar statues,* apparently influenced by the great Sicilian. Myron of Eleutherae was also active, approximating more closely in style the vigor and experimentation of the group around Pheidias, where the inquiry into form, drive, and realism, begun a generation earlier, reached a new pitch of interest and perfection of its own.

The close association with the work of great artists of the past from all parts of Greece, and the excitement of constant propinquity with famous contemporaries of various origins, creeds, and mannerisms is responsible for heightening the diverse trends of the Olympic sculptures within the overall vision of the victors of Marathon and Salamis.

*The sunken blue pavement of the cella was not a part of the original plan of Libon. Experiments in the material for other uses had been made by the Athenians a half century earlier at Eleusis and at Delos. While Pheidias was working at Delphi, the Chians were erecting their great altar higher up on the slopes, using a spectacular blackish core framed above and below with white.* This perhaps furnished the original inspiration for his plan for a dark blue base for the Olympian Zeus. A decade later, the Eleusinian slabs for this base lay about the workshop. It may have been rain falling on them in the courtyard, or oil spilled accidentally on their surfaces as they were being moved into place within the great assembly room itself that suggested expanding the original plan for this material to cover the central part of the cella floor.

The possibility of creating an immense mirror of oil on dark stones to catch and deflect the light from the doorway into the shadowy cella and heighten the brilliance of the gold and ivory must have come as an immense relief to the artist, faced with the problem of illuminating the colossus with the only light available, that which penetrated through the colonnade, the pronaos, the large but relatively narrow door and fifty feet of otherwise pitch dark chamber.

*It was a simple matter to insert the new flooring into the nearly completed temple.*



*Pheidias retained the proportions of the space between the base of the image and the spur walls of the workshop in making the transfer, though within the temple the barrier was placed one intercolumniation to the east and no longer coincided with the eastern edge of the reflecting basin.*

The Zeus completed about 458, the corps of helpers dispersed in search of further work wherever it might take them. Their rambles for the next decade innocently created problems for the distant future. One of these men seems to have worked on anthropoid sarcophagi for a while, though whether at Paros where the marble was quarried or in Asia Minor where the finished products were discovered we do not know. Another seems to have carved the twin Ludovisi Throne and Boston Relief, though where he worked and where the sculptures were originally placed we have yet to learn. Alkamenes may have returned to Athens to make his Hera for an unrestored sanctuary between Athens and Phaleron. The Eleans requested Pheidias to remain and make them a bronze Athena. Pheidias declined, leaving Kolotes and Panainos to execute the commission and turned homewards to Athens where he looked forward to handsome employment.

The situation in Athens was changing now. The meagre days for sculptors were about to end, while those that had been fat for painters were drawing to a close. *Athens' empire, grown strong and wealthy, soon would be pouring untold treasure directly into the Acropolis till. Though Polygnotos and Mikon had been busy with their cheaper and quicker medium of paint decorating new and refurbishing old precincts and shrines, and though the soon-to-be-built Stoa Poikile and Hephaisteion were designed for murals, the era of pictorial art was nearly over, and plastic supremacy was about to begin.*

Other more fundamental developments were in the air. The concepts of divinity and mortality were slowly finding readjustment as the surviving veterans of Marathon and Salamis were gradually replaced by a younger generation who revered without understanding the heroic sense of their fathers. The intangible quality of painting had been enough for those who knew. For those who did not comprehend, sculpture was to supply tangible reassurance. The star of Aischylos was setting while that of the more sympathetic Sophokles began to rise.

Pheidias looked about him as he reentered the Agora of Athens. Most of the old buildings were still in ruins. Pheidias climbed the low hill to the west, sacred to Hephaistos, to begin his studies for his Athena Promachos.

He spent long hours in his workshop studying the problems of his newest commission. He was familiar with the medium of bronze, and with the distortions of large scale. But the engineering problems inherent in the two were new in the present combination. Athens, too, was alive with fresh ideas and much had been done since he went away. He trudged up the slopes of the Acropolis to view Polygnotos' murals in the Theseion.

*Polygnotos had evolved a style entirely appropriate to painting and in keeping with the trend toward more immediately attractive motion, form and generalized realism. His figures were lighter, his heads more animated with fully-parted lips, his bodies partly revealed by thin, floating garments.* Pheidias walked down the hill again reviewing what he had seen. He talked long hours with his countrymen in the Agora just below his workshop. With the sensitivity of genius he began to fuse what he had recently learned with what he had known before.

*Many accounts tell us of the Athena Promachos, but the essential facts beyond its location, date and huge scale are still unknown.* At this time a generation of unrest, so plainly seen at Olympia, begins to crystalize into definite shape. What might have become direct realism or complete idealism takes refuge in lofty generality and minor, pseudo-naturalistic detail. True plastic mass blends with pictorial lightness. Technical skill, aided by the discovery of the running drill, implements miracles of illusion and adds the painter's lovely flow of line to the dynamic course of Olympian robes. The rounded surfaces of assurance give place to the crisp, bright facets of display. Lacking the Athena Promachos, the Eleusis Relief still embodies the steps in the ultimate compromise.

Work on the Athena Promachos continued for nine years. Meanwhile the Plataians were at last eager to erect a suitable memorial to their participation in the Persian Wars. Either their share of the booty was too small, or much of it had been diverted in the interval of nearly thirty years, for *there was not enough to pay for a gold and ivory cult image. Polygnotos accepted the offer to do the paintings. Pheidias agreed to make an acrolithic figure of Athena, substituting marble for ivory and gilded wood for plates of gold.* Working closely together provided painter and sculptor a unique opportunity to exchange and perfect ideas.

Marble was not new to Pheidias after his experience of supervision at Olympia. Wood afforded nothing new to the creator of the Zeus. By 450 both giant Athenas were complete, and Pheidias was available for a new assignment. It came in heroic form.

*In 449 Perikles embarked on his ambitious program of rebuilding the ruined monuments of Attica and named Pheidias his deputy in direct charge of the operations. In so doing he selected a man whose wide variety of duties at Olympia showed him eminently capable of handling a much larger and more complicated task. Pheidias became to all intents and purposes the art dictator of Athens. Under his management came all the famous architects, sculptors and other artisans that took part in the vast, long-range project.* For nearly twenty years he supervised, or delegated authority for every part and every person within the whole design. *During this period we have only one glimpse of the master's own style as it is preserved for us in the copies of the Athena Parthenos, dedicated in 438.* It embodies recollections of the past as in the figure and head of the self-portrait on the shield and in the generally austere pose,



and square firm fold from the knee of the goddess. Such conservatism one would expect in an ageing man. But that the new trends found in him a sympathy in keeping with traditional Athenian liberalism is clear in his tolerance of much of the work on the frieze and in the pediments of the Parthenon which far outstrips his own concessions to latter-day taste.

The initial concept of the program seems rapidly to have outgrown itself. *The first building was the Hephaisteion*, and Pheidias issued an immediate summons to his old assistants, and set them to work at once on the metopes. *In 447 the foundations of the Parthenon were laid, a far larger commitment* for which he seems to have gathered not only the original group of sculptors from the Hephaisteion, thereby postponing work on that building for nearly two decades,<sup>46</sup> but calling for every available marble cutter, whether from Attica or the other states, to execute the multiple reliefs of metopes and frieze. Among them was possibly Polykleitos of Argos. Paionios and Alkamenes, tried in the Olympic crucible, held important posts.

In the critical atmosphere of Athens and the highly competitive proximity of so many first rank artists, lesser men outdid themselves, provincials became sophisticates over night, ingenuity provoked cleverness; and *within a decade a uniform style had been forged that was to prove essentially satisfactory to all Greeks for generations*. Subsequent artists like Kallimachos, could only elaborate it, or systematize it like Polykleitos.

*The supreme position of Pheidias makes his encouragement of this development a certainty*. The responsibilities and involved duties of his high office cut seriously in on his own creative output. *The Athena Parthenos was his last certainly-dated work. It was completed a decade after he took over his post of general supervision*, the artist inevitably suffering in competition with the administrator. It is perhaps significant to note that the dazzling inspiration surrounding the Olympian Zeus fades. The blue Eleusinian stone, used so profligately and effectively in the cella at Olympia and repeated faintly on the pedestal of the Athena Promachos, disappears completely in the chaste Pentelic whiteness of the Parthenon.

Politics and direction replaced creative imagination. *The Telesterion at Eleusis was begun in the forties, the Temple of Ares, the Propylaia and the pediments of the Parthenon about 437. There were a multitude of smaller undertakings. To Alkamenes went the making of the Demeter for the Metroon and the chryselephantine Dionysos Eleutherios*. The fabulous treasury began to dwindle, and the initial enthusiasm to wane. *The supreme authority of Perikles was questioned*.

*In 432 the enemies of Perikles made serious attacks on his authority*. Recognizing the futility of direct assault, *they concentrated in the best tradition of minority parties on discrediting those around him*. For nearly two decades Pheidias had exercised

<sup>46</sup> The friezes stylistically cannot be earlier than the pediments of the Parthenon.

virtual sovereignty over the arts in Attica. Prestige invites envy, and envy attempts to destroy prestige. *The first accusation, of theft, levelled at Pheidias failed.* The earlier, less extensive responsibility for the Zeus at Olympia had proved useful to Pheidias in the handling of accounts; and Perikles, wise in the ways of political investigations, had added his advice. *But in the end, the realism of the Olympia style proved his undoing.* The sense of precise transcription that had inspired the troubled Seer and the agonized Lapith, but which was now completely out of fashion, was the betrayer. A generation or more earlier, *Pheidias had placed Miltiades in company with Athena and Apollo with impunity.* Such association between the human and the divine were incomprehensible and shocking to the younger citizens who had never experienced this concept as a reality. The men of Marathon were old or dead. *Pheidias was found guilty of impiety, was jailed, and died. His family, disgraced, took refuge in Elis where the reputation of the mighty Zeus ensured a warm and permanent welcome. Perikles, alarmed, provoked the long-festering sores of statecraft and precipitated the Peloponnesian War.*

Years later the Athenians attempted to shift the blame for their injustices to the Eleans. In this they were nearly successful. Indeed they might have achieved their aim in the twentieth century except for the intervention of an historian, Philochoros, who recorded the rumor in the chrysalis stage; a careful Roman research scholar, Plutarch; and Aristophanes, a contemporary of Pheidias' trial.

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Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following for illustrations in the plates:

Plate 79 b and e: Ernst Buschor and Richard Hamann, *Die Skulpturen des Zeustemples zu Olympia*, Verlag des Kunstgeschichtes Seminars der Universität Marburg, Marburg an der Lahn.

Plate 81 e: Heinz Kähler, *Das Griechische Metopenbild*, Verlag F. Bruckmann München.

Plates 83 c, 83 d, 84 c, 86 a, 86 b, 86 c; Hans Schrader, *Phidias*, Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, Frankfurt am Main.



# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 87-98)

THIS report brings the preliminary publication of a number of recent epigraphical discoveries from the excavations of the Agora in Athens, as well as of some discoveries made earlier that have not been communicated heretofore. Among the texts here presented is also one document (No. 3) which comes not from the Agora but from a chance discovery at the American School itself. Further epigraphical reports, by various authors, will be printed in *Hesperia* as the inscriptions now being studied can be prepared for publication.

## BARBARIAN ARCHERS

1 (Plate 87). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on three sides, found in a modern wall in Section T on April 14, 1952. A bit of very rough-picked surface is preserved on the left side, and if original it must be interpreted as part of the inner band of an anathyrosis joint. The break at the back is a fairly smooth split from left to right, with the greatest thickness at the left.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.13 m. to 0.062 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6523.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a chequer unit which measures 0.021 m. horizontally by 0.025 m. vertically.

p. 431/0 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

*vacat*

[ἐπὶ] Θράικες	-----
[β]άρβαροι	[- - - -]
[τ]οχσόται	β[- - - -]
[N]ομένιος	[- - - -]
5 [Ka]λλίστρ[α]τ[ος]	[- - - -]
-----	

This inscription belongs with the public grave stelai set up in the Kerameikos honoring those who lost their lives in war. It has the geographical rubric of those who fell in Thrace, among whom were barbarian archers (see also No. 2).<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Barbarian archers are also mentioned in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 950, lines 136-137, where the reading should

lettering is beautifully done, and at first glance reminds one of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944, which Raubitschek has assigned to the first year of the Archidamian War (*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, no. 5, pp. 25-27), but a slight difference in spacing, with a rather marked difference in the letter *sigma*, shows that the present text is part of a different monument.

Since the war it has been possible to obtain photographs of the Agora fragments of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 944 showing the join between them (Plate 87). The text is as given by Raubitschek (*loc. cit.*, p. 26) but with six lines uninscribed, rather than three, between the upper and the lower fragments. Further physical characteristics of the stele, as compared with other stelai, have been given by H. A. Thompson (see above, p. 59 with note 34).

2 (Plate 88). Stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the top and at the right and with the left side and bottom cut down for re-use, found on October 28, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section Ω.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness (original), 0.112 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5065.

The inscription is stoichedon with a chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.0165 m. horizontally and 0.019 m. vertically. In lettering and spacing it is quite similar to *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 951 and 952.<sup>2</sup>

*ante fin. saec. V a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

-----  
[ . . . . ] κύδ[ε]ς  
[ . . ] κλῆς  
[Φ] ρυνίου  
5 [Φ] όρμος  
[Φ] ερε[κ] ράτες  
     *vacat*

-----  
| -----  
τοχ[σόται]  
10 βάρβα[ροι]  
Ἄριστ[---]  
Κεφισ[----]  
Σιμον[---]  
Νικος[---]  
15 *vacat*  
λυππο[τοχσόται]  
Ἄλεχσ[---]  
     *vacat*

be το[χσ]όται | [β]άρβαροι. The stone was examined in Paris in 1952 by W. Kendrick Pritchett and Jean Charbonneaux. It is significant that there is no characteristically barbarian name in any one of the three groups here cited.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 952 is given on Plate 88.



This document belongs with the public funeral monuments set up in the Kera-meikos to commemorate those who lost their lives in war. Its particular interest is that it names the categories of *τοξόται βάρβαροι* (see also No. 1) and *ίπποτοξόται*.<sup>3</sup>

## PROXENY DECREE

3 (Plate 88). Fragment from a stele of Pentelic marble, built into a wall in the garden of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens about 1925 (how it came into the hands of the workmen is not known) and found there by Gorham P. Stevens on March 18, 1945. The stone is now in the possession of the School. Part of the right edge, dressed with a toothed chisel, and part of the rough-picked back are preserved. The stone is broken away above, below, and at the left.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.093 m.; thickness (original), 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

The writing is Ionic, in a stoichedon pattern in which the units are approximately square and measure *ca.* 0.012 m.

*fin. saec. V a.* ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

[ἔδοξεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δήμ]  
 [ωι . . . . . ἐπρυτάνευσεν] ιη [. . .]  
 [. ἐγραμμάτευσεν, . . . . .] ππος ἐ[π]  
 [εστάτει, . . . . .]ς εἶπεν Λ  
 5 [. . . . . γράψαι τὸν <sup>2. or 3.</sup>ιον ἐν τῷ  
 [ι βουλευτηρίῳ ἐν σαν]ιδ[ι] πρό  
 [ξενον καὶ εὐεργέτη]ν Ἀθηναί  
 [ων τέλεσιν τοῖς ἐαν]τῷ Ἴπποκ  
 [ράτης εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλ]λα καθάπ  
 10 [ερ τῇ βολῇ· τὴν δὲ π]ροξενία  
 [ν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς . . . . .] παισί· ἃ  
 [ναγράψαι δὲ — — — — —]

## NOTES

Line 2: Only the bottom tips of the letters are preserved. The name may have been, *e. g.*, Ἰά[σων].

Line 4: The final letter has been read from the stone in Athens by Pritchett as *lambda*. Of the possibility of *alpha* he says that the crossbar would have to be assumed abnormally high: there is no trace of it on the stone, and most of the left sloping

<sup>3</sup> For *ίπποτοξόται* see especially Thucydides, II, 13, 8; II, 96, 1; V, 84, 1; VI, 94, 4.

stroke is preserved. The reading *lambda* precludes such restoration as ἀ[ναγράφαι ----]ιον.

Line 5: There has been a displacement in this line, so that the *iota* and *omikron* of the ethnic appear to the right of their normal stoichoi. This may have been due to the presence of an extra letter earlier in the line, possibly just before the *iota*. If such a letter existed a likely candidate is *rho*, solely from considerations of space, or possibly another *iota* (e. g., [Πάρ]ιον or [Τήι]ιον). It cannot be ruled out that the preserved letter was *nu*, rather than *iota*, but there is no trace of the sloping bar of *nu*, and a restoration of the line with *nu* would be very difficult.

Line 8. The first visible letter in the line was *tau*. Part of the vertical stroke is on the very edge of the stone.

## COMMENTARY

There can be no doubt that this is a "proxeny" decree (lines 6-7, 10), and since this is sure, one ought to restore in line 5 both the name and the ethnic of the man honored, with the article τόν before the ethnic. The verb to be supplied will be ἀναγράφαι, or γράψαι, depending upon requirements of space.

The use of the ethnic with the name was common practice, even though there exist Attic proxeny decrees in which the name appears without the ethnic. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 133 may be cited as an illustrative example. In the clause of motivation the text is: ἐπ[ειδὴ Φιλίσκος ἀνὴρ ἀγα]θὸς ἐγένετο [περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθην]αίων; and this is followed in the decree proper by ἐ[ψ]ηφίσθαι τῷ[ι δῆμῳι πρόξενον εἶν]αι κα[ὶ] εὐεργέτη[ν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ δήμου] καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ [ἐκγόνους]. The fact that an ethnic appears in the display heading of this decree is of no significance here, for our concern is solely with the text of the decree. Nothing in the display heading was part of the resolution passed by the Council and Demos. Of nearly contemporaneous date and style also is the text of *S.E.G.*, X, 111, of 415/4 B.C., which I published first in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 381-382. Here there can be no question that the man honored appeared simply with his name Ἀνα[ξι. . .]ν and with no ethnic. The name alone also must have appeared in the text of the decree published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 91-92 (No. 11). But by far the greater number of proxeny decrees give the ethnic as well as the name of the man.<sup>4</sup> This is so nearly universal a custom that one may well question restorations where the ethnic has been omitted and try to learn whether a new effort to suggest a supplement can provide that it be included.

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV* (*Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1939), p. 82, cites *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 106 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6 also as evidence that the ethnic was not always used. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 106 is not a proxeny decree, or if it is, in some portion now lost, it is also so much more than a proxeny decree that the need for the ethnic in the preserved portion is minimized. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6 is not a proxeny decree, but merely a resolution of the Council to reaffirm a proxeny decree that had been destroyed. There is no ethnic in the preserved part of the decree of *S.E.G.*, X, 20, but not enough is preserved to permit any valid inference from that fact.



In *A.T.L.*, II, p. 77 (D23), Wade-Gery, McGregor, and I have a text which reads Δεμός[τρατος εἶπε· ἐπειδὲ εὖ ποι]εῖ Προχ[σενίδες λό,τι ἄν δυνατὸς εἶ] ἈθENA[ίος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε]ν χρό[νοι — —].<sup>5</sup> In spite of the fact that Proxenides is named as a Knidian in the display heading, and that his Knidian nationality is also clear from the body of the inscription, I question whether a serious attempt should not be made to restore the ethnic with his name in line 7, so that the motivating clause will read, *c. g.*: Δεμός[τρατος εἶπε· ἐπειδὲ εὖ ποι]εῖ Προχ[σενίδες ἡο Κνίδιος ἀεὶ τὸς] ἈθENA[ίος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε]ν χρό[νοι — —]. The article with ἈθENA[ίος] is unexpected, but again not impossible. The article is used with the ethnic in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 16, lines 26-27 ([τ]έλεσι τοῖς τῶ[ν Φασηλιτῶν]), and we believe for reasons of space that it is a desirable supplement in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 17, lines 10-11 (cf. *A.T.L.*, II, p. 70 [D16], lines 11-12: καὶ τὸν φό[ρον ὑποτελῶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὃν ἄν] πείθω [Ἀθηναίος]). The use of the article before ἈθENA[ίος] could be avoided by a change in the restoration, as, for example: Δεμοσ[θενίδες εἶπεν· ἐπειδὲ δοκ]εῖ Προχ[σενίδες ἡο Κνίδιος εὖ ποεῖν] ἈθENA[ίος καὶ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε]ν χρό[νοι — —]. There is, of course, no assurance in any case about the name of the orator.

Another questionable case is the present version of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 149, which has been dated in the year 417/6 by Patience Haggard on the basis of a restoration of the archon's name in line 4 suggested by A. B. West.<sup>6</sup> The entire preamble of this decree needs to be examined again, at least one reason for suspicion being the fact that the name of the secretary has been restored with demotic.<sup>7</sup> Such appearance of the demotic occurs at the very end of the century, but there is no known instance as early as 417/6.<sup>8</sup> This is reason for believing that [E]ϋφε[μος] in line 4 was not in fact the name of the archon. Wilhelm had held that he was the orator, and his version of the text read, in effect, as follows:<sup>9</sup>

[Ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολ]εῖ κ[αὶ τῷ δέμο-]  
[ν . . . εἰς ἐπρυτ]άνευ[ε . . . . .]  
[ . . . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . . .]ς ἐγρ[αμμάτευε, .]

<sup>5</sup> See also *S.E.G.*, X, 108, lines 6-9.

<sup>6</sup> See *S.E.G.*, X, 105. For this restoration see also *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 27, note 57.

<sup>7</sup> See Patience Haggard, *The Secretaries of the Athenian Boule in the Fifth Century* (Diss. Missouri, 1930), p. 20, note 40.

<sup>8</sup> The earliest surely attested use of the demotic in the formula of preamble is in a decree of 407/6 (*S.E.G.*, X, 136). Cf. *Harvard Stud. Clas. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, pp. 247-253, esp. pp. 249, 250. As early examples of the demotic (or patronymic) used in the preambles of decrees Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV* (*Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1939), p. 81, cites also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 22 and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 72. Of these supposed early examples the former loses the demotic when the correct restorations are made (cf. *A.T.L.*, II, p. 58 [D11, line 2]), and the latter—though more persuasive—may have an archon's name. If either the archon or the epistates was named before the secretary there would be no room for demotics (cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 88).

<sup>9</sup> A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV* (*Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1939), pp. 80-83.

[ . . . . ἐπεστάτε· Ε]ϋφε[μος εἶπε· . . ]  
 5 [ . . .<sup>ca. 8</sup> καὶ . . .<sup>ca. 6</sup> . . . κ]αὶ Ὀν[ασον καλέ-]  
 [σαι ἐπὶ χσένια ἐ]ς τὸ π[ρυντανεῖο-]  
 [ν καὶ ἐπαινέσαι - - - - - κτλ. -]

Yet here too there was no provision for the ethnic, though Wilhelm had three names instead of the later two. But the ethnic, or the name, may lie in the letters AION of line 5; and I restore [- - - -]αῖον.<sup>10</sup> These letters are suitable to so many names and ethnics that any full restoration is out of the question: [καλέσαι (μὲν) - - - -]αῖον [τὸν - - - - ἐπὶ χσένια (ἐπὶ δειπνον) ἐ]ς τὸ πρ[υντανεῖον καὶ ἐπαινέσαι].<sup>11</sup> The use of μὲν in the opening clause is not uncommon (cf., *e.g.*, *S.E.G.*, X, 13; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2) and ἐπὶ δειπνον in place of the more usual ἐπὶ χσένια apparently was used in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 95.<sup>12</sup> The whole phrase occupies here an unusual position at the very opening of the decree, whereas it normally comes near the end. The reason is, I believe, that only the father of the family was in Athens and in a position to accept public entertainment. The concluding lines of the inscription use plural forms, but the plural is justified only after the sons of the family have been introduced as proxenoi along with their father. The text should read as follows:

429/8 or 421/0 B.C. (?) ΣΤΟΙΧ. 25  
 [ἔδοχεν τῷ βολ]εῖ κ[αὶ τῷ δέμο]  
 [ν . . . εἰς ἐπρυτ]άνευ[ε . . .<sup>ca. 5</sup> . . . ἐπε]  
 [στάτε, . . .<sup>ca. 7</sup> . . .]ς ἔγρα[μμάτενε, . . ]  
 [ . . .<sup>ca. 8</sup> . . . ἔρχε, Ε]ϋφεμ[ος εἶπε· κα]  
 5 [λέσαι μὲν . . .<sup>ca. 5</sup> . . .]αῖον [τὸν . . .<sup>ca. 5</sup> . . .]  
 [ . . . ἐπὶ χσένια ἐ]ς τὸ πρ[υντανεῖο]  
 [ν καὶ ἐπαινέσαι ἢ] ὅτι ν[ὺν τε ἀνέ]  
 [ρ ἀγαθός ἐστι περ]ὶ Ἀθε[ναίος κα]  
 [ὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ· εἶναι δὲ]  
 10 [αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προχσένο]  
 [ς καὶ εὐεργέτας Ἀθηναίον καὶ π]  
 [ρόσδον εἶναι αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν β]  
 [ολέν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὅς εὐεργέτα]  
 [ις ὁσιν Ἀθηναίον πρό]τ[οι]σι [μεθ']

<sup>10</sup> The question whether these letters might belong to an ethnic did not escape Wilhelm's attention, but he writes (*op. cit.*, p. 82): die Zuteilung der Buchstaben AION an ein Ethnikon eröffnet, wie mir scheint, keine fördernden Möglichkeiten.

<sup>11</sup> These notes should be made on the readings: part of the left stroke of *alpha* is preserved in line 3; the left stroke of *mu* is preserved in line 4; and the vertical stroke of *rho* is preserved in line 6. Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, p. 81) recorded this stroke of *rho*.

<sup>12</sup> See the text by A. G. Woodhead in *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 82, line 4.



- 15 [ἱερά· προσαγόντων] δὲ [οἱ] π[ρυντά]  
 [νες οἱ ἄν ἀεὶ] ὁ[σιν· κα]ὶ ὅς [ἄ]ν μὲ [ἀδι]  
 [κῆται τούτ]ον [με]δ[έ]ς, ἦοι στρατε  
 [γοὶ ἦοι] ἄν ὅσι [ἡεκά]στο[τ]ε καὶ ἡε  
 [βολὲ ἡ]ε βολεύο[σ]α καὶ ἦοι πρυντά  
 20 [νες ἐκά]στοτε ἐ[πι]μελέσθον αὐ[τ]  
 [ὄν· τὸ δὲ φ]σέφισ[μα] τόδε ἀνα[γραφ]  
 [σάτο ἡο γρ]αμμα[τε]ὺς ἡο [τῆς βολῆ]  
 [ς ἐν στέλει] λιθ[ίν]ει [καὶ καταθέ]  
 [το ἐμ πόλει]· ἕνα[ι δὲ καὶ εὐεργεσ]  
 25 [ίαν καὶ προ]χσε[νίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ]  
 [ἐκγόνοις ? — — — κτλ. — — — —]

The date of the inscription is uncertain, but the Attic letters and careful writing suggest a date when either the name Ἐπαμείνων (429/8) or Ἀστυφίλος (420/19) could be supplied for the archon in line 4. The preamble of this decree is like that of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27 in that the name of the epistates precedes that of the secretary. The last named text has also been restored (incorrectly, I believe) with no ethnic for the names of the men honored. But this difficulty can be remedied by reading the opening lines of the decree as follows (cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 19):

- ἔδοχσεν τ[εῖ βολῆι καὶ τῷ δέ]  
 μοι· Λεοντ[ίς ἐπρυτάνευε, ...]  
 ὁστρατος [ἐπεστάτε, ...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 ράτες ἐγρ[αμμάτευε, ...<sup>7</sup>...]  
 5 χος εἶπε· Ἀ[...<sup>10</sup>... καὶ τὸ]  
 ς ἀδελφὸς [τὸς ἐκείνο τὸς Δελ]  
 φὸς καὶ τὸμ [πατέρα αὐτῶν ἀνα]  
 γράφσαι τὸν [γραμματέα τῆς β]  
 ολῆς — — — κτλ. — — — — —

A number of possibly coincident readings make the preamble of this decree like that of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143 (*S.E.G.*, X, 52), and W. K. Pritchett has added another possible coincidence by restoring the name of Alexomenos from *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143 in line 5 of the text proper of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27.<sup>13</sup> This may be correct, but if so the men honored were Delphians (in both texts) and not from Abydos as has sometimes been assumed heretofore. The identification of the men honored as Ἀβυδηνοί depends on the patronymic Ἰφιάδο in the heading of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143. His supposed relationship to Ἰφιάδης [. . .] μοκράτεος Ἀβ[υ]δην[ός] who was honored in a proxeny decree at Knidos

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 231, note 5.

about 360 B.C., and who is otherwise known to have been active at that time,<sup>14</sup> led Wilhelm to make the suggestion. The identification was accepted by Hiller in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143, and has not since been questioned. On the other hand, the "coincidences" in the formulae of preamble seem less cogent: there was a prytany that belonged to Leontis in every year; so many names end in *-κράτης* that the *Ἀριστοκράτης* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143 may easily have been different from the [ . . . . . ]*ράτης* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27;<sup>15</sup> there is, in fact, almost no probative value in holding that the lone *rho* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143 belongs to the name [Νικ]όστρατος of the epistates of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27, or that the lone *alpha* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27 belongs to the name *Ἀλεχσομενός* of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143. The restorations are possible, but are to be made only if the inscriptions are otherwise related. Our judgment, therefore, is that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 143 (*S.E.G.*, X, 52) honors men from Abydos and that *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 27 (*S.E.G.*, X, 19), which is an earlier inscription honoring men from Delphi, has no connection with it.<sup>16</sup> I withdraw my earlier suggestion (cf. *S.E.G.*, X, 52) that the name of the epistates should be restored. I prefer to read his name as [ . . . ]όστρατος rather than [Νικ]όστρατος (*mea culpa*) in lines 2-3 of *S.E.G.*, X, 19, and to make no supplement of the — *ράτες* in lines 3-4 or of the *alpha* in line 5. The text should read as follows:

ca. 450/49

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

- ἔδοχσεν τ[εῖ βολεῖ καὶ τῷ δέ]  
 μοι· Λεοντ[ῖς ἐπρυτάνευε, . . .]  
 όστρατος [ἐπεστάτε, . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]  
 ράτες ἐγρ[αμμάτευε, . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]  
 5 χος εἶπε· Ἄ[ . . . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . καὶ τὸ]  
 ς ἀδελφὸς [τὸς ἐκείνο τὸς Δελ]  
 φὸς καὶ τὸμ [πατέρα αὐτὸν ἀνα]  
 γράφσαι τὸν [γραμματέα τῆς β]  
 ολῆς ἐμ πόλε[ι ἐστέλει καὶ ἐν]  
 10 τῷ βουλευτ[ε ρίῳ προχσένος]  
 Ἀθηναῖον εὐ[εργετῶντας καὶ]  
 λόγοι καὶ ἔρ[γοι ὅ,τι ἂν δυνατ]  
 ὸν εἶ, καὶ ἄν τ[ῖς ἀποκτείνει τ]  
 ἰν' αὐτὸν ἐν [τὸν πόλεον ὅσον Ἄ]  
 15 θεναῖο[ι κρατῶσιν, τιμορίαν]  
 εἶναι [αὐτῷ ἔπερ τοῖς προχσέ]  
 νο[ῖς ἐφσέφισται].

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> No. 187 with notes.

<sup>15</sup> E. g., *Ἀμεινοκράτης*, *Ἀναξικράτης*, *Δικαιοκράτης*, *Πραξικράτης*, *Σπενσικράτης*, etc.

<sup>16</sup> The association was suggested by Wilhelm (cf. also B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 315-317).



This text provides for the erection of the stele on the akropolis and also for a copy in the bouleuterion. In respect to the bouleuterion it serves as a partial analogy for the new fragment from the American School from which this digression on the use of the ethnic in proxeny decrees began. An even closer parallel is afforded by a text published by Pritchett in 1942 and now with slight modification given as *S.E.G.*, X, 54. This too mentions the bouleuterion, and it specifies the record there as on a panel (so also our new fragment) while the copy on the akropolis was to be on stone.

*S.E.G.*, X, 54 (Old Version)

ca. 430/29 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

- [Ἦδοχσεν τῇ βολεῇ καὶ τῷ δέμῳ . . .]  
 [ . . . ] ἰ[ς ἔ]πρυντ[άνευε, . . .<sup>7</sup> . . . ἔγραμ]—  
 μά[τε]νε, Μέλετ[ος ἐπεστάτε, . . .<sup>7</sup> . . .]  
 ν εἶπε· Κρίσωνα [τὸν . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . καὶ τὸς ᾶ]—  
 5 δελφὸς καὶ Δεκ[. . .<sup>4</sup> . . . ἀναγράφσαι πρ]—  
 οχσένος καὶ εὐ[εργέτας ἐν στέλει λ]—  
 ιθίνει ἐμ πόλει [καὶ ἐν τῷ βολευντε]—  
 ρίοι ἐς σανίδα τ[ὸν γραμματέα τῆς β]—  
 ολῆς τέλεσι το[ῖς αὐτῶν. . .<sup>5</sup> . . . εἶπε].  
 10 ὁμόσαι δὲ κα[ὶ τὸς στρατεγὸς καὶ τῆ]—  
 [μ] βολεῖν — — — — —

1/2 [Κε|κροπ]ἰ[ς] dub. Hondius || 4 [Δελφόν] dub. Raubitschek || 4/5 Κρίσον ᾶ[ναγράφσαι καὶ τὸς ᾶ] | δελφὸς καὶ Δέκ[ελον] dub. Hondius, Δέκ[ατον] dub. Wilhelm || 9 suppl. Wilhelm, τέλεσι το[ῖς Κρίσο καὶ Δεκέλο] dub. Hondius

I have redrafted somewhat the critical notes, but they show the perplexity of those who have commented on the text since Pritchett's original publication. Pritchett had restored line 9 to read τέλεσι το[ῖς τῶν . . .<sup>6</sup> . . . *vacat*] and has cited as a parallel for uninscribed letter spaces after the formula of payment the example of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 60, line 15: τέλεσι τοῖς [Μυτιλεναίων<sup>vv</sup>]. This is not a good support, for it involves not only the irregularity of the uninscribed letter spaces but also a misspelling of τοῖς. The text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 60, is now superseded (at least for this line) by that given in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 76 (D22, line 23): τέλεσι τοῖς σ[φετέροις αὐτῶν], which obviates both the misspelling and the unexplained empty space upon the stone. Wilhelm's suggestion, if I interpret the notes in *S.E.G.*, X, correctly, that line 9 ended with . . .<sup>5</sup> . . . εἶπε, may be rejected out of hand. The particle δέ is on the stone in line 10, and forbids categorically the assumption that ὁμόσαι δέ etc. was the commencement of a new motion. Any restoration which assumes the name of a new orator in line 9 is false.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Johannes Kirchner, whose wisdom in such matters was profound, once corrected me in pre-

Pritchett was right in realizing that an ethnic was needed in line 4, though his alternative solution which was looked upon with favor by Hondius did not make allowance for this fact. If Δέκ[ελον] is restored in line 5, the editor uses the name of a hero, not the name of a man. Wilhelm's Δέκ[ατον] is fabrication. Both lack the ethnic. In point of fact there is no known name beginning with the letters ΔΕΚ (all clear) which can be restored in this decree. The logic of language and of space compels one to interpret the letters as he sees them: ΚΑΙΔΕΚ > καὶ δὲ Κ — — — —, or in conventional script καὶ δὴ Κ — — — —.

The men named in line 4, whoever they were, are characterized first by the ethnic Δελφός in line 5 and then more particularly (καὶ δὴ) as Κ — — — —. I suggest that the second ethnic (and it is better to have two than none) was Κ[ιρραίος]. The revised text may now be read as follows:

S.E.G., X, 54 (New Version)

ca. 430/29 a.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολεῖ καὶ τῷ δέμῳι . . ]

[ . . . ] ἰ[ς ἐ]πρυτ[άνευε, . . . ἔγραμ]

μά[τε]νε, Μέλετ[ος ἐπεστάτε, . . . ἔγραμ]

ν εἶπε· Κρίσονα [καὶ . . . ἔγραμ τὸς]

5 Δελφὸς καὶ δὲ Κ[ιρραίος γράφσαι πρ]

οχσένος καὶ εὐ[εργέτας ἐν στέλει λ]

ιθίνει ἐμ πόλει [καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτῇ]

ρίοι ἐς σανίδα τ[ὸν γραμματέα τῆς β]

ολῆς τέλεσι το[ῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν]

10 ὁμόσαι δὲ κα[ὶ τὸς στρατεγὸς καὶ τῇ]

[μ] βολὲν [— — — — —]

For γράφσαι in line 5 instead of the more usual ἀναγράφσαι see *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45, lines 17-18: γράφσαι δ[ὲ ταῦτα ἐν στέλει] καὶ καταθέσθαι ἐμ πόλει. We refer for the restoration of line 9 to the equally illogical but persuasive use of the indirect reflexive in *A.T.L.*, II, p. 76 (D22, line 23), and in *A.T.L.*, IV, Addenda (new text of D21, lines 11-12) as well as to the phrase [τέλεσιν τοῖς ἐαυ]τῷ in the new decree here being published.

There is no example that I know which can be cited as a parallel for καὶ δὴ as used here in line 5, but the meaning is not, I think, in doubt. Krison and his compatriot were Delphians, and, more particularly, Kirrhaians.

It is of interest that men known generally as Delphians could be called specifically Kirrhaians. In the Sixth Century, in the First Sacred War, Krisa was defeated and

cisely this error in the new text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 302. The version which appeared in *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pl. II, line 6 facing p. 150, was made right in *Ath. Fin. Doc.*, p. 160, line 7, cf. p. 163.



destroyed,<sup>18</sup> its territory was consecrated to Apollo at Delphi, and the cultivation of its land was forbidden for all time. In the Fifth Century, in the Second Sacred War, the Lakedaimonians "liberated" Delphi from the Phokians (449 B.C.) and later the Athenians (447 B.C.) restored the sovereignty of Phokis.<sup>19</sup> The Delphic land in the plain, as well as the harbor town of Kirrha, which had according to the ancient settlements no land of its own and which owed its existence to the worship of Apollo at Delphi, doubtless changed hands as did the sanctuary itself. Athenian political influence in central Greece was eclipsed after the battle of Koroneia (446 B.C.),<sup>20</sup> and Delphi unquestionably became again independent and politically pro-Spartan. This was its status down through the Archidamian War, though Apollo did not refuse offerings from either side,<sup>21</sup> and though the provisions of the Truce of 423 B.C. and of the Peace of Nikias in 421 B.C. showed the anxiety of both sides to have access to the oracle and the willingness of the Athenians to recognize its independence. The Peace expressly stipulated (Thucydides, V, 18, 2): τὸ δ' ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεῶν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Δελφούς αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἐαυτῶν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. Delphi controlled the land in the plain (and her harbor) as she had done (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) since the end of the First Sacred War.

The present decree probably dates from the period of the Archidamian War. It may be assumed that the Athenian naval base at Naupaktos gave to the Athenians a measure of influence in the coastal town of Kirrha, whereas Delphi itself was aloof. The brave friends of Athens, who were politically Delphians but who lived in Kirrha, needed and must have been promised the protection of this Athenian navy. In this way we interpret the oath which was to be taken by the generals and the council on behalf of Krison and his companion. As Pritchett observed, there is no exact parallel for such an oath in other proxeny decrees, though the generals and the council were frequently charged in the terms of decrees with protecting the proxenoi. The exceptional vigor of the clause here, with its special oath, reflects the hazards of the times and, in my opinion, helps approximately to confirm the date as suggested.

In lines 10-11 of the new decree at the American School the normal restoration is [τῇν δὲ π]ροξενία[ν ἐναι καὶ τοῖς . . .<sup>5</sup>.] παισί. One expects the same man to be named (in the genitive) in line 11 that was named (in the accusative) in lines 4-5. From the five letters of line 11 one might infer, normally, a name of 4, 5, or 6 letters in line 5. It is extremely difficult to find any name beginning with *lambda* which will allow the verb ἀναγράφαι followed by the ethnic, even if the ethnic be made as short as possible (e.g. Χῖον). So I restore γράψαι in line 5,<sup>22</sup> and assume that the name of

<sup>18</sup> For the names Krisa and Kirrha see Pieske, in P. W., *R.E.*, s. v. Krisa.

<sup>19</sup> For the dates, see *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 178-179 with notes 64 and 65.

<sup>20</sup> For the date, see *A.T.L.*, III, p. 174.

<sup>21</sup> Pomtow, in P.W., *R.E.*, s. v. Delphoi (IV, 2557-2558).

<sup>22</sup> For the use of this verb see above, p. 349.

the proxenos honored was of six letters (*e.g.* Δυκέαν) and that the same name, with five letters in the genitive, appeared in line 11.

The first honor voted according to the probouleuma of the Council was that of being named proxenos and benefactor of the Athenians and of having a tablet inscribed, at the expense of the proxenos, in the bouleuterion. I restore [τέλεσιν τοῖς ἐαν]τῷ in line 8 in spite of the logical inconsistency,<sup>23</sup> because of the difficulty of finding a suitable name Δ. .το, which would be the only alternative. When the probouleuma was brought before the ekklesia, it was moved by Hippokrates that the proxeny be extended to Δ—'s children, and also that the decree be cut on stone. What we have preserved is part of the stone stele, not of the tablet from the bouleuterion.

#### THE ARGIVE DEAD AT TANAGRA

4 (Plate 89). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides except the top left, found in a late wall in Section T on March 15, 1952.

Height, 0.36 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 2006c.

This fragment was recognized as soon as it was discovered as part of the monument set up in Athens in memory of the Argives who lost their lives in the battle of Tanagra in 458 B.C.<sup>24</sup> The earlier known fragments of this monument were published in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 134-137,<sup>25</sup> and the new piece was associated with them not only because of the characteristic Argive *delta* but also because of the similarity (even identity) of the profiles of the mouldings above the inscription. There are now three fragments which preserve parts of these mouldings, and there can be no doubt that they belong to one monument.<sup>26</sup> The new fragment preserves the profile of the moulding in its entirety. It consists of a broad fascia (at the top) below which is a cyma reversa with a projecting fillet at the base.<sup>27</sup> Above the fascia is the

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 349.

<sup>24</sup> For the date, see now Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *A.T.L.*, III, pp. 171-173, 177.

<sup>25</sup> See also *S.E.G.*, X, 407. I owe to M. N. Tod the note that the name in Col. III, line 85, should be Δαμ[ά]λη[ππος] rather than Δάμ[ν]λη[ππος], the aspirate standing for intervocalic *sigma* in the Argive dialect (cf. C. D. Buck, *Greek Dialects*,<sup>2</sup> p. 52). Restorations in *S.E.G.*, X, 407, in lines 5, 12, 26, and 88, as given by Werner Peek, differ from those put forward in *Hesperia*. Names in the inscription have been indexed by M. Th. Mitsos in his *Ἀργολικὴ Προσωπογραφία* (Athens, 1952).

<sup>26</sup> A drawing showing the mouldings on the three pieces, from left to right on the monument as in the drawing, is shown in Fig. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Lucy Shoe tells me that this form of moulding, with the projecting fillet at the base of the cyma reversa, has been familiar from Periklean buildings (cf. L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, p. 57). Its appearance on this dated stele is most welcome, and confirms the suspicion that it had been in use even before Perikles. Fragments found in the Agora, for example, which



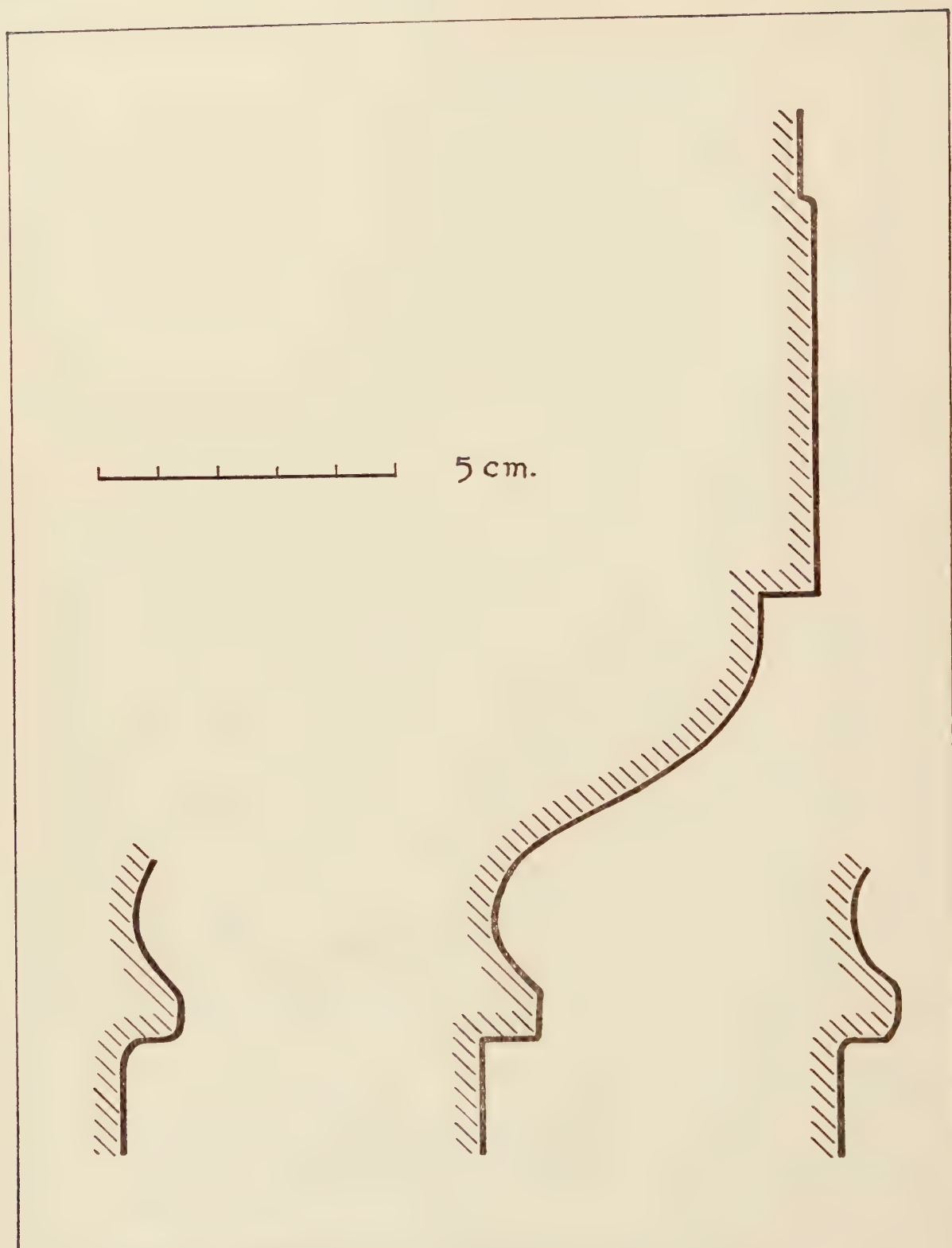


Fig. 1. The profiles of the crowning mouldings on the three upper fragments of No. 4

plain field of the pediment, only slightly recessed. It shows no trace of sculpture, though it is possible that it was painted. Evidence for the slope of the pediment is offered by a small area of original rough-picked surface (*ca.* 0.01 m. to 0.02 m. square) at the top left of the fragment. The pediment must be reconstructed so that the slope of this small surface is projected down approximately to the left end of the horizontal fascia. Indeed, this consideration places the new fragment within narrow limits,<sup>28</sup> and determines the position in the inscription of the new letters which must now be reckoned with in the reconstruction of the text. A drawing (Fig. 2) best illustrates the new arrangement of the fragments in the upper part of the monument and the position of the letters in the epigram which preceded the names.

When the reconstruction of this monument was published in 1945 the relative positions of fragments *c*, *d*, and *g* were determined by estimation from squeezes and photographs, and by the observation of apparent lines of breakage on the stone.<sup>29</sup> Since that time it has been possible to confirm the assigned positions by the study of plaster casts. Fragment *c* is in London, fragment *d* in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, and fragment *g* in the museum of the Agora. Casts of all three fragments were assembled in Princeton, where it was found that contact joins between *c* and *g* and between *g* and *d* confirmed also the relative positions of *c* and *d*, as published.

It seems clear that the names on the monument were arranged in four columns, as suggested, and I have no changes now to propose in the list of names except as noted above on p. 351, note 25. But I suggest that the initial large letters above Column I were a heading (*Ἀργεῖον*) and that they were not counted a part of the metrical couplet which followed. Having in mind the position of the new fragment as determined by the pediment and the proper spacing of the letters in lines 1 and 2, as well as down the right margin, I offer the following restoration:

Ἀργεῖον τοί]δ' ἔθ[ανον Ταν]άγραι Λακ[εδαιμονίων ἡνυπό χερσ]ί, πένθο[ς δ' ἔτλασαν  
γᾶς πέ]ρι μαρνάμ[ενοι]

“Of the Argives these perished at Tanagra at the hands of the Lakedaimonians. They came to grief fighting for their country.”

For πένθος ἔτλασαν I again refer to Pindar, *Isthm.*, VII, line 51: ἔτλαν δὲ πένθος οὐ φατόν, and to the comments in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 146. In the present edition Τανάγραι, without the preposition, must be considered a locative.<sup>30</sup> The order of the

appear to belong to the Stoa Poikile show a quite similar form. Discovery of other pieces from the Stoa was reported in *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 327-328.

<sup>28</sup> Fragments already known have been lettered from *a* to *m*; the new fragment becomes fragment *n*.

<sup>29</sup> The positions may be studied in Fig. 2, or in the drawing in *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 143. A. E. Raubitschek made the suggestion for fragment *g*, noting the continuity of lines of fracture along its edges when it was placed in the gap between fragments *c* and *d*. See *Hesperia*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 146-147.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*,<sup>3</sup> p. 208.





text is predicated on the assumption that the stonecutter, who cut the heading and the epigram, had the two blank lines above the names (already inscribed) at his disposal and that he cut the seven letters of Ἀργείου large for the sake of emphasis and followed them with the smaller letters of the hexameter couplet running continuously in line 1 to the right margin, then in line 2 to the right margin, and then vertically down along the edge of the stone. There would have been no need for so odd an arrangement if the one word Ἀργείου had been cut on the fascia above the cyma reversa moulding. One wonders why this was not done. There is no evidence of any inscription on the small preserved portion of this fascia.

## LAW AGAINST TYRANNY

5 (Plates 89 and 90). An almost complete sculptured stele of white (Pentelic ?) marble found on May 3, 1952 in Section ΣΑ in the fill of a square building under the Stoa of Attalos. The sculptured relief probably represents Democracy crowning the Demos of the Athenians. Attempts to dismember the stele in antiquity were not carried to fruition, but the initial cuttings appear above the first line of the text and again still higher on the stone. Below the pedimental top was a moulding with painted egg and dart decoration, traces of which remain.

Height, 1.57 m.; width, 0.41 m. above and 0.43 m. below; thickness, *ca.* 0.10 m. above and 0.12 m. below.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6524.

There were numerous accounts in the public press soon after the stele was found, notably that in *The New York Times* of May 26, 1952. See also the account by S. B. Kougeas, *Νέα Ἑστία*, LII, July, 1952, pp. 836-839, giving the historical setting and the career of the orator.

## TEXT

337/6

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 36.

Ἐπὶ Φρυνίχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντίδος ἐν  
ἀτῆς πρυτανείας ἥι Χαιρέστρατος Ἀμεινίου  
Ἀχαρνὲς ἐγραμμάτευεν τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψή  
φιζεν Μενέστρατος Αἰξωνεύς· Εὐκράτης Ἀρισ

- 5 τοτίμον Πειραιεύς εἶπεν· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοῦ δ  
ἡμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· δεδόχθαι τοῖς νομοθέται  
ς· εἰάν τις ἐπαναστῇ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπὶ τυραννίδι  
ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα συνκαταστήσῃ ἢ τὸν δῆμον τ  
ὸν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τὴν δημοκρατίαν τὴν Ἀθήνησιν  
10 καταλύσῃ, ὅς ἂν τὸν τούτων τι ποιήσαντα ἀπο



- κτείνῃ ὅσιος ἔστω· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ τῶν βουλευ  
 τῶν τῶν τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου καταλ  
 ελυ(μ)ένου τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῆς δημοκρατίας τῆς Ἀθ  
 ῆνησιν ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἀρειον Πάγον μηδὲ συνκα  
 15 θίζειν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μηδὲ βουλευεῖν μη  
 δὲ περὶ ἑνός· ἐὰν δέ τις τοῦ δήμου ἢ τῆς δημοκρ  
 ατίας καταλελυμένων τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀνίηι τῷ  
 ν βουλευτῶν τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου εἰς Ἀρειον Π  
 άγον ἢ συνκαθίζει ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἢ βολεύῃ  
 20 ι περὶ τινος ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ γένος  
 τὸ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ ἡ οὐσία δημοσία ἔστω αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν  
 δετὸν νόμον ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις δυοῖν τὸν γ  
 ραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ στήσαι τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τ  
 25 ῆς εἰσόδου τῆς εἰς Ἀρειον Πάγον τῆς εἰς τὸ βο  
 υλευτήριον εἰσιόντι, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ  
 ι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στηλῶν τὸν ταμίαν  
 δοῦναι τοῦ δήμου : ΔΔ : δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη  
 φίσματα ἀναλίσκομένων τῷ δήμῳ <sup>vacat</sup>

*vacat*

v. 10 ΟΞΑΝ; 11 init. ΚΙΕΙΝΗΙ; 12 ΠΑΓΟΥ; 13 init. ΕΛΥΝΕΝΟΥ, fin. ΑΘ; 15 init. ΙΕΙΝ spat. quinque; 18 fin. ΑΡΕΙΟΝ; 21 ΚΑΙ; 26 fin. ΕΚΚΛΗΞΙΑ; 27 fin. ΤΑΜΙΑΝ

#### TRANSLATION

In the archonship of Phrynichos, in the ninth prytany of Leontis for which Chairestratos, son of Ameinias, of Acharnai, was secretary; Menestratos of Aixone, of the proedroi, put the question to a vote; Eukrates, son of Aristotimos, of Peiraieus, made the motion: with Good Fortune of the Demos of the Athenians, be it resolved by the Nomothetai: If anyone rise up against the Demos for tyranny or join in establishing the tyranny or overthrow the Demos of the Athenians or the democracy in Athens, whoever kills him who does any of these things shall be blameless. It shall not be permitted for anyone of the Councillors of the Council from the Areopagos—if the Demos or the democracy in Athens has been overthrown—to go up into the Areopagos or sit in the Council or deliberate about anything. If anyone—the Demos or the democracy in Athens overthrown—of the Councillors of the Areopagos goes up into the Areopagos or sits in the Council or deliberates about anything, both he and his progeny shall be deprived of civil rights and his substance shall be confiscated and a tenth given to the Goddess. The secretary of the Council shall inscribe this law on two stelai of stone and set one of them by the entrance into the Areopagos, that

entrance, namely, near where one goes into the Bouleuterion, and the other in the Ekklesia. For the inscribing of the stelai the treasurer of the Demos shall give 20 drachmai from the moneys expendable by the Demos according to decrees.

## COMMENTARY

Lines 2-3: The secretary Chairestratos, son of Ameinias, of Acharnai, is known not only from other decrees of the archonship of Phrynichos which were dated during his term of office (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 239-243, 276),<sup>31</sup> but also from an inscription of his year when he himself was honored (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, No. 19, pp. 292-294). In view of this law against tyranny and its insistence on the democratic process, it is perhaps significant that Chairestratos was praised, among other things, for having fulfilled the obligations of his office "according to the laws." This is standard phraseology in many honorary decrees, but it is worthy of note that in this particular year the secretary received such a eulogy.

Lines 3-4: τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Μενέστρατος Αἰξωνεύς. Although this is a law passed by the nomothetai the formulae in the preamble follow the pattern of decrees of the Council and Demos. The nomothetai were summoned by the prytaneis, just as were meetings of the Council and Demos, and the presiding officers were the same as those of the Council, which participated with the nomothetai in the normal making of the laws.<sup>32</sup>

Lines 4-5: Εὐκράτης Ἀριστοτίμου Πειραιεύς εἶπεν. This Eukrates, from the fact of his motion evidently an ardent democrat in 337/6, was probably the same man who perished wretchedly when Antipater came into control of Athens in 322 B.C. and when the abject terms of her surrender called for delivering up the orators who had promoted the Lamian War. When Antipater's envoy Archias failed to bring back to him Demosthenes alive, Lucian represents Antipater as saying to him (*Demos. Encom.*, 31): δοκεῖς μοι μὴ συννηοηκέναι μήτ' ὅστις ὁ Δημοσθένης μήτε τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ νομίζειν ὅμοιον εἶναι Δημοσθένην εὐρεῖν καὶ τούτους ζητεῖν τοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλότας Ἱμεραῖον τὸν Φαληρέα καὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνιον Ἀριστόνικον καὶ τὸν ἐκ Πειραιέως Εὐκράτην, τῶν ῥαγδαίων ῥευμάτων οὐδὲν διαφέροντας, ἀνθρώπους ταπεινοὺς, ἀφορμῇ προσκαίρων θορύβων ἐπιπολάσαντας καὶ πρὸς μικρὰν ταραχῆς ἐλπίδα θρασέως ἐξαναστάντας, εἶτα πτήξαντας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δίκην τῶν δειλινῶν πνευμάτων, καὶ τὸν ἄπιστον Ὑπερείδην — — —. On motion of Demades, sentence of death was passed on Demosthenes and Hypereides, and also upon lesser men like Himeraios,<sup>33</sup> Aristonikos,<sup>34</sup> and Eukrates.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> For the opening lines of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 276 see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 342.

<sup>32</sup> F. Wotke, in P.W., *R.E.*, Suppl. VII, 578-579.

<sup>33</sup> *P.A.*, 7578: brother of Demetrios of Phaleron. See Suidas, s.v. Ἀντίπατρος.

<sup>34</sup> *P.A.*, 2028.

<sup>35</sup> Except for Lucian, the literary tradition is silent about Eukrates, but the epigraphical text here published refutes the judgment (*P.A.*, 5762): *de Luciani fide dubitandum est*.



Lines 7-22: The law provides that if anyone rise up against the Demos and attempt to establish a tyranny or if anyone help found a tyranny or overthrow the democracy, then whoever kills him shall be blameless.<sup>36</sup> It also provides that no Councillor of the Areopagos—if democracy has been overthrown—shall go up into the Areopagos, or sit in the Council, or deliberate on any subject, on penalty of loss of civil rights for himself and family and confiscation of his property.<sup>37</sup> The excavators realized at once the political significance of this law, and a summary of it was published in *The New York Times* of Monday, May 26, 1952. As H. A. Thompson there suggested, the injunctions against the Council of the Areopagos were intended to prevent that venerable body from giving legal sanction to a dictatorship, should one be established. The decree was passed in a time of great stress, not only for Athens, but for all of Greece. The victory of Philip II of Macedon over the democratic Greek forces at Chaironeia two years earlier had left no doubt of the danger that threatened every local city-state, and there were many who wished to seek as much favor as possible with the new order.

Lines 22-27: The new law was to be inscribed on two stelai, one to be set up in the ekklesia and one “by the entrance into the Areopagos, the one as you enter the Bouleuterion.” This is a clear topographical indication that the Court of the Areopagos had at least two entrances and that one of them was near the entrance to the Bouleuterion. Members of the court were forbidden to “go up” into it (lines 14 and 17: ἀνιέναι and ἀνίημι). Whether this means that the court was on higher ground, or signifies merely that Eukrates was using a standard terminology for entering the court of the Areopagos—dating from a time when court and hill were more nearly one topographically—is still a matter for study. Certainly the court at the end of the Fourth Century (and later) cannot have been so far removed from the Bouleuterion as Mars’ Hill. Some available building for it must have existed close at hand, near the entrance to the Bouleuterion. In later years this proven proximity of the court to the Agora accords well with the Biblical testimony concerning Paul’s appearance before it.<sup>38</sup>

Lines 27-29: The sum of 20 drachmai seems remarkably little for two stelai

<sup>36</sup> This law against tyrants goes back to the time of Solon. A similar law was passed after the restoration of democracy following the battle of Kyzikos in 410 B.C., in language similar to that of the present text. See Andocides, *De Mysteriis*, 95-98.

<sup>37</sup> For συνέδριον used of the Council of the Areopagos see Aischines (I, 92) and Deinarchos (I, 54). The intransitive use of συνεκάθιζεν, as here, is well illustrated in Jacoby, *Fr. gr. Hist.* II A (1926), No. 66, p. 27 (Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos): τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔθνος ὅλον οὕτως ἐπολιτεύετο, καὶ τὰ συνέδρια [καὶ] τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ συνεκάθιζεν (cf. *Par. Ox.*, No. 842, p. 173).

<sup>38</sup> The Revised Standard Version (1946 and 1952) of *Acts*: 17, 22 corrects the mistranslation of the King James Version. Paul did not address the Athenians from Mars’ hill: he spoke before the elders in the court of the Areopagos (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Vol. II, 632, s.v. Ἀρειος πάγος). The Authorized Version of 1901 translated “Areopagos” correctly, but interpreted “hill of Mars” in its note. The Reader’s Bible (Oxford, 1951) still has “Mars’ hill.”

(if the other was the twin of this one) both of which were adorned with handsome sculptured reliefs.<sup>39</sup>

The wording of the law is precise, formal, and legalistic. It gives no hint of the forensic ability of Eukrates, yet the stone preserves the only text so far known which can be assigned to this Attic orator. The spirit of the law shows his deep concern for democracy and his fear of Macedonian encroachment, even at a time when Macedonia had guaranteed democracy and granted special favors to Athens in the Peace which followed Chaironeia. But democracy had not much longer to live, and in the end the patriotism of Eukrates cost him also his life. The square building where the stele was found is dated by the excavators early in the Third Century B.C. To have found its way into the fill of this building the stele itself must have been thrown down earlier. It is quite probable that the law and the man who moved it perished simultaneously in 322 B.C.

#### EARLY BOUNDARY STONE

**6** (Plate 90). Boundary stone of Pentelic (?) marble, found in a modern wall in Section II on March 15, 1935. The stone is unbroken except for a chip from the upper left front corner. It is rough-picked on all sides. At the top of the obverse face is a smooth band 0.105 m. wide which carries the inscription.

Height, 0.683 m.; width, 0.255 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.026 m.

Inv. No. I 2618.

*ca.* 450 B.C.

[*h*]όρος

The date is indicated by the shapes of *rho* and *sigma*.

#### PRYTANY DECREE

**7** (Plate 91). Section from the lower part of a tapering stele of Hymettian marble, broken away at the top and bottom but otherwise preserved, found on May 8, 1950 in Section P, where it was used as the base for a pithos. The discovery was reported by Thompson in *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 58-59.

Height, 0.80 m.; width (at top), 0.549 m., (at bottom), 0.569 m.; thickness, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6295.

<sup>39</sup> A larger photograph of the sculpture than that which appears here on Plate 89 will be given in the report of the 1952 excavations in *Hesperia*, Vol. XXII.



This stone is part of the same inscription with Agora Inv. No. I 2145, which was published in part by Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 56) and more fully by Pritchett (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 26, pp. 126-133). The new fragment makes possible the publication of an almost complete text:

## HIPPOTHONTIS

135/4 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50-60

- Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Τιμαρχίδην [ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαϊδὸς]  
 ὀγδόης πρυτανείας, ἣν Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτρ[οπήθεν ἐγραμμά]  
 τευεν· Γαμηλιῶνος δευτέραι μετ' εἰκάδας, ἑνδεκ[άτει τῆς πρυτανεί]  
 ας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν προέδρων ἐπε[ψήφισεν — <sup>ca.</sup> 5 —]
- 5 δαμος Θερσιτέλου Ὁγήθεν καὶ συμπρόεδροι. *vacat*  
*vacat* ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ. *vacat*
- Θρά[σ]ων Εὐθυκάρτου Κηφισιεύς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσ[ιν οἱ πρυτὰ]  
 [ν]εις τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσίων ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν [ἐκκλησιῶν]  
 τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτ[ριον ἦν·]
- 10 ἀγαθὴ τύχῃ δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγο[νότα]  
 ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγιείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τ[οῦ δήμου]  
 καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων· ἐπειδὴ οἱ π[ρυτὰ]  
 νεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν τὰς καθηκούσας ἀπάσας ἐν τῇ πρυταν[είᾳ]  
 καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε β[ουλῆς]
- 15 καὶ τοῦ δή[μ]ου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον [οἷ τε]  
 νόμοι καὶ [τ]ὰ ψ[ηφίσματα] τοῦ δήμου, ἐπα[ν]έσαι τοὺς πρυτάνε[ι]ς τῆς  
 Ἱ[πποθωντίδος]
- καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσ[ῶι] στε[φά]νῳ κατὰ τὸν νό[μ]ον εὖσε[βείας] ἔ[νε]  
 κεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτ[ιμίας] τῇ[ς] εἰς τε τὴν βουλ[ή]ν καὶ τὸν δή[μ]ον τὸν  
 Ἀθηναίων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψ[ηφί]σμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ [πρυ]τανείαν
- 20 εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν [τῷ] πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα[γραφῇ]ν καὶ τὴν  
 ποίησιν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμ[ίαν] τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμε[νον ἀ]νάλωμα.

*vacat*

ἡ βουλή	ὁ δῆμος	ἡ βουλή	ἡ βουλή
τὸν ταμίαν	τοὺς	30 τὸν γραμ	35 Ἡράκλειτον
Ξενοκράτην	πρυτάνεις	ματέα	Ἰκαριέα
25 Ἐλευσίνιον		Λύσανδρον	
		Κειριάδη[ν]	

*vacat*

Ἐπὶ Διο[νυ]σίου ἄρχοντος τ[οῦ] μετὰ Τιμαρχίδην ἐπὶ τῆς Π[τ]ολεμαϊδὸς ὀγδό[ης]  
 πρυτανε[ί]ας ἣν Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτροπήθεν ἐγραμ[μά]τευεν· Γαμηλι[ῶνος]

Θράσων Εὐ[θυκάρτου Κηφισιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἰ]πποθων[τίδος]  
καὶ οἱ ἀ[είσιτοι ἐπαίνεσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τ]εῖ βον[λὲι τὸν τα]  
μίαν [ὃν εἶλοντο ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Ξενοκράτην Ξενο- — — Ἐλευσίνιον κ]αὶ τ[ὸν γραμμα]

50 [καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ἀνθεστήριον ----- Φαλ]ηρέα καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Καλ  
[λίαν ----- Ἀτηνέα καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τ]ῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ἀργεῖον  
[Ἀσκλάπωνος Ἀτηνέα καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ] ἐπωνύμου Θράσιππον Καλλίου Γαργήτι  
[ον καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν Ἠγίαν Παιονίδην] καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς Ἡράκλειτον Ἴκα[ρι]  
[έα καὶ τὸν ἀντιγραφέα Ἀρίστωνα] Δαμπτρέα καὶ τὸν ἀναγραφέα Λυσανίαν Ἀνα

*vacat*

*vacat*



125	ἡ βουλή Ἀνθε[σ]τήριον Φαληρέ[α]	130	ἡ βουλή Καλλίαν Ἀτηνέα	ἡ [βου]λή Ἀργείον Ἀτηνέα	135	ἡ βουλή Θράσιππον Γαργήτιον	ἡ βουλή Ἑγίαν Πα[ιον]ίδην
				<i>vacat</i>			
140	ἡ βουλή Ἀρίστωνα Δαμπτρέα	145	ἡ βουλή Λυσανίαν Ἀνακαίεα	ἡ βουλή Δεινίαν Ἐπικηφίσιον	150	ἡ βουλή Θεόλυτον [Ἀ]μφιτροπῆθεν	ἡ βουλή Ἡλιόδωρον Παιανίεα
				<i>vacat</i>			

The implications of the date of this inscription, and of the archonship of Dionysios, have been set forth fully by Pritchett (*op. cit.*).<sup>40</sup> The new fragment is of interest principally for the names of the Councillors and the rounding out of the list of special officers of the prytaneis.

Line 7 (and 42): The Ionic spelling of the patronymic (Εὐθυκάρτης rather than Εὐθυκράτης) appears on the stone and is here retained in our text. Cf. *e. g.*, Εὐθυκαρτίδης Νάξιος (Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 1) and Εὐθυκαρτίδης (*I.G.*, XII, Suppl., 192, line 28). The name Λεοκάρτης Λαππαῖος is given by Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 258.

Lines 44-45 and 48-49: The name of the Treasurer of the Prytaneis is restored from lines 24-25 and 61-62. He was not identical with the Ξενοκράτης Ξενοκράτου Ἐλευσίνιος who appears elsewhere in his statutory two terms as member of the Council,<sup>41</sup> though he may have been his son, or perhaps the son of [Ξ]ενοκλῆς [Ἐλευσ]ίνιος, who made a contribution in 183/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, line 341). The first place in the register of prytaneis regularly belonged to their treasurer, and the first place among the demesmen next to be recorded regularly belonged to their secretary. The name of the secretary is here restored from lines 30-33 and 67-68. He is known to us, so far, only from this inscription.

Line 50: The name is restored from lines 126-127.

Lines 50-51: Cf. lines 129-130.

Lines 51-52: Cf. lines 132-133. One Ἀργεῖος Ἀσκληάπωνος Ἀτηνεύς was named a taxiarch of the phyle of Attalis in a catalogue of victors of 161/0 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 956, line 50). He is probably the man who here in the more sedate years of his later life was Herald of the Council and Demos. He had a grandson of the same name who was thesmothetes in 97/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, line 253).

Lines 52-53: Cf. lines 135-136. One Thrasippos, son of Kallias, of Gargettos was named as Priest of the Eponymos in several inscriptions from the first half of

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

<sup>41</sup> Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 71, line 6 (orator in 169/8) and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 949, line 30 (prytanis in 165/4).

the Second Century (Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 60, lines 1-2; *ibid.*, No. 64, lines 36, 108; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 24, lines 9, 59). The priest named in this inscription was probably his grandson, to be identified with the Thrasippos, son of Kallias, of Gargettos who as a lad won a victory in the Theseia in the archonship of Phaidrias *ca.* 152/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 958, col. II, line 70) and who later was honored with a statue for his services as Agoranomos in the archonship of Nikias and Isigenes in 124/3 (*Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 1649, line 1). Pritchett interpreted the evidence as he knew it (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 121) to show the relationship of the priests to the prytanizing phylai. It now appears that the family of Thrasippos made something of a profession of the priesthood. Between grandfather and grandson the intervening generation was represented *ca.* 165/4-150 B.C. by Kallias, if Pritchett's assignation of him to the deme Gargettos is correct (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25, lines 8, 77, and p. 124), as I believe it is.<sup>42</sup> In all five of the instances now known where members of the family served, they were associated with the phyle Hippothontis.

Line 53: Cf. lines 138-139. The title to be given to Hegias is determined by his position in the series of citations.

Lines 53-54: Cf. lines 35-36. Herakleitos of Ikaria, Treasurer of the Council, was probably the same as the Herakleitos of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2334, line 8, son of Herakleitos of Ikaria and his wife Nike and brother of Dionysogenes and Nikarete. His sister Nikarete is known also to have been one of the Kanephoroi in the year 138/7 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,<sup>3</sup> 696C).

Line 54: Cf. lines 141-142. Apparently the antigrapheus was mentioned here, just after the Flutist and the Treasurer of the Council, as he was also in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, No. 77, line 36,<sup>43</sup> and as his name should be restored in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, No. 12, line 58. Ariston, of Lamptrai, had a son whose name is in a list of epimeletai dated *ca.* 130-120 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1939, line 33): Ἀθήναιος Ἀρίστωνος Λαμπτρέως.

Lines 54-55: Cf. lines 144-145.

Line 55: Cf. lines 147-148. Deinias evidently had the title ἐπὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα. The last letter of it is preserved here, and it corresponds to the same title (almost in the same place in the series) in the text published by Peek in *Kerameikos*, III, No. 5, lines 28-29. The title should also be restored in *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, No. 12, lines 58-59.

Lines 55-56: Cf. lines 2, 38, 150-151.

Lines 56-57: Cf. lines 153-154. For the officer τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον see now *Kerameikos*, III, No. 5, lines 29-30 (cf. also p. 7) and *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, No.

<sup>42</sup> This Kallias, son of Thrasippos, of Gargettos appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2314, line 37. He appears also in *Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 1417, B II, line 80; No. 1421, Bcd, line 17; No. 1418, line 3; and No. 1837, line 15. Roussel (*Inscriptions de Délos*, ll. cc.) claims for him also the grave monument *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5931.

<sup>43</sup> See also *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 27.



12, line 60 (cf. also p. 27). Heliodoros of the present text may be identified either with 'Ηλιόδωρος Σίμωνος Παιανιεύς of 157/6 (*Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 1416, B II, line 52) or with 'Ηλιόδωρος Διοδότου (Παιανιεύς) of 128/7 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,<sup>43</sup> 697A; cf. *P.A.*, 6420).

Line 62: See note on lines 44-45 and 48-49, above.

Line 63: The name to be restored is that of Lysandros, son of Theoros. The stonecutter omitted one letter from the name, but there can hardly be any doubt about either the restoration or the identity. A careful control of the reading has been made not only from the stone, but with the aid of a latex squeeze.<sup>44</sup> To the same family belong Θεώρος 'Ελευσίνιος who was Treasurer of Athena in 346/5,<sup>45</sup> and Λύσανδρος Θεώρου 'Ελευσίν[ιος]<sup>46</sup> and Λυσῶ Λυσάνδρου 'Ελευσινίου θυγάτηρ, Δέξωνος Κρωπίδου γυνή, of the First Century B.C.<sup>47</sup>

Line 64: The restoration of the name is [Φ]ανίας. He had a son (*P.A.*, 2193) who was orator of a decree in 106/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, line 53): 'Αριστῶνυμος Φανίου 'Ελευσίνιος.<sup>48</sup> Another son of approximately the same date is known from a statue base from the Akropolis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4102A): 'Αρχίνος Φανίου 'Ελευσίνιος. The name Phantias was known also earlier at Eleusis (cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 64, line 35), and later (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4144, line 5).

Line 68: See note on lines 44-45 and 48-49.

Line 69: Echesthenes of Keiriadai is possibly the same as the mint magistrate Echesthenes of ca. 140/39-133/2 (*P.A.*, 6177: see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 9, No. 46 for the date of the series to which he belongs). Presumably his father's name also was Echesthenes and it was his brother Καλλισθένης 'Εχεσθένου Κειριάδης whose name appears in a catalogue of epimeletai from the Peiraieus ca. 130-120 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1939, line 59). It argues for Kallisthenes and Echesthenes as contemporaries that Olympichos, son of Diagoras, of Acherdous appears with Kallisthenes in the catalogue of epimeletai and with Echesthenes in our present text (see note on line 117). This Kallisthenes had a son who was ephebos in 107/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, III, line 115): Φανίας Καλλισθένου Κειριάδης. The younger Echesthenes also had a son who was ephebos near the end of the Second Century (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 2272, line 11): [- - - - 'Εχ]εσθένου Κειριάδης.

<sup>44</sup> See now the valuable comments by W. K. Pritchett on the usefulness of latex squeezes, and on the techniques of making and of reading them, in *A.J.A.*, LVI, 1952, pp. 118-120. This article is recommended to the careful attention of every student of inscriptions.

<sup>45</sup> *P.A.*, 7226. He was perhaps the same as [Θέ]ωρος [Κηφι]σοδώρου ['Ελε]υσίνιος, known from an Eleusinian grave stele (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6036).

<sup>46</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2464, line 5 (*P.A.*, 9287).

<sup>47</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6041 (*P.A.*, 9640).

<sup>48</sup> He was also thesmothetes in 102/1. See Dow, *Harvard Stud. Clas. Phil.*, LI, 1940, p. 118, line 55 [*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2336, line 59].

Line 70: A son of Kleagoras, probably, is named in an epitaph (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 6312) of the Second Century B.C.: Φιλόξενος Κλεαγόρου Κειριάδης.

Line 73: The name Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀρι is to be expanded to Ἀφροδίσιος Ἀρι(στοτέλους), and this Aphrodisios is to be identified with him who had a son who was ephebos in 123/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, IV, line 108): Ἀριστοτέλης Ἀφροδισίου Πειραιεύς. See the note on line 75.

Line 74: Poseidonios was the same as the hieropoios of the Ptolemaia in the archonship of Lysiades in 148/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 60): Ποσειδώνιος Πειραιεύς. See note on line 82.<sup>49</sup> This Poseidonios had as grandchildren Ποσειδώνιος Γηροστράτου Πειραιεύς (*Inscriptions de Délos*, Nos. 1816, 2204, and 2415 line 7) and Γηρόστρατος Ποσειδωνίου Πειραιεύς (*Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 1816).

Line 75: See the note on line 73. The name Ἀφρ<ο>δίσιος Ἡρα is possibly to be expanded to Ἀφρ<ο>δίσιος Ἡρα(κλείδου), but there is no real assurance of this, because the nearest known representative of the family—if the suggestion is correct—would be Ἡρακλείδης Πα[ν]σιλύπου Πειραιεύς, whose name appears as ἐπιστάτης τῶν προέδρων in a decree of 118/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 51). The two men named Aphrodisios here in this text, both from Peiraieus, were distinguished by their patronymics. Such homonyms were not always distinguished in this way. In the register of epheboi from Oineis, for example, published in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, p. 274, there were two youths named Euboulos from the deme of Thria, where an oversight has led to an error in the printed text just below line 30. The names of the Thriasians were as follows:<sup>50</sup>

- 30 Θριάσιοι
- 31 Εὐβουλος
- 31a Τελεσίβουλος
- 31b Εὐβουλος
- 32 Χιωνίδης

Line 76: Diogenes of Peiraieus belongs to a known family, whose stemma has been given by Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 54. The present reference may now be added to those of Διογένης (II) in Sundwall's scheme. It may be here noted also that this Diogenes had an uncle Ἡλιόδωρος Διογένου Πειραιεύς who was treasurer of the prytaneis of Hippothontis in some year *ca.* 176-169 B.C.<sup>51</sup>

Line 81: The son of Athenagoras, apparently, was an ephebos in 123/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, IV, line 109): Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀθηναγόρου Πειραι[εύς].

<sup>49</sup> For the date cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxx.

<sup>50</sup> The readings are clear on the photograph (*op. cit.*, Plate 27), and were called to my attention by O. W. Reinmuth. He also reads the name of the ἀκοντιστής (from the stone) in line 5 of the right side of the monument as Κηφίσιππον.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 118-121 [No. 24, lines 4, 7, 18].



Line 82: Theophilos was the same as the hieropoios of the Ptolemaia in the archonship of Lysiades in 148/7 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 10): [Θ]εόφιλος Πειραιεύς.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps also he was the prytanis of Hippothontis who appears in an earlier year (165/4-150 B.C.) in an inscription published by Pritchett (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25, line 37), where his name reads ΘΕΟΧΜΙΟΣ. This interpretation of the enigmatic letters was made by Raubitschek in the *Index* of the first ten volumes of *Hesperia*, and if correct it allows Theophilos to be a companion for Hippothon of Koile and Dorotheos and Philistides of Hamaxanteia, all of whom were councillors in the two years represented by *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25 and by our present text. See notes on lines 105, 112, and 114.

Line 84: Asklepiades of Auridai is possibly the same as the man whose epitaph appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5714, of the Second Century B.C.: Ἀσκληπιάδης Λαμέδοντος Αὐρίδης.

Line 92: Asklepiades was probably later a priest on Delos (*Inscriptions de Délos*, No. 2414, line 5: ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἐλαιο[υσίου]) and his son Ξένων Ἀσκληπιάδ[ου] Ἐλαιούσιος was ephebos in 107/6 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, IV, line 95). See below, p. 375.

Line 98: The father of Aristokrates was a councillor of Hippothontis ca. 177/6-169/8 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 24, line 28): Ἀριστοκράτης. And it was probably his son who was ephebos in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, III, line 109): Ζώπυρος Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀζή[νιεύς].

Line 100: The father of Noumenios, also named Noumenios, was a councillor of Hippothontis in 178/7 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 64, line 95).

Line 102: Herakleides of Koile had a son who was ephebos in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, III, line 110): Νικόστρατος Ἡρακλείδου ἐκ [Κοίλης], and his father, apparently, was councillor of Hippothontis before him ca. 177/6-169/8 (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 24, line 31, restoring Ἡρακλείδ[η]ς).

Line 104: A forebear of Archestratos of Koile is to be found in that Archestratos, son of Archippos (?), of Koile, who was priest of Asklepios ca. 315/4 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1534, lines 70, 90; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4371; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 54, 76).

Line 105: Hippothon appears also as councillor of Hippothontis ca. 165/4-150 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25, line 66). See note on line 82.

Line 112: Dorotheos appears also as councillor of Hippothontis ca. 165/4-150 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25, line 26). See note on line 82.

Line 114: Philistides appears also as councillor of Hippothontis ca. 165/4-150 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25, line 28). See note on line 82.

Line 116: The father of Demetrios of Acherdous, Δημήτριος Μενεκλέους Ἀχερδούσιος, is already twice recorded as having been councillor of Hippothontis, once in 178/7 and again ca. 177/6-169/8 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, No. 64, line 64, and *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 24, line 55). The wife, or possibly the mother, of the Demetrios here

<sup>52</sup> See note on line 74.

named was probably named in the epitaph of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7808; Φιλω[.] Φίλωνος Χολλείδου θυγάτηρ, Δημητρίου Ἀχερδουσίου γυνή.

Line 117: Olympichos is the same as the Olympichos whose name appears in a catalogue of epimeletai from the Peiraieus *ca.* 130-120 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1939, line 60): Ὀλύμπιχος Διαγόρου Ἀχερδούσιος. Among his descendants was one Diagoras whose epitaph has been preserved (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5858): Διαγόρας Ὀλυμπίχου Ἀχερδούσιος.

Line 122: Poseidippos had a son, Ποσειδίππος Ποσειδίππου Θυ[μα]ι[τάδης], who was an ephebos in 102/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1028, III, line 110).

Line 124: Epigenes of Koile had a son who was ephebos in 119/8 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, III, line 108): Εὐεργέτης Ἐπιγένου ἐκ Κοίλ[ης].<sup>53</sup> His father, as well as his son, was probably named Euergetes, and his name appears as councillor of Hippothontis *ca.* 165/4-150 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 25, line 65). A forebear, also Euergetes, representing the fourth generation before the ephebos of 119/8, was himself ephebos *ca.* 250 B.C. (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, No. 12, line 7): Εὐεργέτης ἐκ Κο.<sup>54</sup> The conjecture which I made in 1940 that this earlier Euergetes was the son of Epigenes, son of Euergetes, of Koile (*P.A.*, 4804) of the late Fourth Century receives added support from the newly documented alternation of the names Euergetes and Epigenes throughout the Third and Second Centuries.

## MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS

8 (Plate 92). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken at the sides and bottom but with a small area of the original top preserved, found in a Byzantine fill in Section T on April 22, 1952. A trace of moulding appears along the break of the inscribed surface, just above the first line of text. The slightly worn rough back may be original.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.043 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 6516.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.0112 m.

303/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

[ἐπὶ Λεωστράτου ἄρ]χοντ[ος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰ]  
[αντίδος δωδεκάτ]ης πρντ[ανείας ἥι Δ]  
[ιόφαντος Διονυσ]οδώρου Φ[ηγοῦσιος]  
[ἐγραμμάτευεν Σκ]ιροφορ[ιῶνος ἔνει]

<sup>53</sup> The reading on the stone is clearly Ἐπιγένου for the patronymic, not Ἐπιγόνου as in the *Corpus*. The error is of long standing, but Pittakys, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1860, No. 4107, has the correct reading.

<sup>54</sup> For the date, see Raubitschek, *s.v.* Ἰερώνυμος Πόρι(ος) in the *Index* of the first ten volumes of *Hesperia*.



- 5 [καὶ νέαι, δευτέρα]ι καὶ τρ[ιακοστῇ τ]  
 [ῆς πρυτανείας· βο]υλῇ ἐμ βο[υλευτηρί]  
 [ωι· τῶν προέδρων ἐ]πιψηφίζ[εν ...<sup>6</sup>...]  
 [.....<sup>17</sup>.....] Ἀχαρ[νενς καὶ σ]  
 [υμπρόεδροι· -----]

This inscription is assigned without difficulty to the archonship of Leostratos in 303/2 B.C. Its chief value is that it affords a new double date in the calendar of that year (Skirophorion 30 = Prytany X, 32) to be added to those most recently reviewed by Pritchett and Neugebauer, *The Calendars of Athens*, p. 69.

9 (Plate 92). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the upper right corner broken away, found on March 14, 1935, in a surface fill in Section O.

Height, 0.55 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 2612.

*saec.* II *a.*

Χαιρο[. . .]

Λυσιμαχ[εύς]

This inscription was published by Pittakys (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1842, No. 831) as Χαιρό-  
 λας | Λυσιμαχεύς, and from him were taken the editions of Rangabé (*Ant. Hell.*, II,  
 No. 1906), Koumanoudis (Ἐπιγρ. Ἐπιτύμβ., No. 1974), Dittenberger (*I.G.*, III,  
 2559) and Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9236). After its rediscovery, the stone was published  
 again by Kirchner (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 13045) and the text was given without restoration as  
 Χαιρο--- | Λυσιμαχ---

There is no doubt that both of Kirchner's publications refer to the same stone. Pittakys described it as *στήλη λίθου τοῦ Ὑμηττοῦ*, which, in his phraseology, may mean either a stele or a columella, though he sometimes distinguished by calling the former a *στήλη πλακωτή* and the latter a *στήλη στρογγύλη*. Koumanoudis inferred that the stone was a *κιονίσκος*, an error which has persisted until now. There is some question about the text, for quite probably Pittakys saw no more than is visible today. It is well known that he often gave restorations which he regarded as certain without enclosing them in brackets, a practice which was especially common with him in his earlier publications, of which this is one.

The spacing of the extant letters indicates that the engraver purposed to have each line occupy the full width of the stele. This is added insurance that Χαιρό[λας], one letter too short, is probably not the correct name for line 1, and that Λυσιμαχ[εύς], the ethnic, is to be preferred to Λυσιμάχ[ου], *e.g.*, the patronymic, in line 2.

**10** (Plate 92). Fragment from the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 30, 1935, in a modern wall in Section  $\Xi$ .

Height, 0.185 m.; diameter, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2686.

*saec.* II/I *a.*

Κλειτόμ[αχ]

[ο]ς Κλειτ[ομ]

[άχο]υ Ἡρ[ακλ]

[εώτης]

**11** (Plate 92). Base of Hymettian marble, with part of the top and obverse face preserved but otherwise broken, found in a modern wall in Section  $\Pi$  on March 29, 1935.

Height, 0.334 m.; width (of face) *ca.* 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.166 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2698.

*ca. a.* 132 *p.*

[σωτ]ῆ[ρι καὶ κτίστη]

αὐτοκρά[τορι Ἀδρια]

νῶ Σεβασ[τῶ Καίσαρι]

Ὀλυμπ[ίῳ]

The inscription differs slightly from the normal type, of which many have been preserved. The displacement of the word *Καίσαρι* to the end of line 3 is similar to, though not identical with, the displacement of the same word in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3374: *αὐτοκράτορι Τραϊανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ Ὀλυμπίῳ σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστη*.

**12** (Plate 93). Parts of a dedicatory monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on March 21, 1935, in a modern wall in Section  $\Theta$ .

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 2649.

*ca. a.* 132 *p.*

[Αὐτοκ]ράτο

[ρι Καί]σαρι Τραϊα

νῶ Ἀδριανῶ

κτίστη Ὀλυ[μ]

5 πίῳ.



The wording of the text differs slightly from the usual formula (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3324-3384).

**13** (Plate 93). Part of the top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on March 23, 1935, in a modern wall in Section N.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.27 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2634.

*saec.* II *a.*

Στρατ[—<sup>ca.</sup> 4?—]

Μ υ [σ ό ς ?]

**14** (Plate 93). Base of Hymettian marble, with bottom, top, and right side preserved, found in a modern wall in Section II on March 20, 1935.

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.435 m.; thickness, 0.625 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.033 m.

Inv. No. I 2658.

*ca.* 27 *a.*-4 *a.*

[ό δημος]

[βασιλέα Ἡρώδην Εὐ]σεβῆ καὶ

[Φιλοκαίσαρα ἀρετῆς] ἔνεκα

[καὶ εὐεργεσί]ας

The text is probably to be restored like that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3441, which also honored Herodes the Great, and which also should be dated after the principate of Augustus. In view of the evidence of Josephus that Athens was filled with dedications of Herodes (I, 425) the discovery of this new monument to him causes no surprise. Herodes was king in Jerusalem from 37 to 4 B.C., and a known friend and admirer of Athens (P.W., *R.E.*, Suppl. II, 1-158, *s.v.* Herodes I).

**15** (Plate 93). Upper left corner of a sculptured grave stele, found on March 11, 1935, in a modern cistern in Section O.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 2601.

*act. Rom.*

Ἀμάραντος Μι[— — — — —]

There was an inscription known to Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, 912) from Fourmont's notes as Ἀμαξάνιος | Ἀμαξανίου. This was published also by Pittakys (*L'Ancienne Athènes*,

p. 287) as Ἀμαξίνιος Ἀμαξινίου. Dittenberger emended the name in *I.G.*, III, 2986 to Ἀμά(ρ)αν(τ)ος, noting that Fourmont's error in reading was easily explained if one assumed for *rho* the shape with tail. In the present inscription the *rho* does in fact have a tail, and all letters of the name Ἀμάραντος are quite clear. It is difficult to identify the present text with that of Fourmont, for it has no second line, and it does have a patronymic (or ethnic), which Fourmont's text lacks; but the new inscription gives support to Dittenberger's interpretation of the earlier document (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10636).

**16** (Plate 93). Fragment from the upper left corner of a monumental grave stele of Pentelic marble, found on March 14, 1935, in a modern fill in Section O.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.

Height of letters, 0.032 m.

Inv. No. I 2610.

*ca. saec. I a.*

Ἐρατῶ — — — —

**17** (Plate 94). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on March 14, 1935, in modern fill in Section O.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.096 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2609.

The writing is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the units measure 0.013 m.

*fin. saec. IV a.*

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

[ — — — τὸν δὲ γρα ] μ [ ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρ ]  
 [ ντανείαν ἀναγρ ] άψα [ ι τόδε τὸ ψήφισ ]  
 [ μα εἰς στήλην λ ] ιθίν [ ην καὶ στήσαι ἐ ]  
 [ ν ἀκροπόλει· εἰ ] ς δὲ τ [ ἣν ἀναγραφὴν τ ]  
 5 [ ἥς στήλης δοῦν ] αι τὸν [ ταμίαν τοῦ δή ]  
 [ μου<sup>ν</sup> ΔΔ<sup>ν</sup> δραχμ ] ἀς ἐκ τ [ ὦν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ]  
 [ ψηφίσματα ἀνα ] λισκο [ μένων τῷ δήμ ]  
 [ ωι *vacat* ]

*wreath*

The inscription is from the concluding lines of an honorary decree, and is restored according to well-known formulae. Presumably the name of the man (or men) honored was inscribed within the wreath where the stone is now broken away. I have not as yet discovered that this inscription is part of any other already known decree.



18 (Plate 94). Boundary stone of Hymettian marble, broken away at the upper right and perhaps below, but otherwise intact, found on March 4, 1935, in Section O.

Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2563.

*saec.* IV/III *a.*

ὄρο[ς]

θήκη

ς Οἰνά<ν>θ

ης

The whole stone was very roughly worked.

19 (Plate 94). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, preserving its original dimensions, found on March 1, 1935, in surface fill in Section O.

Height, 0.62 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.064 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 2534.

*saec.* IV *a.*

Μνᾶσις

Μνάσωνος

The letters are shallow and carelessly cut. The top and sides of the stele were treated with a toothed chisel. The back and the lower part of the obverse were rough-picked.

20 (Plate 94). Grave monument of coarse-grained gray marble, broken away below and at the upper right corner, found on March 1, 1935, in a modern fill in Section O.

Height, 0.46 m.; width, 0.38 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2533.

*ca. med. saec.* V *a.*

Καλλίτιμο[ς]

Κορίνθιος

The block was originally used as the coping course, apparently, in a monument (nature uncertain), and has been cut down into a stele. As the letters are cut there was no distinction between *omikron* and *theta*, though the faint draftings of the cross-bars in the *theta* (⊗) are visible.

21 (Plate 95). Four joining fragments of a large grave stele of Hymettian marble, found in Sections Ξ and O during November of 1934. The mouldings at the top of the stele (I 2139) and part of the right side (I 2083 and I 2091) are preserved.

Height, *ca.* 0.36 m.; width, 0.53 m.; thickness, 0.364 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. Nos. I 2083 + 2091 + 2139.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[Ἀθ]ηνό[δωρος]

[Ἐ]λπί[ν]ου

[Ἰππο]τομάδης

The deceased was evidently related (either father or son) to that Elpines, son of Athenodoros, of Hippotomadai whose name appears on a dedication of the Fourth Century published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3840.

**22** (Plate 95). Fragment of a columnar grave monument, broken at the bottom and chipped around the top, found on December 4, 1934, in a modern house in Section II.

Height, 0.322 m.; diameter, 0.217 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2234.

*aet.* Rom.

τίθη

[Ἰσι]ᾶς ἀρίστη{s}

[Ἐ]ὐφύμου

[γυ]νή

The restoration of the name in line 2 is dictated partly by consideration of space and symmetry, there being room for two letters of full width or for three, especially if two of them were *iotas*. The extra *sigma* added to ἀρίστη in line 2 appears at times also with χρηστή; cf. *e.g.*, Ἰσιᾶς χρηστή{s} (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11733) and Παίδευσις τίθη χρηστή{s} (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 12387).

**23** (Plate 95). Fragment from the upper left corner of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, found in the church of St. Elias on March 5, 1934.

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.185 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 1525.

*saec.* V/IV *a.*

Ἑρμῶν : Ἐβ[άδης]

**24** (Plate 96). Part of a funerary monument of the *mensa* type, found in Section K on February 22, 1934. The stone is broken away at the left. On the other three sides were mouldings, now mostly destroyed, at both top and bottom.



Height, 0.565 m.; width, 0.51 m.; thickness, 0.50 m.

Height of letters, 0.024 m.

Inv. No. I 1373.

ca. 325 B.C.

[— — — — —]έου Βοσπορίτης

This inscription, already known, has been published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8431.

25 (Plate 96). Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on February 21, 1935, in a modern wall in Section II.

Height, 0.255 m.; width of inscribed face, 0.112 m.; thickness (not original), 0.109 m.

Height of letters, 0.021 m.

Inv. No. I 2483.

med. saec. V a.

Διὸς Ἐ[λευθερίο]

The left end of the stone is finished with anathyrosis. The under side is almost at right angles to the lettered face and is finished as a surface suitable for resting on stone. The top surface rises gently toward the back. The excavators report that the lettered face is covered with a brown water-deposit which extends also over the forward 0.06 m. of the top and (somewhat thinner) over the forward 0.035 m. of the bottom. The left end is perfectly fresh. The indications are, therefore, that the stone probably came from a thin horizontal course set in a wall, a monument, or an altar. The marble is blue-gray of uneven texture, and might indicate a date in the latter part of the Fifth Century, but the lettering is more decisive and shows a date near the middle of the century.

Whether altar or precinct wall, the date argues a connection with the Peace of Kallias which was ratified in 450/49, and with the consequent attention which was given by the Athenians to a general restoration of shrines destroyed by the Persians. Other supplements than Ἐ[λευθερίο] are possible after Διὸς, but none seems more probable. The epithet is said to have been given to Zeus by the Athenians after their deliverance from the Persian menace. Though not a boundary-marker of the usual type, the inscription shows that this stone may have served to identify and to mark one limit of the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenian Agora.<sup>55</sup>

The piece reminds one of the string-course in the wall of the Tholos (*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 50-53), and here as in the Tholos the sloping top surface may point to the use of brick or rubble masonry above the marble (Thompson).<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 73-74, for the name and for the sanctuary.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. also the marble string-course below the paintings in the Old Propylon on the Akropolis (Dinsmoor *apud* Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, p. 424, note 14a).

26. The low base published in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 173, as No. 70 carried the names of Asklepiades and (probably) his father. The name of the father can be restored in the citation at the left, so that the inscription now reads:

<i>fin. saec. II a.</i>	
[ὁ δῆμος]	ὁ δῆμος
[Ξένωνα Ἀσκλη]πιάδου	Ἀσκληπιάδην Ξένωνος

The family may have belonged to the deme Phyle. If so, the father had been archon at Athens in 133/2,<sup>57</sup> and epimeletes of Delos in 118/7,<sup>58</sup> while his son had been sent to Delphi as a boy Pythaist in 128/7.<sup>59</sup> It must be noted, however, that both names also make their appearance in the deme Elaious at approximately this same time.<sup>60</sup> Roussel observed that there need not be any direct relationship between the two families.<sup>61</sup>

27 (Plate 96). Two fragments of a grayish marble with dark veins, found (a) in the wall of a modern house in Section K on December 9, 1933, and (b) in modern fill in Section II on February 11, 1935. The top surface and left side are preserved on fragment *a*, and the top surface on fragment *b*. There is no join between the fragments.

(a) Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.

(b) Height, 0.144 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.345 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 1133 *a* and *b*.

*ca.* 500 B.C.

Βρο[τά]νακτο[ς]

The monument carries the inscription in one line along the upper edge of the face, and seems to have been the base for a funeral monument. If so, the entire inscription probably consisted of the one word naming the deceased. The name is otherwise unattested, but seems to be a legitimate formation meaning "Lord of men." The base may have supported a funeral stele, or even a statue (like *S.E.G.*, X, 462), but there are no cuttings on the preserved portions of the top surface.<sup>62</sup>

28 (Plate 96). Fragment from the upper left corner of a grave stele, with the rough-

<sup>57</sup> Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxxii.

<sup>58</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos*, Nos. 1652, 1878a, 2054 line 7, 2227 line 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III 2, No. 12, III, line 10.

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 366.

<sup>61</sup> *Délos Colonie Athénienne*, pp. 106-107, note 15.

<sup>62</sup> The identification and the substance of this commentary were supplied by Eugene Vanderpool.



picked top and back preserved, but with the akroterion broken away, found in a modern house in Section I on March 24, 1933.

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.-0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 615.

*aet. Rom.*

Ζωσίμη [-----]

ἐγ Βη[σaiέων]

Below the inscribed surface is the upper left corner of a recessed niche, set back *ca.* 0.048 m. No part of sculpture remains.

**29** (Plate 96). Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found in modern fill on February 23, 1935, in Section II.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.064 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2489.

*saec. II p.*

[ἐπ' ἄρχοντος -----]

[----- ἐπὶ τῆς]

[Ἐρεχθ]εῖ[δος . ' πρυτα]

[νείας] οἱ πρυ[τάνεις]

5 [τῆς Ἐ]ρεχθε[ίδος φν]

[λῆς] τιμή[σαντες]

[ἐαυτο]ὺς ἀν[έγραψαν]

[-----]

This fragment comes from the heading of a so-called "Prytany Catalogue." The name and numeral of the prytany have been restored (*exempli gratia*) in line 3 on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1765. The alternative would be to restore a genitive demotic (*e.g.* Διομειέως) instead of the name of the phyle. In lines 4-7 the restorations are patterned on the abbreviated formulae of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1803 and 1832.

**30** (Plate 97). Fragment of a large columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found near the surface in Section Δ on February 13, 1932.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.205 m.

Height of letters, 0.05 m.

Inv. No. I 153.

*saec. I a.*

[ . . ] φ [ - - - - ]

Ποσε[ιδωνίου]

Κεφα[λήθεν]

**31** (Plate 97). Fragment of gray marble, broken on all sides, found on February 23, 1935, in a modern fill in Section II.

Height, 0.068 m.; width of face, 0.187 m.; thickness, 0.25 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2488.

*saec. IV a.*

Ἡρακλε[ίδης (?) ]

[ - - - - - ]

**32** (Plate 97). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on February 18, 1935, in Section II.

Height, 0.237 m.; width, 0.264 m.; thickness, 0.134 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 2480.

*aet. Rom.*

Διονύ[σιος]

Φιλέ[ου]

Κεφαλή[θεν]

The restoration of the patronymic is determined by considerations of symmetry. This Dionysios, of Kephale, may perhaps be the same as the Dionysios who appears as father of an ephebos in A.D. 145/6. The reference is to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2052, line 65: Ἀσκληπιάδης Δ[ι]ονυσίου Κεφα(λήθεν).

**33** (Plate 97). Upper part of a votive relief of Hymettian marble, found on February 21, 1935, in Section O.

Height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 2474.

*saec. IV a.*

Θεόδ[ωρος or -οτος]

Διὰ Μιλ[ιχίωι]

A similar dedication, figuring also a relief with a bearded serpent, was published in



*Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 49-50, No. 9. A. E. Raubitschek discusses this and other dedications to Zeus Meilichios (*op. cit.*, pp. 48-52), and suggests that all those from Athens were set up in a sanctuary on or near the north slope of the Hill of the Nymphs.

**34** (Plate 97). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found on February 20, 1935, in Section O.

Height, 0.172 m.; width, 0.186 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 2465.

*ca. a. 132 p.*

αὐτ[οκράτορι]

Ἀδ[ριανῶι]

Ὀλ[υμπίῳι]

The inscription is cut on a shield, of which the diameter is too small for the complete word αὐτοκράτορι unless it be assumed that some of the letters were reduced in size. The exact disposition is uncertain.

**35** (Plate 97). Upper part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found on February 23, 1935, in Section N.

Height, 0.18 m.; diameter, 0.15 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 2454.

*saec. II/I a.*

Σκάμαν[δρος]

Και[----]

The letters of line 2, clear on a squeeze, are almost indistinguishable in the photograph.

**36** (Plate 98). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on February 19, 1935, in a late fill in Section B'.

Height, 0.106 m.; width, 0.044 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 2446.

*saec. III a.*

*non-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 30*

[-----]ς : Λ[---]

[-----χ]άρη[---]

[-----]ν *vacat*

[*vacat*] *vacat*

5 [ἐπὶ τῆς ---- ἐβδό]μης [πρυτα]

[νείας ἦι ----]μάχ[ου ---]

[---- ἐγγραμμάτευν· ἐκ]κλη[σία ---]

This small fragment seems to contain the end of one decree, which was concluded with a list of names, and the opening lines of a second decree, in which the usual formulae were much abbreviated. If the disposition here suggested is correct, there was no mention of date by archon or of date within the month and prytany.

**37** (Plate 98). Boundary stone of Pentelic marble, with all surfaces rough except the narrow band which carries the inscription, found on February 11, 1935, in Section O.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2429.

*saec.* IV *a.*

*hópos*

**38** (Plate 98). Part of a columnar grave monument, broken on all sides, found on February 6, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section N.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.03 m.-0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 2371.

*saec.* I *p.*

[-----]  
 [᾽Α]λεξά[νδρου]  
 Μειλ[ησία]  
 [Δι]ονυσ[ο----]  
 5 [-----]  
 [γυνή]

**39** (Plate 98). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but preserving a segment of the fillet and two lines of text, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Ξ on January 28, 1935.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2329.

*saec.* III *a.*

Ἀπολλώνιο[ς]  
 Ἑρμί[ου]  
 [-----]

**40** This text has already been published in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 170 (No. 100). The spacing of letters within the olive wreath on the stone allows a more precise



determination of the length of line and makes almost certain the restoration of the patronymic as  $\Delta\eta\mu[\acute{\epsilon}]ov$ .

[ῥ̣ βου]  
[λῥ̣ τὸν ---]  
[-----]  
ῥ̣Ηρα[ .<sup>ca.</sup> . . . ]  
5      $\Delta\eta\mu[\acute{\epsilon}]$   
       $ov\ K\eta\phi[\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota]$   
       $\acute{\epsilon}[\alpha]$

Traces of a second olive wreath are preserved at the left, but the inscription that belonged with it has been lost.

#### ADDITIONAL NOTES

A letter of August 24, 1948, from Mabel Lang reports that I 3972 (*Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 86, No. 5) does not join the upper left corner of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45 (E.M. 6577). The join is impossible because of the thickness of I 3972 and the shallowness of the break on E.M. 6577. The new fragment apparently belongs with *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45, but its position cannot be fixed on the basis of evidence now available, and the opening lines of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 45, should be read without reference to the new piece. Even so the restoration might well be:

[ . . . . .<sup>11</sup>. . . . .  $\eta\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \alpha\rho\chi[\acute{\epsilon}],\ \pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \hbar\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\nu\ \phi\alpha[\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\tau]$   
[αι, καθ' ἑνα ἑσ]αγέτο. ---κτλ.-----

See *S.E.G.*, X, 34. The text of the new piece (I 3972) remains that of a fragment *loci incerti*.

In June of 1948 two inscriptions which had been presented to the Agora Museum, and which had been given Agora inventory numbers, were turned over to the National Epigraphical Museum. Both pieces have been published:

- (1) Inv. No. I 6055: D. M. Robinson, *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 203-204, with Fig. 3. See also J. V. A. Fine, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX (1951), p. 33, No. 17, and Moses I. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens* (1952), p. 124, No. 14.
- (2) Inv. No. I 6074: D. M. Robinson, *A.J.P.*, LXIX, 1948, pp. 202-203, with Fig. 2. See also J. V. A. Fine, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IX (1951), p. 30, No. 9, and Moses I. Finley, *Land and Credit in Ancient Athens* (1952), p. 127, No. 24.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

## THE ELEUSINIAN ENDOWMENT

IN THE course of an investigation into Roman policy in respect to the protection of local endowments the author has been obliged to face a group of problems around one inscription found in the great sanctuary at Eleusis. The inscription contains more than one document concerning an endowment in support of the sanctuary. Who established the endowment, why, when, for what purpose and for how much are some of the problems which will be treated here, also the basic problems in regard to the establishment of the text. The source and character of the Roman declaration are problems to be relegated to the author's forthcoming study "Roman Declarations Protecting Greek Endowments."

We begin with the primary task of re-editing the inscription, partly from measurements and squeezes made for the author most kindly by the distinguished archaeologist and friend of all archaeologists, Eugene Vanderpool.

### THE TEXT OF *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> 1092

- |    |   |   |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|----|---|---|-----------------|---|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1  | [ | <i>vacat</i>                                  | Τὰ εἰς τὰς πανη | ] | <i>vacat</i> | γ[ύρ]εις θέ[ματα] | <i>vacat</i> |
|    |   | <i>vacat</i>                                  |                 |   | <i>vacat</i> |                   | <i>vacat</i> |
| 2  | [ | ----- τῶι σ]εμνοτάτ[ωι συν]εδρίωι             |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- λ[ . . . ]οσε[ . . . ]ηδη               |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ε[ . . ]α Ξεν[ίωνος] τοῦ                |                 |   |              |                   |              |
| 5  | [ | ----- καὶ Ἀσ[ι]αρ[χίαν?] ἄρξαν                |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- τῶν Ἑλλ[ή]νων [ν τῶν ἰσ]αφι             |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | κνουμένων -----] τειμη[ . ]α[ . . . . . ]ενε  |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- λα]μπρὰς τὰς [ . . . . . ]ρημα          |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ις αὐτο[-----]τηρι                      |                 |   |              |                   |              |
| 10 | [ | ----- ]ς δὲ ταύτας [ἐφ' ἡμι]ολίαι             |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ἐξέ]στω δανισθῆνα[ι καὶ τα]ύτας         |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ] διὰ τῆς τοῦ σεμ[ν]οτάτου              |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | συνεδρίου -----] οἰς ἀπετέθη τ[οῖ]ς ἱεροῖς    |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ?συναγόμε]νον τόκον καθ' ἕκαστον        |                 |   |              |                   |              |
| 15 | [ | ἐνιαυτόν -----] δραχμὰ]ς δύο καὶ δέκα λαμπρὰς |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ]ν βουλευταῖς ἰς αὐτά                   |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ] ἐξηγουμένοις ἰ[ε]ρεῦ                  |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | σιν -----] α ὑπ[ο]τέτακτα[ι . . . . .]        |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    | [ | ----- ] τ[ . . . . . ]ιασατ[ . . . . .]       |                 |   |              |                   |              |
|    |   | Lacuna of undetermined extent                 |                 |   |              |                   |              |
| 20 | [ | -----] αεισεχῶ                                |                 |   |              |                   |              |



- [-----]ιπλ[<sup>±7</sup>-----]γετονα  
 [-----]ες ιερείς συννηθ[<sup>±7</sup>-----]ε καὶ οἱ  
 [-----]λοι μ[. .]στιν ὑπιον [-----<sup>±7</sup>-----]ιλεγον  
 [----- το]ῖς ποιουμέν[οις ἰ]ς ἱερᾶς τοσ[<sup>7</sup> <sup>or 8</sup> -----]κ[. . .]  
 25 [-----]ενοι γέρας, μεθ' οὗς εἴ τ[ι πε]ριττεύοι κα[θάπερ τι] καὶ ἔπε  
 [ρίττε]υσεν ἤδη, τοῦτο ἰς θυμιατηρ[ίω]ν κατασκευῇ[ν ἐξέεστω] ἀφορί  
 ξεσθ[α]ι διὰ τε τῆς τοῦ ἱεροφάντου καὶ τῆς τοῦ δαδούχ[ου ἐπιμελ]ίας, οἷς  
 καὶ ἡ πᾶσα τῶν χρημάτων τούτων σωτηρία τε καὶ [ἀσφάλεια ἐ]πετρά  
 πη πρὸς τὸ μηδενὶ μηδαμῶς ἐξεῖναι μ[ετα]κεινῇ[σαί τι τῶν ἐγ]κριθέν  
 30 των ἅπαξ καὶ θεοῖς καθιερωμένων, ὅπ[ως καὶ ἐ]πε[κύρωσεν οὐ ἡ ἀπό]φ[α]  
 σις ἐξηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντω[ν γινώσιν -----<sup>nomen</sup>----- Σεβήρος]  
 Ἀπόφασις <sup>vv</sup> ἐπάρχ[ου]  
 Σεβήρος (εἶπεν)· τὴν μὲν φιλοτειμ[ίαν ἀποδέχομαι]  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοῦ[ς] θεοὺς ἐ[πεδείξατο· εἰ δέ τις]  
 35 παρακεινῆσαι τι τολμ[ή]σειεν τ[ῶν καθιερωθ]έντω[ν, ἐκ]  
 δικηθήσεται τῷ ταμ[ιεῖ]ω διπλῇ [ὅς' ἂν ἡ ἁξία π]αρά τοῦ τ[οῦ]  
 το τολμήσαντος ὡς [ἐφ' ἰ]εροσυλί[αι ἐπιτειμίου] γιγνομένου·  
 προνοήσονται δὲ το[ῦ ὅ]λου μάλισ[τα ὅ τε ἱεροφ]άντης καὶ ὁ  
 δαδούχος πρὸς τὸ [μὴ σα]λευθῆν[αί ποτε τοῦ] το τὸ κεφά  
 40 λαιον μῆτε τὴν ποσότητα τῶν [καθιερωμέν]ων δηναρίῳ (ἐνὶ)  
 μειωθῆναι, φανεροῦ ὅ[ν]τος ὅτι μ[ηδὲν αὐτοῖ]ς ἐστιν ἀκίν  
 δυνον εἶν τι περιίδωσ[ι]ν τούτω[ν παρακεινο]ύμενον <sup>vv</sup>

## Catalogue

- Ὅσοι τὴν τειμὴν νέμονται ταύτη[ν καὶ μὴ ὄντε]ς βουλευτι  
 κῆς ἀξίας <sup>vv</sup> αὐτὸς Ξενίων διπλ[ῇν· ἱερ(εὺς) Δ]αφνηφ(όρου) ἀπλῇ(ν)  
 45 ἱεροφάντης διπλῇν ἱέρεια Κα[----- πλῇν] ἄρχων Ε[ῦ]  
 δαδούχος διπλῇν ἱέρεια Μοι[ρῶν - πλ]ῇ(ν) μολπιδ(ῶν) ἀπ[λῇν]  
 ἀρχιερεὺς διπλῇν καὶ ὅσοι π[αῖδες<sup>v</sup>] <sup>v</sup> ἀφ' ἐσ[τίας]  
 ἐξηγητῆς διπλῇν φαιδυντῆς [-----]  
 ἐξηγηταὶ τρεῖς διπλᾶς· Διὸς ἱερεὺ[ς -----]  
 50 ἱεροκῆρυξ διπλῇν Ἰαχχαγωγὸ[ς -----]  
 ἐπὶ βωμῷ διπλῇν βουζύγη[ς -----]  
 Ἀθηνᾶς ἱέρεια διπλῇν πυρφόρο[ς -----]  
 Δήμητρος κ(αὶ) Κόρ(ης) διπλῇν· παναγῆς [-----]  
 ἱεροφάντιδες δύο διπλᾶς· ἱερεὺς θεο[ῦ καὶ θεᾶς -----]  
 55 vacat ἱερεὺς Τρ[ιπτολέμου -----]  
 vacat

EDITIONS: A. N. Skias, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1894, cols. 173-179 and 241-244; 1899, cols. 217-222; S. N. Dragoumes, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 381-384; *idem*, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ.,

1900, cols. 73-86, with a photograph; P. Foucart, "Les grands mystères d'Éleusis," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXVII, 1900, pp. 72-74 (text only of lines 43 ff.); *idem*, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 221-224 (text of lines 43 ff.); B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (Berlin, 1914), II, No. 196 with addenda on p. 211; J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup> (1916), 1092; O. Kern, *R.E.*, XVI (1935), 1231-1236 *s.v.* *Mysterien* (text and discussion of lines 43 ff.).

The basic edition is that of Dragoumes in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1900. P. Foucart's text of lines 43 ff. is the best for that section. Laum's text is valuable chiefly for notes contributed by A. Wilhelm, but since Laum was unacquainted with Foucart's study, his text of lines 43 ff. constituted a step backwards. Also Kirchner, by following Laum, overlooked the advance made by Foucart.

The text here presented is based on a study of the photographs which Dragoumes published and which are particularly praiseworthy in that Dragoumes took the trouble of arranging fragments in their relative positions, a service which facilitates another student's control. The readings have been checked, the lacunae have been remeasured, and the blank spaces reexamined.

There are a number of minor changes suggested by a new calculation as to the length of a lacuna or by a slightly different interpretation of the extant letters. The new restorations in lines 2-3, 6-7, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 41 and 43, however, alter the tone or character of the documents fundamentally.

Fragment A contains part of the upper right corner of the inscription. Fragment D, as Dragoumes explained, continues the sense of the upper lines of fragment C, although Dragoumes' calculations as to the distance separating the fragments at each line seem inaccurate after examination of the photograph. The restoration can be adjusted to fit the space, as I have attempted, but the fundamental determination of the relation between fragments C and D remains valid. Thus we have a text to the right of fragment C, and we know that fragments A and C do not overlap. Similarly the determination which Dragoumes made concerning the position of fragment E opposite lines 35 ff. remains valid. Hence we know that there was no room for fragment B to the right of fragment C, and that B must have followed fragment A or overlapped with it. But Dragoumes has not restored the sense between fragments B and A in a convincing manner.

The uncertainty remains concerning the position of fragment B which I thought of placing one line lower than previous editors have and of reading at lines 12-13 *διὰ τῆς τοῦ σεμ[ν]οτάτου* | *[συνεδρίου γνώμης πρ]οκυρωθε*[- - -]. Since, however, the sense connection cannot be reconstructed line after line with sufficient regularity to establish the relation beyond doubt, it is safer to leave fragment B out of the reconstructed text. This unmanageable fragment reads as follows:

— — ]η[ — —  
 — — — ]εἰνω[ — — —  
 — — ]τῆς πε[ — — —  
 — — γιγν]ωσκέτω[ — —  
 — — — — ]νος τῶν — — —  
 — — ]ἐκ τουπει[ — —  
 — — ]είονα τῆν τ[ — —  
 — — ]οκυρωθε[ — — —  
 — — — ]οσεσινω[ — —  
 — — — ]νωσ ἐλα[ — — —  
 — — — ἐ]πὶ τῶν ου[ — — —  
 — — — ]κι ὑπερο[ — — —

The inscription may be divided into four parts as follows: 1) the heading in line 1; 2) the main document in lines 2-31; 3) the *apophasis* or declaration of the Roman prefect (lines 32-43); 4) the catalogue of those who in addition to the Councillors were entitled to a single or double portion (lines 43 ff.).

### THE MAIN DOCUMENT

The character of the main document, if indeed lines 2-31 do contain only one document, does not emerge from the scanty remains with clarity. Although the words visible in line 2 suggest to me the *σεμνότατον συνέδριον τῶν Ἀρεοπαγαιτῶν*, the traces of lines 2-4 do not contain anything quite like the prescript of the two extant *ὑπομνηματισμοί* of the Athenian Areopagus.<sup>1</sup> In line 2 *ἔδοξε* (or a participial form) *τῶι σ]εμνοτάτ[ωι συν]εδρίωι* is quite possible, however, and it is also possible that in the vacant area between lines 1 and 2 a brief heading, like the phrase in line 32, replaced a prescript.

Although we cannot determine the exact character of the document, we can determine, I believe, that it is not a decree of the *σεμνότατον συνέδριον τῶν Πανελλήνων*, an assembly which, from the date of its creation in the time of Hadrian, convened

<sup>1</sup> For dates and references see my article "On the Athenian Decrees for Ulpian Eubiotus," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 350-352. In both cases the decree of the Areopagus follows and rewords a decree of the Council and Demos of the Athenians. In one case (A.D. 38) the *ὑπομνηματισμός* has the prescript, *Ἐπὶ Σεκούνδου ἄρχοντος καὶ ἱερέως Δρούσου ὑπάτου, μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος πέμπτη ἀπὸντος· Ἄρειος πάγος ἐν Ἐλευσίει· λόγους ἐποιήσατο Τειμ[ο]σθένης Καλλιστομάχου Ἀναφλύστιος· ἔδοξε*. In the other case (ca. A.D. 230), the minutes, of which we have two copies, introduce the *ὑπομνηματισμός* with the words *καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς εἰ, γνώμην ἀγορεύσαντος Ἀνρ* [ — — — — ἐν τῷ σεμνοτάτῳ σ]υνεδρί[φ τὴν τ]ῆς βουλῆς *vacat* ἐπιδρώτησεν ὁ πρόεδρος *vacat* ἔδοξεν τῇ [ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ. On the Areopagus in the Roman Period see above all B. Keil, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags* (= Ber. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., LXXI, 1919, Heft 8).



in Attica.<sup>2</sup> That was the identification made by Skias, the first editor, and rather uncritically taken over by his successors.<sup>3</sup> The whole inscription concerns affairs which are not Hellenic but Athenian, an Eleusinian endowment to be managed by the hierophant and the daduchus. The purely Athenian background is obvious also from the catalogue of lines 43 ff. Skias does not seem to have remembered the synedrion of the Areopagus, which had the real management of Athenian affairs in the Roman Period, and his only reason for identifying the main document as a decree of the Panhellenes was a supposed reference to the Panhellenes in line 6, Πα]νελλ[ή]νω[ν. But the three letters ΑΦΙ at the end of the line suggest rather that the visits of foreign Greeks to Eleusis formed the subject. One might compare Thucydides I, 95, κατηγορεῖτο . . . ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων, or, better yet, *S.I.G.*,<sup>4</sup> 1048 (fourth century B.C.), ἡ πανήγυρις τῶν εἰσαφικνο(ν)μένων Ἑλλήνων Ἐλευσινάδε,<sup>5</sup> and *S.I.G.*,<sup>6</sup> 456, πάντων τῶν ἀφικνουμένων πρὸς ἡμᾶς Ἑλλήνων (about 240 B.C.). Line 6, accordingly, far from containing a phrase which must be connected with the Panhellenes,<sup>7</sup> contains a phrase similar to those just cited.<sup>8</sup> The spelling in my tentative restoration of the passage has been made to conform with the spelling *is* in lines 16 and 26 and with spatial requirements.

The main document concerns the allocation of the surplus, mentioned in lines 25 f., which has accrued from the income of an old endowment. To judge from lines 44 f., the purpose of the endowment was to provide gifts for Athenian Councillors, i. e. for members of the βουλή τῶν Πεντακοσίων. An incidental reference to the original purpose of the endowment occurs also in lines 15-16, where it appears that every Councillor—there is hardly room for, and certainly no trace of, a clause calling for a selection of recipients by lot—was to receive a sum of unworn [Attic drachmae], i. e. silver denarii. On analogies in *O.G.I.* 484 and *I.G.*, IV, 1946, A 10, the word λαμπράς in lines 8 and 15 was explained by Wilhelm *apud* Laum as referring to bright coins; the distributions were not to be made in worn out coins such as circulated at a discount.

<sup>2</sup> On the Panhellenion see M. N. Tod, *J. H. S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 167-180.

<sup>3</sup> Dragoumes, who rejected it in his first article, eventually accepted it in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1900.

<sup>4</sup> Another inscription of the fourth century, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 310, a *lex sacra*, is too mutilated for recovery of the sense, but it may be cited for the same compound of our verb, —]ων εἰσαφικνουμέ[νων —. In the second century after Christ the word occurs, among other places, in Aelius Aristides, XX, Keil, 22: συνθύσαντες καὶ συνεορτάσαντες ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις.

<sup>5</sup> It was still connected with the Panhellenes by P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), p. 105; by M. P. Nilsson, "Die eleusinische Religion," *Die Antike*, XVIII, 1942, p. 227, and *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II (Munich, 1950), p. 330; by E. Ziebarth, *R.E.*, XXXVI (1949), 583, s.v. Πανέλληνες. The attribution to the Panhellenes may well explain why this inscription and the important endowment which it attests are not even mentioned by J. A. O. Larsen, "Roman Greece" in Tenney Frank's *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV (Baltimore, 1938), or by John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination* (New York, 1942).

<sup>6</sup> Speaking of Eleusis, Aristides, XIII, Dindorf, p. 182, recalls αἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαρχαὶ δέϋρ' ἀφικνούμεναι, but in line 5 of the Eleusinian inscription the photograph seems to exclude the reading ἀ[π]αρ[χ]άς.

From line 6 one infers that the distribution was to be made at a great festival, the Mysteries rather than the Greater Eleusinia, when visitors from all over Hellas flocked to Eleusis. The Xenion mentioned in line 44 at the head of the list is not necessarily the donor; he may be the living representative of a donor already deceased.

The surplus which had accumulated year after year had been lying idle. With possible<sup>7</sup> reference to proposals by Xenion, the main document gives permission for the reinvestment of the surplus (line 11). The increased income was to be used for increasing the number of recipients by including among the beneficiaries other persons of distinction who are precisely identified in the appended list (the word *ὑποτέτακται*, as in line 18, is frequently used in inscriptions and papyri to indicate another document appended below). The individual portion was to be twelve unworn [Attic drachmae] (line 15). If the analysis here submitted is correct, the main document calls for an outlay of at least 6,500 instead of 6,000 drachmae once every year. The amount 6,000 drachmae, being exactly one talent, is surely the amount provided as the total outlay in the original plan, and this warns us against interpreting a line in Fragment B *πλ[είονα τῇν τ[ε]μῆν* (Dragoumes) or *π[οσότητα]* (Laum) as calling for an increase also in the amount of the individual portion.

The main document goes on to specify further that if ever another surplus arises, the money may be used for the purchase of new incense burners,<sup>8</sup> but the hierophant and the daduchus are to make the arrangements, for they are the *certae personae*, who through appointment in the Roman *apophysis* are to be in charge and to keep watch that no alteration occur in respect to the endowment's terms (approved once and for all) or in respect to the amounts periodically applied to a previously mentioned religious purpose (i. e., the distributions at the festival). Then the Roman official's declaration is appended to establish the authority of the hierophant and daduchus.

Surely the word paired with *σωτηρία* in line 28 is not *χρεία* (so Dragoumes, Laum

<sup>7</sup> If Xenion is mentioned in line 4 as Dragoumes thought, the corporation may have consulted with Xenion, and he may have given his consent to their specific proposals, perhaps after making general proposals of his own. But I am not convinced that there is any reference in line 4.

<sup>8</sup> For ancient incense burners in general see K. Wigand, "Thymiateria," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXXII, 1912, pp. 1-97, especially pp. 42-92 for the Greek and Roman censers. A thymiaterion of about A.D. 150 is represented in a painting published by F. E. Brown, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Seventh and Eighth Seasons* (Yale University Press, 1939), pp. 158-163; and bronze thymiateria are mentioned in property returns of Egyptian temples (cf. E. H. Gilliam, *Yale Classical Studies*, X, 1947, pp. 208 f., 212 f. and 223). Probably the thymiateria envisaged for the Eleusinian sanctuary would be more like those represented on the Arch of the Argentarii at Rome (under Septimius Severus) and on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. See M. Pallotino, *L'Arco degli Argentari* (= *I Monumenti Romani a cura del R. Istituto di Studi Romani*, II, 1946, pp. 96-98). Such incense burners of Roman date were unlike the thymiateria used at Eleusis in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., for which K. Kourouniotes, "Θυμιατήρια ἐν Ἐλευσίνι," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps on his Seventieth Birthday* (Princeton, 1936), pp. 203-216, has published examples.

and Kirchner) but ἀσφάλεια, as in Dionysius of Halicarnassus X, 2 ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐσκόπουν, Aelius Aristides, XIII, Dindorf, p. 244, and S.I.G.<sup>9</sup> 569, 581, and 742, also in an Athenian inscription of about 15 B.C. published by B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 41. The last two words of Demosthenes' oration *On the Crown* were σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ (cf. also Cassius Dio, frag. 43, 2).

In lines 30-31 Dragoumes, followed by Laum and Kirchner, restored ὅπ[ως καὶ ὕ]πὸ [τοῦ ἐπάρχου ἢ ἀπό]φ[α] | σις ἐξηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντω[ν γνῶσιν, whereby the conjunction ὅπως improperly was made to introduce the verb ἐξηνέχθη. The sense to be supplied after the imperatives must be "just as the prefect ordered in his declaration." The appropriateness of the verb ἐπικυρώ is attested by its use in similar situations.<sup>9</sup> The phrase πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντω[ν γνῶσιν corresponds to the Latin formula *ad omnium notitiam*.

The author would hazard the suggestion that the main document contains a ruling by the Areopagus. The ruling concerns a detail for which the diataxis, the deed establishing in perpetuity the use of the endowment, did not provide specifically. The Areopagus in this case sat as a court, and it is well known from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1103 and other documents that the Areopagus handled judicial business, while supervision over religious affairs had always been a function of the Areopagus. The difference of form which the reader notices between this document and the previously known decrees of the Areopagus is due partly to the circumstance that for the two previously known decrees the Areopagus sat, not as a court, but as a council. If the Areopagus formulated both ὑπομνηματισμοί and, as we know it did in the fourth century B.C.,<sup>10</sup> ἀποφάσεις too, it is possible that what we have is an ἀπόφασις Ἀρειοπαγιτῶν. It could, indeed, have been so labeled between lines 1 and 2.

### THE PREFECT'S APOPHASIS

The commencement of the second document is plainly marked. It was not noticed by Dragoumes, Laum and Kirchner that also the end of the second document is marked with two blank spaces in line 42.

#### *The Prefect's Declaration*

*Severus said: "I too approve the act of generosity which he has displayed in respect to the gods. If anyone should dare to alter any of the consecrated arrangements, property of twice the value shall be vindicated to the fiscus from the person*

<sup>9</sup> See for example *T.A.M.*, II, 905, V E; line 3 of the inscription published by L. Robert, *Études anatoliennes* (Paris, 1937), pp. 423 ff.; and *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, No. 27 (= *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI [1941], No. 3), line 74.

<sup>10</sup> See U. Kahrstedt, "Untersuchungen zu athenischen Behörden," *Klio*, XXX, 1937, pp. 10-33, especially p. 30.



who has so dared, a penalty being levied as for sacrilegium. It is especially understood that the hierophant and the daduchus shall have complete charge in order that this capital investment be never endangered and in order that the amount of the consecrated interest be never reduced by a single denarius. For it is clear that for them nothing remains safe if they overlook any alteration of the terms."

The hitherto unexplained ligature  $\text{X}$  of line 33 has been carried over into the inscription from the scribal usage of Roman governmental offices, where it meant *dixit*. Four examples ought to suffice:

1) SYRIA. P. Roussel and F. De Visscher, *Syria*, XXIII, 1942-1943, pp. 176-194 with a photograph of column II on Plate IX. The inscription (found at Dmeir) reproduces the *commentarii* in which the minutes of a trial before Caracalla at Antioch were recorded. The text consists of a heading and of a running account in Latin with phrases such as *Lollianus (dixit)* and *Antoninus Aug(ustus) (dixit)* to introduce the discussion and speeches, which are recorded in Greek in the exact words of the speakers; abbreviations although extensive are limited to the Latin framework and are perfectly clear in the context.

2) SYRIA. P. Roussel and F. De Visscher, *Syria*, XXIII, 1942-1943, pp. 194-200 with a photograph on Plate X. The inscription (found at Dmeir) records the minutes of a trial concerning xoana before a Roman judge. The speeches are in Greek and the running account in Latin. The usual forms at Dmeir (1 and 2) are  $\text{D}$  and  $\text{X}$ .

3) ROME. *C.I.L.*, VI, 266 (A.D. 244). Decisions of three successive *prae-fecti vigilum* in a case concerning *fullones* are cited: *Florianus (dixit)*, *Modes-tinus (dixit)*, *Restitutianus (dixit)*. In August 1948 H. T. Rowell kindly examined the upper part of the inscription in the Capitoline Museum. At lines 17 and 19, according to his note, the ligature appeared as  $\text{D}$  with a line sloping upward from the hasta and extending beyond the curved stroke.

4) EGYPT. P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Bouriant* (Paris, 1926), No. 20. The papyrus contains the minutes of a trial before the *juridicus* of Alexandria after A.D. 350. The speeches are recorded in Greek, but the running account is in Latin with phrases like *Gennadius (dixit)* and *Nonna (dixit)*. On page 87 Collart refers to the ligature as  $\text{d}$ .

The Latin examples of statements introduced by a name and by the word *dixit* in abbreviation were drawn from *commentarii* of Roman officials. It was used also in reporting the official's final decision in the case he was judging. The usage of the Greek equivalent  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu$  is no different. In the *commentarii* of *P. Lond.* 2565 recording

a trial before the prefect of Egypt *ca.* A.D. 250<sup>11</sup> the expression εἶπ(εν) constantly recurs, and it is always abbreviated, even when used of the prefect's announcement of his *apophasis*. In the extract which in *P. Ryl.* 75 is labeled as from the *commentarii* of the prefect Munatius Felix for A.D. 150, a decision is introduced with the words Μουνάτιος εἶπεν. In *B.G.U.*, 19, lines 4-5, a decision by a *iudex datus* of the year A.D. 135 is introduced by the phrase Μένανδρος ὁ κριτῆς τοῖς διαδικαζομένοις εἶπεν. In fact the usage of the word εἶπεν to express the announcement of the *apophasis* by a Roman magistrate or by a *iudex datus* is very common.<sup>12</sup>

Lines 33-42, accordingly, would seem to contain an extract from a prefect's *commentarii*. Comparison with the inscription at Dmeir and the naturalness of the language suggest that the *apophasis* was originally delivered in Greek<sup>13</sup> just as we have it, but that the heading of the section in the *commentarii* and the running account, to which the words Σεβήρος (εἶπεν) belong, may have been in a much abbreviated Latin. The extract contains no description of the benefaction or its recipients, no reference to the name of the donor, to the person or persons who asked for the *apophasis*, because all this information was stated in the heading and in the record of preceding discussion. The Athenians have had only the record of his final decision reproduced from the prefect's *commentarii*; on the inscription the case to which it refers is abundantly clear from the main document. The words Ἀπόφασις ἐπάρχ[ου . . .] in line 32 are not from the *commentarii* but constitute a heading of an ancient type in which the absence of articles provides no evidence for translation from the Latin.<sup>14</sup>

If, as at Dmeir, the running account was in Latin, the Eleusinian stonecutter or whoever prepared the copy from which he worked may have transliterated the name, where instead the reader was supposed to read in Latin *Severus* (*dixit*); or the abbreviation had achieved an independent existence of its own like the abbreviation

<sup>11</sup> T. C. Skeat and E. P. Wegener, "A Trial before the Prefect of Egypt Appius Sabinus *c.* 250 A.D.," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXI, 1935, pp. 224-247 with photograph of column II.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *B.G.U.*, 114 (A.D. 117); *B.G.U.*, 1085 (middle of second century after Christ), *P. Strassb.* 22 (A.D. 207). R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri* (New York, 1944), p. 397.

<sup>13</sup> Of the prefect's ἀπόφασις the version published at Eleusis ought to be the authoritative text, and it flows along in a kind of legal *koine* more smoothly than would a translation from Latin. The Roman governors of Greek provinces used the Greek language in their epistles, edicts and decrees. The emperors certainly used the Greek language in their letters to Greek cities and probably in those edicts intended for *propositio* in Greek cities alone. See J. Stroux and L. Wenger, *Die Augustus-Inschrift auf dem Marktplatz von Kyrene* (= Abh. der Bayerischen Akad. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., XXXIV, 2, 1928, pp. 19-25.

<sup>14</sup> Let the reader consult the index of *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> under the words συνθήκαι and συμμαχία. Examples from Athens of the Classical Period are e.g. [Χρ]υνθήκαι Ἑρμομένον καὶ Ἀθηναίο[ν], *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 494: Ὁρκος ἐφήβων, M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, 204. From Egypt we have Ἀπογραφή ἀρχώ[νων] and πράξις τελών in the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus, cols. 14 and 15.

for centurion, which Greeks might read as *ἐκατοντάρχης*, or like the ubiquitous abbreviation for *denarii*.

It is no coincidence that the one other abbreviation in the *apophysis*, namely the numeral  $\bar{\iota}$  at the end of line 40, has no perfect parallel in Attic inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> An explanation that an old symbol for "one" has here been taken over from the ancient acrophonic system of numerals would not enlist the support of M. N. Tod, our chief authority on Greek numerals. It looks as if also this symbol, the well known Latin abbreviation for "one," reflects Roman secretarial usage.

In lines 33-34 Dragoumes (followed by Laum and Kirchner) restored *τὴν μὲν φιλοτειμ[ίαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν οἶδα] | καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοῦ[ς] θεοῦς ἔ[χοντες διατελείτε]*. The first objection to the old restoration is the false concept that the document was an epistle. It is not an epistle; the use of the second person is out of place, and the word *φιλοτειμία* concerns the donor's benefaction, not the noble ambition of the corporation. In the second century after Christ the word *φιλοτιμία* was commonly employed to indicate the visible result of the attitude. In the Athenian inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592, of A.D. 168 it is used in the plural. The word indicated a public treat of any kind, achieved through a large expenditure of private means.<sup>16</sup> The prefect's *apophysis* had to contain here a reference to the endowment for the rest of the document to have a bearing. The second objection to the old restoration is that the length exceeds the available space.

The sense of the prefect's opening words *τὴν μὲν φιλοτειμ[ίαν verb] καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοῦ[ς] θεοῦς ε[ verb]* may be understood by comparison with the opening words of the legate's declaration at Rhodiapolis in his letter to the Lyciarch: <sup>17</sup> *Ὁπρὸς ὅαν Ἀπο[λλωνίου] δις τοῦ Καλλιάρχου καὶ αὐτὸς ἀ[πο]δέχομαι ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἦν πρὸς τὸ λα[μ]πρότατον ἔθνος ὑμῶν ἐπεδείξατο*. The verb here is *ἀποδέχομαι* construed with the accusative of the person. But *ἀποδέχομαι* can be construed also with the accusative of the thing. In his discussion of the word A. Wilhelm<sup>18</sup> cites *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1343 (36 B.C.), *ἐφ' οἷς ἅπασιν ἡ σύνοδος ἀποδεξαμένη τὴν ἐκτένειαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ ὁμοθυμαδὸν προεβάλετο τοὺς εἰσοίσοντας αὐτοῖς τὰς καθηκούσας τιμὰς*, and a decree of Iasos in honor of Caninius<sup>19</sup> (approximately Hadrianic), *ἐφ' οἷς πᾶσιν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἀποδεχό-*

<sup>15</sup> See M. N. Tod's masterly article, "The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica," *B.S.A.*, XLV, 1950, pp. 126-139, especially the comment on p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> It might even be a gladiatorial exhibition: cf. L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Paris, 1940), p. 278. For *φιλοτιμία* in the sense "endowment" cf. the Vibius Salutaris inscription, lines 311-313 and 550. On *φιλοτιμία* "the desire to make a good showing before men" in liberalities to gods and their temples see A. D. Nock, "Religious Attitudes of the Ancient Greeks," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXXV, 1942, pp. 479 f.

<sup>17</sup> *T.A.M.*, II, 905, V, E.

<sup>18</sup> *Wiener Anzeiger*, LXV, 1922, pp. 129-136.

<sup>19</sup> *Neue Beiträge*, IV (= Sitzungsberichte Wien, 179, 1917, 6te Abh.), pp. 43 ff.



μενοι αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα λαμπρὸν καὶ φιλότειμον ἔκρειναν τιμηθῆναι αὐτὸν ταῖς καλλίσταις καὶ μεγίσταις τειμαῖς πάσαις.

Accordingly we restore the prefect's commendation, τὴν μὲν φιλοτειμ[ίαν ἀποδέχομαι] καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν πρὸς τοῦ[ς] θεοῦς ἐ[πεδείξατο]. A similar beginning (ἀποδεχόμεθα) occurs in the second declaration from Oxyrhynchus.<sup>20</sup> Finally the word ἀπεδεξάμην is used by the proconsul of Achaia in the letter to the Gytheates<sup>21</sup> when he refers to the declaration protecting the endowment of Claudius Atticus. These parallel documents will be treated elsewhere.

In line 36 the curious verb δικηθήσεται, adopted as a reading by previous editors, left two letters unaccounted for at the end of line 35, but the verb may be restored confidently as ἐκ]δικηθήσεται on the basis of the phrase ἔχοντος τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐκδικίαν ἐπ' ἀνάν[κῃ. . . , in line 219 of the Ephesian inscription concerning the endowment of Vibius Salutaris,<sup>22</sup> and because of the frequency of the verb in references to prosecution in the sanctions of sepulchral inscriptions of Asia Minor.<sup>23</sup>

The word ἐξεδικήθης<sup>24</sup> occurs as the glossator's literal translation of the Latin phrase *vindicatus es* in one of the popular stories which arose probably soon after Hadrian's death and are known commonly as *Divi Hadriani Sententiae et Epistulae*. The meaning in the Eleusinian document may, I believe, be rendered into Latin as *vindicabitur*, and for the turn of the phrase one may compare Codex Iustiniani, XI, 43, 10: *proscriptionis titulo subiacebit, et fisci viribus vindicabitur*. The verb was commonly used in connection with the fiscus,<sup>25</sup> e. g. by Callistratus (*Dig.*, XLIX, 14, 3), *ut . . . fisco vindicaretur* and *fisco vindicari*. There are many parallels in the *Codex Theodosiani*. Thus we have a well known formula which makes Dragoumes' restoration διπλῇ[ν εἰσπράξαι impossible in line 36. The infinitive is out of place. The formula requires a reference to property.

In line 37 what Dragoumes restored, ὡς [ἐφ' ἱ]εροσυλί[αι τούτου] γιγνομένου, does not fill out the space or give a satisfactory sense. The missing word seems to be ἐπιτειμίου (or ἐπιτείμου). An inscription republished by R. Herzog, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXXV, 1922, p. 222, contains a similar reference to a penalty for violation of *asylia* granted to Cos by the emperor ἐπιτί[μιον ἔστω τὰς ἀσε[βείας τὰς εἰς τὸν] Σεβαστόν.

<sup>20</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, 705, line 59.

<sup>21</sup> *I.G.*, V (1), 1147.

<sup>22</sup> *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, No. 27 = *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI (1941), No. 3.

<sup>23</sup> H. Stemler, *Die griechischen Grabinschriften Kleinasiens* (Diss., Strassburg, 1909), pp. 67-69.

<sup>24</sup> *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, III (ed. Götz), p. 32, line 11. On this collection see G. Götz, *Index Scholarum Hibernarum*. . . (Jena, 1893), pp. iii-viii. Incidentally the phrase ἀποφάσ<ε>ι ἐπάρχον in another of these stories concerning Hadrian (*Corpus Gloss. Lat.*, III, p. 33, line 10) affords a weak parallel for line 33 of the Eleusinian inscription.

<sup>25</sup> For the character of the fiscus see most recently Hugh Last, "The Fiscus: a Note," *J. R. S.*, XXXIV, 1944, pp. 51-59, and A. H. M. Jones, "The Aerarium and the Fiscus," *J. R. S.*, XL, 1950, pp. 22-29.

Herzog restored ἐνθύμιον, but a glance through the index of *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup> suggests that the word is ἐπιτίμιον. With the restorations of lines 36 and 37 compare also *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, 736, lines 81 f., and compare the phrase καὶ ἐπιτίμιον τὸ ἴσον in the Dura parchment.<sup>26</sup> The same word is used in a law concerning the orderly conduct of the Mysteries.<sup>27</sup>

According to my (new) interpretation with the *apophasis* ending in line 42, the clause of lines 41-42 must still refer to the hierophant and daduchus, whereas Dragoumes restored φανεροῦ ὃ[ν]τος ὅτι μ[η]δαμῶς ἐστὶν ἀκίνδυνον, ἐάν τι περιῖδωσ[ι]ν τούτῳ[ν μετακείνο]ύμενον (παρακείνο]ύμενον, Laum and Kirchner) | ὅσοι τὴν τειμήν, κτλ. To this restoration I have another objection, that the word μ[η]δαμῶς is at least three letters too short to fill the lacuna.

### THE CATALOGUE

“Those entitled to this honor even though not of buleutic rank are:”

The demonstrative ταύτη[ν] refers the reader back to lines 16-18, where an individual portion of twelve unworn drachmae was assigned to the five hundred Councillors, with whom certain others, listed below, were to be associated. For the thought and the verb Lucian, *Deorum Concilium*, 3, διανομὰς νέμονται. The double portion had been a privilege of the Spartan kings and was familiar at all periods of Greek history as a mark of special honor.<sup>28</sup>

The restorations καὶ μὴ ὄντε]ς in line 43 and ἱερ(εὺς) in line 44 are new. In line 43 Dragoumes had restored τῆς μερίδο]ς, a redundancy retained by Laum and Kirchner.

The old resolution δαφνηφ(όρος) in line 44 may be correct, but an official Bearer of the Bays is attested nowhere else. The phrase καὶ ὅσοι π[αῖδες] ἀφ' ἐσ[τίας], restored by Foucart, begins slightly to the right of the alignment of Column II and extends to the right edge of Column III: it should be treated as part of Column III. In the list of officials entitled to public maintenance (*aiscatoi*) which appeared at the end of prytany catalogues of the second century after Christ, four Eleusinian officials are recorded and recorded in the same order, hierophant, daduchus, sacred herald, altar priest. This, the official order of precedence, may be observed also at least in the most important first column of the Eleusinian catalogue. The order of arrangement then is essentially one of precedence, and as such the catalogue is of extraordinary interest. The precedence is a precedence within groups. Xenion is in a class by himself. Then comes the first group.

<sup>26</sup> Franz Cumont, *Rev. de phil.*, XLVIII, 1924, pp. 97-111 and *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-23), Paris, 1926, pp. 286-296.

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia* X, 1941, p. 67 (Athens, first century B.C.).

<sup>28</sup> See H. C. Youtie, “The Kline of Sarapis,” *Harvard Theological Review*, XLI, 1948, pp. 9-29, especially 21-22.

The first group is:

1. Hierophant
2. Daduchus
3. High Priest of the Imperial Cult.
4. The single Exegete
- 5-7. The three Exegetes
8. Sacred Herald
9. Altar Priest.

The ancient glory, the oecumenical reputation, and the continued, nay increased popularity of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which they more particularly represented, assured the hierophant and daduchus, who were probably the most respected priests of the entire Greek world, the first position in the Eleusinian catalogue. Immediately after them comes the high priest, who, Foucart inferred, had by this time achieved a position as religious leader of the city.<sup>29</sup>

Then come the exegetes, divided into two types.<sup>30</sup> They are followed by the sacred herald and the altar priest, who with the hierophant and the daduchus are the chief officials representing the sanctuary.

The second group, a solid group of priestesses in order of rank, begins in Column I and overflows into Column II:

10. Priestess of Athena
11. Priestess of Demeter and Kore
- 12-13. The two Hierophantids
14. Priestess of Ka[— —] <sup>31</sup>
15. Priestess of the Fates

Athena Polias is the most important Athenian deity, the protectress of the city, and her priestess, by whom dedications on the Acropolis are often dated, outranks every other priestess. In the catalogue she follows the four great Eleusinian priests, the high priest and the exegetes. After her comes the priestess of Demeter and Kore, who had always been the foremost female official at Eleusis. In recent years two other female officials, the Hierophantid of Demeter and the Hierophantid of the Younger Goddess,<sup>32</sup> had become very prominent,—female counterparts of the hiero-

<sup>29</sup> For the high priest see J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore, 1950), Ch. VI.

<sup>30</sup> For the exegetes see Oliver, *ibid.*, Ch. IV and *passim*.

<sup>31</sup> Dragoumes restored the name as that of Kaustis, Foucart at first as that of Kalliste. In the photograph the reading Καλ[ίστης seems quite possible, but Kalliste used to be served by a priest, about whom see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 242-243.

<sup>32</sup> See M. P. Nilsson, *Archiv für Religionsw.*, XXXII, 1935, p. 81.



phant and the daduchus. Though they still follow the priestess of Demeter and Kore in order of rank, they too belong to the group in Column I entitled to a double portion as a mark of special honor, a preference contrasting with the arrangement in the Theater of Dionysus, where no priestess occupies a marble chair of the first six rows.

After an interruption a new group appear:

16. Cleanser of the Statues of the Goddesses <sup>33</sup>
17. Priest of Zeus
18. Conductor of Iacchos
19. Buzyges

Then a group of Eleusinian dignitaries:

20. Bearer of the Fire <sup>34</sup>
21. Herald All-Hallowed
22. Priest of the God and of the Goddess <sup>35</sup>
23. Priest of Triptolemus
24. Priest of Apollo Daphnephorus
25. Archon of the Eumolpidae <sup>36</sup>

The list breaks off after one more entry:

26. Children initiated ἀφ' ἐστίας in behalf of the city. <sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Mentioned in a sacral inscription of about 510-480 B.C. (L. H. Jeffery, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 92 f.) and in a decree of ca. A.D. 220 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078).

<sup>34</sup> There were two priests known as Bearers of the Fire. One, the πυρφόρος ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως, sat in the sixth row on the left in the Theater of Dionysus (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5046). The other appears in the early Augustan decree in honor of the daduchus Themistocles (first published by I. Chr. Threpsiades, *apud* K. Kourouniotes, *Ἑλενισινιακά*, I [1932], pp. 223-236; a second edition by P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez* [1934], pp. 819-834) as ὁ πυρφόρος καὶ ἱερεὺς τῶν Χαρίτων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐπιπυργιδίας. The incumbent was a member of the Ceryces, and his great importance is indicated by his position in the list of Ceryces who proposed the honors for the daduchus Themistocles, for he comes after the Altar Priest and before the Sacred Herald and the Herald All-Hallowed. In the Theater of Dionysus he had a front row chair (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5050). There can be no doubt that he is the πυρφόρος remembered in Xenion's endowment. He is mentioned also by Pollux, I, 35. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4816 he is called πυρφόρος τοῖν θεοῖν. See also Kern, *R.E.*, XVI, 1233.

<sup>35</sup> For the God and the Goddess as Pluto and Persephone see M. Nilsson, *Archiv für Religionsw.*, XXXII, 1935, p. 81. For the view that they are pre-Hellenic deities who live on without names see O. Kern, *Die Antike*, VI, 1930, p. 310.

<sup>36</sup> The correct restoration was made by Foucart. Only one letter has been lost at the end of line 45. O. Kern offers no evidence in support of his strange assertion that Foucart's restoration is "ganz unmöglich" (*R.E.*, XVI, 1233).

<sup>37</sup> More recent discussions of the παῖς μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας are those of P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 278-279; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), p. 74; O. Kern, *R.E.* XVI, 1236; G. Méautis, *Revue des études anciennes*, XXXIX, 1937, pp. 105-107. Méautis, denying that the phrase ἀφ' ἐστίας has anything to do with the public hearth in the Prytaneum, interprets it to mean "at the commencement of the initiation ceremonies" on the analogy of the

The beneficiaries are, except for Xenion himself and the archon of the Eumolpidae and the children initiated ἀφ' ἐστίας, all of them important priests and priestesses probably with important roles during the season of the Mysteries.

It was probably the Areopagus which gave permission for entering the name or title of each beneficiary on what I have interpreted as a supplementary list of special beneficiaries, a list connected with new arrangements for utilizing an old surplus. The proposals may have originated with the hierophant and the daduchus, but the final list and particularly the order were determined—perhaps after negotiations with Xenion—by the corporation which issued the main document, a corporation which I infer to be the Areopagus. The first entry, “Xenion himself,” which can hardly be a citation from the donor's own words, supports the theory of a supplementary list. In thus allocating the additional revenue and in selecting certain particular beneficiaries, the Areopagus was presumably acting in the spirit of the donor's intentions.

### THE DATE AND THE DONOR

Dragoumes<sup>38</sup> preferred to date the inscription to the period A.D. 138-180 but did not present his reasons. Presumably the lettering and the background of prosperity seemed to indicate that period. Dragoumes, however, presented as a second possibility the reign of Septimius Severus, whose name might, he thought, be that in line 33. Foucart,<sup>39</sup> followed by Graindor<sup>40</sup> and Kern,<sup>41</sup> referred to the document as an inscription of the Severan Period. Discarding reference to the feeble argument from the name Severus but retaining the conclusion based upon it, Persson<sup>42</sup> and Jacoby<sup>42a</sup> refer to the document as an inscription of the third century. Laum<sup>43</sup> without explanation

proverb ἀφ' ἐστίας ἄρχεσθαι, where the phrase ἀφ' ἐστίας means “from the beginning”: the eupatrid child is initiated in behalf of all and the honor of being selected is just as great in Méautis' interpretation as in Foucart's. For Attic portraits of the Roman Period which appear to represent παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας see K. Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, VIII, 1925, pp. 155-162, and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 179.

<sup>38</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1900, col. 84.

<sup>39</sup> *Les Grands Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1900), pp. 72-74, and *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), p. 240.

<sup>40</sup> P. Graindor, *Musée Belge*, XVI, 1912, p. 84; *Un milliardaire antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille* (Cairo, 1930), p. 70, note 7.

<sup>41</sup> O. Kern, *R. E.*, XVI, 1233.

<sup>42</sup> A. W. Persson, *Die Exegeten und Delphi*, p. 38 (= *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F., Avd. 1, Bd. 14, 1918, Nr. 22).

<sup>42a</sup> F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford, 1949), p. 11, A. 18, and p. 26. But on p. 399 he says “later than A.D. 131;” obviously the starting point of this more vague date, the foundation of the Panhellenion, is an inference from an erroneous restoration of line 6.

<sup>43</sup> B. Laum, *Stiftungen*, II, 18.

calls it an inscription of the second century, and Nilsson<sup>44</sup> (with equal reticence) an inscription of the Hadrianic Period.

The date of the inscription must be recovered from the two personal names mentioned in the document. These are that of the prefect Severus and that of Xenion. The former name is too common for preliminary identification, but even if it were uncommon, there would be no reason to connect it with the emperor Septimius Severus. Since the document is labeled ἀπόφασις ἐπάρχ[ου], the Severus from whom the instrument emanates is obviously no emperor.

Reference to Xenion, however, opens up possibilities. There were not many wealthy enough to leave so generous a donation. In view of the abundant documentation for Roman Athens, the family, if it were an Athenian family, would be conspicuous because its wealth would have compelled it to participate in various liturgies. But this is not the case. The name Xenion, so read by Dragoumes whereas Skias had rendered it Ξεν<ο>φῶν, is very rare and caused the Greek editors many doubts. No example of this name occurs in the index to the *editio maior* of *I.G.*, III, nor in the epigraphical index to the first ten volumes of *Hesperia*. Nevertheless the name does occur in one Attic inscription, which in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3676 reads as follows:

[-----]  
[τὸ]ν ἀφ' ἐστ[ίας]  
Φλαῖ Ξενίωνα  
Μαραθώνιον  
τὸν κράτιστο[ν]  
5 [πύκ]την ὁ φίλο[ς]

The basis for this or any text is the drawing made by Max Fränkel when he rediscovered this wandering stone at Aegina.<sup>45</sup> The main difference between Fränkel's text and that of Kirchner is the restoration at the beginning of line 5, where Fränkel, who bracketed dubious letters, restored [μύσ]τ[η]ν. Kirchner had no real parallel for the phrase κράτιστον πύκτην. The word κράτιστος is surely a predicate of rank which might apply to a member of the equestrian or of the senatorial order. It does not suggest an athlete. Fränkel's restoration, by which the word κράτιστος does receive recognition as a predicate of rank, is still unconvincing, for the predicate would be out of place as a modifier of a word like μύστης. However, Fränkel's drawing reveals that the stone is broken away below so that in line 5 most of the eta and the bottom of Fränkel's tau have disappeared. Fränkel (and Kirchner) overlooked that what remains of the first visible letter in line 5 could belong equally well to a zeta.<sup>46</sup> Further-

<sup>44</sup> M. P. Nilsson, *Die Antike*, XVIII, 1942, p. 228.

<sup>45</sup> M. Fränkel, "Epigraphisches aus Aegina," *Abhandlungen d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin*, 1897, Anhang, p. 17, no. 28.

<sup>46</sup> In Attic inscriptions the letter zeta even in the second century after Christ was often of the



more the zeta or tau is located below but slightly to the right of the kappa in line 4, a position which indicates the loss of slightly more than three ordinary letters at the beginning of line 5. The conditions are much better satisfied by the reading [Φλα'] Ζηνοφίλο[υ] (or Ζηνόφιλο[ς]), which would represent the name of Xenion's father.

Accordingly the stone records an inscription in honor of a Flavius Xenion who as a child representing the city of Athens was initiated (line 1) into the Eleusinian Mysteries. Flavius Xenion was a Roman citizen of the senatorial order; he had also Athenian citizenship with membership in the deme Marathon. His personal name and that of his father are Greek. The father's name Zenophilus is not so rare as the name Xenion, but it too is rare.

A wealthy Athenian family of Flavii from the deme Marathon is well known.<sup>47</sup> They were Eumolpidae; they were of equestrian rank, but the names Zenophilus and Xenion will not be found in the genealogical table. The silence of our documents is in this case more significant in view of the proud enumeration of distinguished relatives. One would expect, moreover, to find some trace of the names Zenophilus and Xenion at least in the numerous ephebic and prytany catalogues of Roman Athens, and since even here one does not find these names, the suspicion arises that Zenophilus may have been a wealthy foreigner who had received the grant of Athenian citizenship, accompanied, as often in this period, by adlection into the Eumolpidae.<sup>48</sup> Thus the boy could be chosen to represent the city as an Athenian from a eupatrid family. The inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3686 reflects a parallel case of a child *mystes* from an alien family.

The Xenion associated with the establishment of the Eleusinian endowment and the *puer clarissimus* Flavius Xenion who was initiated as a eupatrid child representing the city of Athens were both intimately connected with the sanctuary at Eleusis, and this fact by itself certainly suggests an identification, which the rarity of the name corroborates.

A rich man named Flavius Xenion is attested outside of Attica, precisely from the Antonine Period to which Dragoumes preferred to assign the inscription at Eleusis.

A statue base at Gortyna in Crete, now available in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, IV, 300, reads as follows:

shape **Γ**. It will suffice to refer the reader to the photographs of three Athenian inscriptions of the period A.D. 146-168, published in *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 41, 51, and 53.

<sup>47</sup> *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, (= *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII [1947]), opposite p. 248.

<sup>48</sup> For examples see the reference in the preceding footnote.

## ON FRONT

Ἡ βουλὴ  
καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
τῶν Γορτυνίων  
Τ. Φλα. Ξενίωνα  
τὸν εὐεργέτην,  
ἐπὶ πρωτοκόσ  
μῳ Γαίῳ Τερρεντί  
ῳ Σατορνείῳ

## ON RIGHT SIDE

- Στηλογρα[φία διανομῶν]  
τῶν καταλε[ιφθεῖσων ἐπὶ]  
κωδικίλλοις Φλ[α· Ξενίωνος]  
ἡμερῶν 5<sup>η</sup> [vacat]  
5 Πρὸ ἱα Καλανδ(ῶν) Μαΐων Ῥώμης γενεθλίῳ [vacat]  
πρὸ α Καλανδ(ῶν) Σεπτεμβρίων Κομόδου αὐ[τοκρ(άτορος) Σεβ(αστοῦ) γενεθλίῳ],  
Νώναις Μαρτίαις κρατήσῃ Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντ[ωνίνου θεοῦ]  
Σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Δουκίλλης Σεβαστῆς γενεθλίῳ vacat  
πρὸ ιη Καλανδ(ῶν) Ἰανουαρίων Δουκίου θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ [γενεθλίῳ],  
10 πρὸ ἱα Καλανδ(ῶν) Δεκεμβρίων Φλα. Ξενίωνος γεν[εθλίῳ],  
Εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις Λαμπριούς καὶ Ξενοφίλου γεν[εθλίῳ],  
πρὸ ζ' Καλανδ(ῶν) Αὐγούστων Ζηνοφίλου γενεθλίῳ,  
πρὸ α' Καλανδ(ῶν) Αὐγούστων Κλ. Μαρκελλείνης γε[νεθλίῳ].

Left side, missing.

The extreme rarity of the name Xenion, the gentilicium Flavius, and the wealth represented by both benefactions enable us to identify the Flavius Xenion at Eleusis with the Flavius Xenion at Gortyna.<sup>49</sup>

The text on the right side of the base at Gortyna specifies days to be celebrated out of funds left by Xenion in his testament. They celebrate the *dies imperii* of Marcus Aurelius and the birthdays of members of the emperor's and of Xenion's own family. In line 12 the reappearance of the rare name Zenophilus, attested at Eleusis for Xenion's father, places the identification beyond doubt.

The celebrations concern eight birthdays. In order of importance the first four are those of Rome, the emperor Commodus, Lucilla and the deified Lucius Verus. Lucilla was the widow of Lucius Verus and a sister of Commodus, who shortly

<sup>49</sup> For the name Xenion see also *Inscriptiones Creticae*, III, p. 172, Nos. 25 and 26 (at Lebena, the port of Gortyna).

after A.D. 182 had her executed. Her downfall is the *terminus ante quem*. If, as I think, Margherita Guarducci's restoration of line 7 is correct, the *terminus post quem* is the death of Marcus Aurelius on 17 March 180; otherwise, the accession of Commodus on 27 November 176. Allowing a month for the news to reach Crete from Rome, we may say that the inscription at Gortyna and, hence, the death of Flavius Xenion are to be dated between A.D. 177 and 182.

The commemoration of the birthdays of Lucilla and even of Lucius Verus, who was now dead for many years but still unforgotten, has particular significance. The failure to mention Antoninus Pius and the long loyalty to Lucius Verus probably indicate that the career of Flavius Xenion blossomed under Lucius Verus, perhaps that Flavius Xenion stood close to the latter emperor during his sojourn in the East.

These then seem to be the main elements in the situation. Flavius Xenion, a wealthy Cretan friend of Lucius Verus, appeared as first beneficiary in a supplementary list of recipients of honorary portions, when the Areopagus decreed what to do with the surplus from the income of an old endowment established to provide distributions during the great festival at Eleusis. Among the priests and priestesses who constitute the supplementary list of recipients there are two other notations of portions for non-priests, namely the archon of the Eumolpidae and the children initiated ἀφ' ἐστίας. These circumstances can be explained by the following theory. The Cretan senator Flavius Zenophilus received Athenian citizenship and was assigned to the tribe Aeantis and to the deme Marathon. In addition, like certain other distinguished foreigners, he was adlected into the famous genos of the Eumolpidae. An even greater honor perhaps was the choice of his son as the eupatrid child to be initiated in behalf of the whole city ἀφ' ἐστίας, the eligibility being derived from the father's membership in the Eumolpidae. In appreciation of the treatment he received, Flavius Zenophilus set up an endowment in support of the great festival at Eleusis and provided in perpetuity presents for each member of the Athenian Council.

Since Flavius Xenion died between A.D. 177 and 182, the year A.D. 182 becomes a secure *terminus ante quem* for the decree of the Areopagus recorded in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092. The emperor's visit to Athens in A.D. 165, when Lucius Verus was initiated into the Mysteries and adlected into the Eumolpidae,<sup>50</sup> may have created for the Areopagus an opportunity to discuss the surplus with the senator Flavius Xenion, who appears to have been associated with Lucius Verus. Whether this is so or not, we shall not go far wrong in dating the decree of the Areopagus fairly close to A.D. 165. According to our reconstruction of the background, the original endowment and the prefect's declaration protecting it would date from the childhood of Flavius Xenion, perhaps about A.D. 135 or 140.

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<sup>50</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3592.



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a. Grave XXVII: Packing of Small Stones above Urn, from southwest



b. Grave XXVII: Top of Amphora and Group of Pots, from west

CARL W. BLEGEN: TWO ATHENIAN GRAVE GROUPS OF ABOUT 900 B.C.





a. and b. Amphora from Grave XXVII, No. 15



c. Pyxis from Grave XXVII, No. 21



d. Oinochoe from Grave XXVII, No. 17



a. and b. Oinochoe, Cup, Kantharos, Goblet: XXVII-16, 20, 19, 18



c. Iron Weapons and Implements, and Whetstone: XXVII-1 through 13





a



b

a. and b. Large Oinochoe B

CARL W. BLEGEN: TWO ATHENIAN GRAVE GROUPS OF ABOUT 900 B. C.





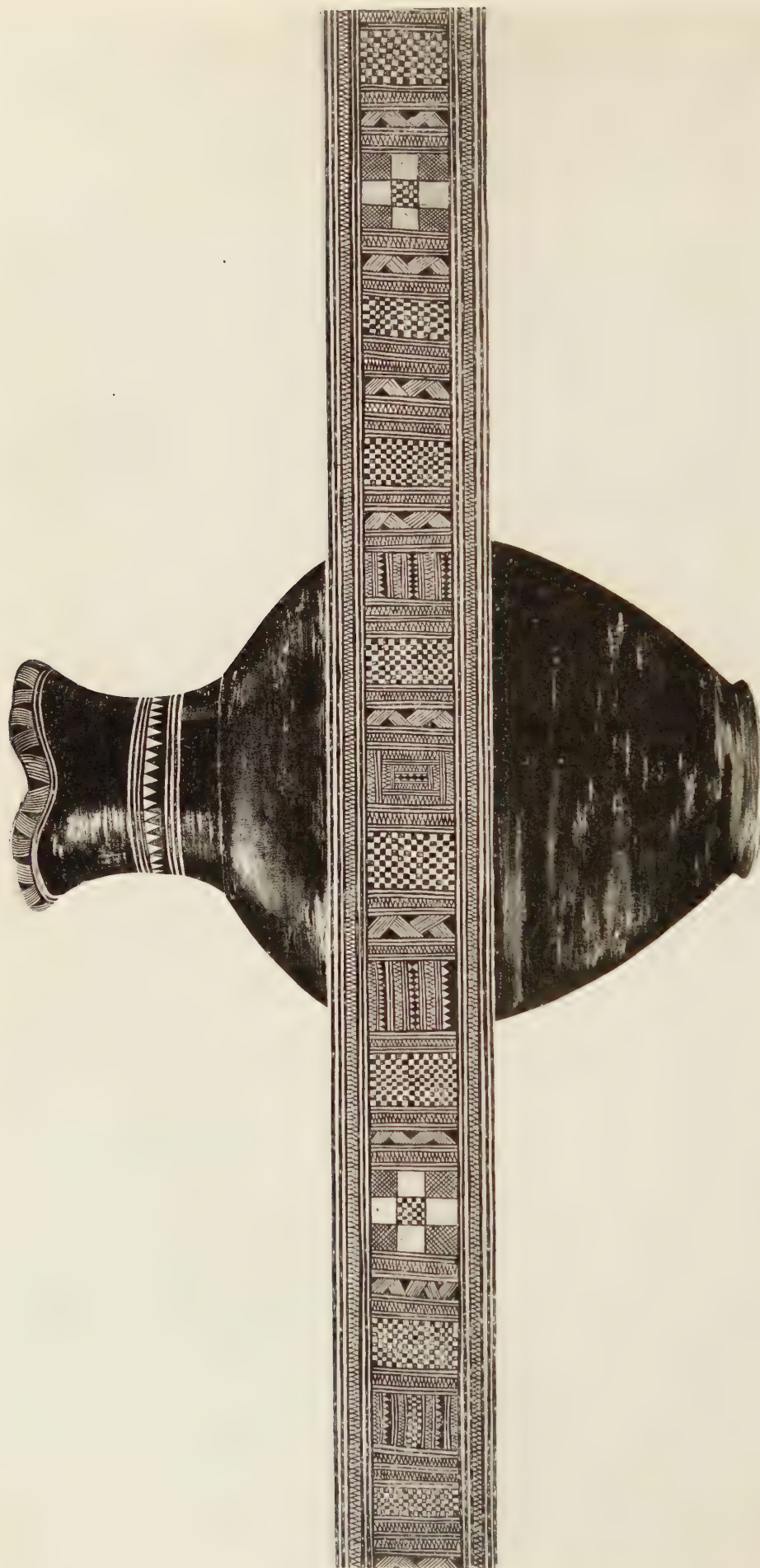
a. Large Oinochoe B: Detail of Decorative Patterns



b. Bronze Bowl A



c. and d. Lekythos-Oinochoe C



Large Oinochoe B: showing Patterns in Main Zone (Watercolor)

CARL W. BLEGEN: TWO ATHENIAN GRAVE GROUPS OF ABOUT 900 B. C.





a. "Blond Boy," from the Acropolis



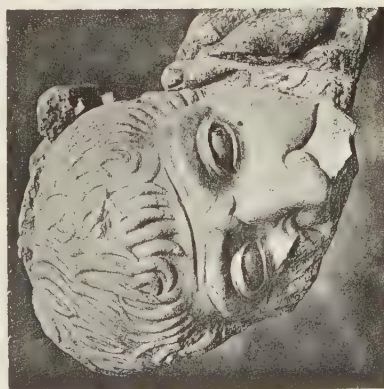
b. Head of a Lapith, from Olympia



c. Head of a Lapith, from the Parthenon



d. Head of Apollo, from the Parthenon



e. Head of a Centaur, from Olympia



f. Head of Eurystheus, from the Hephaisteion in Athens

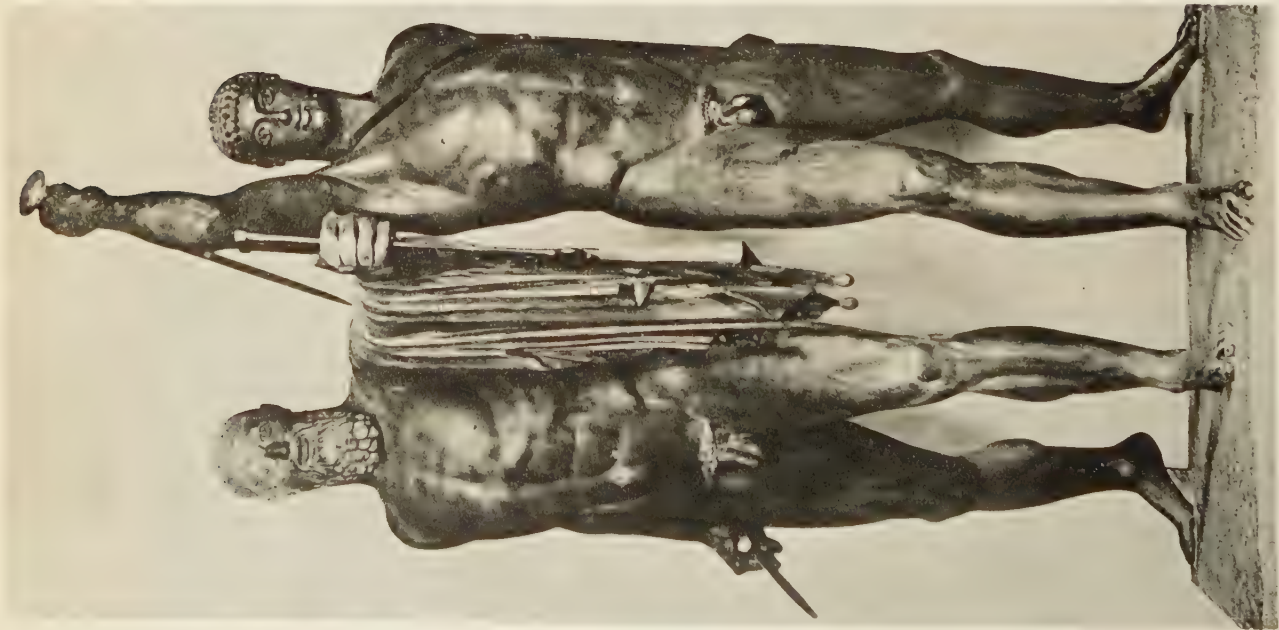


g. Head of a Centaur, from the Parthenon

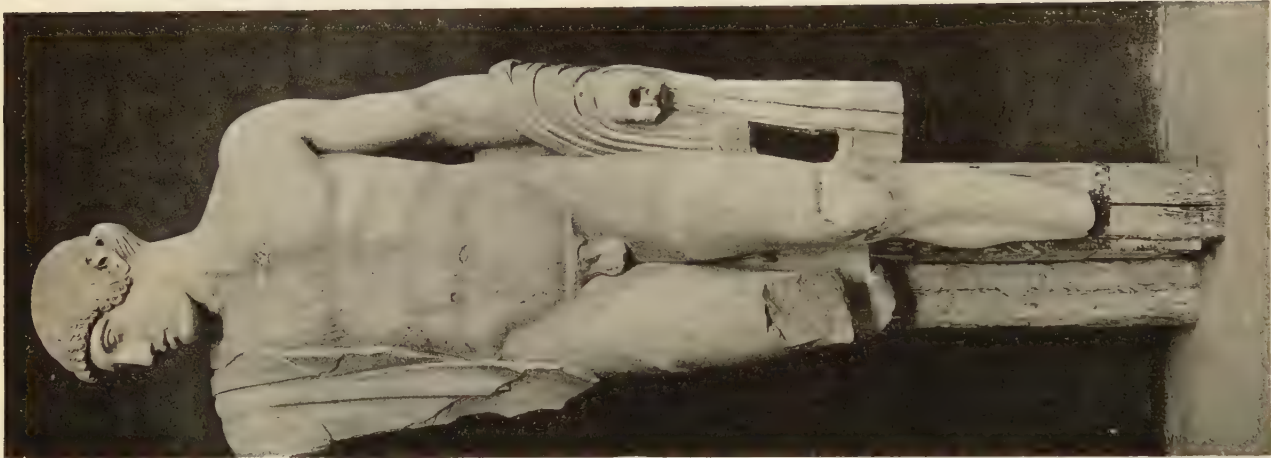


h. Head of a Lapith, from the Parthenon

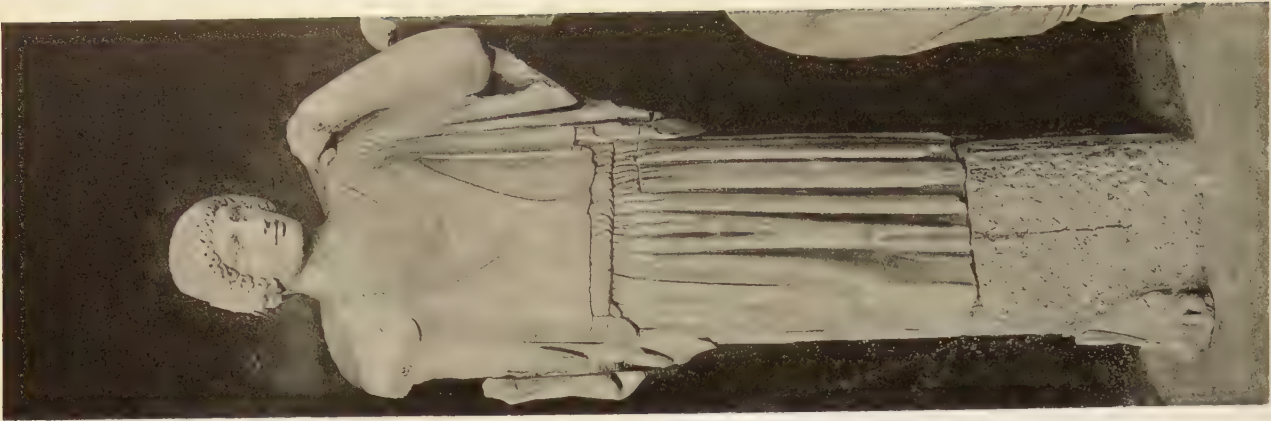




a. Tyrannicides, after Kritios and Nesiotes

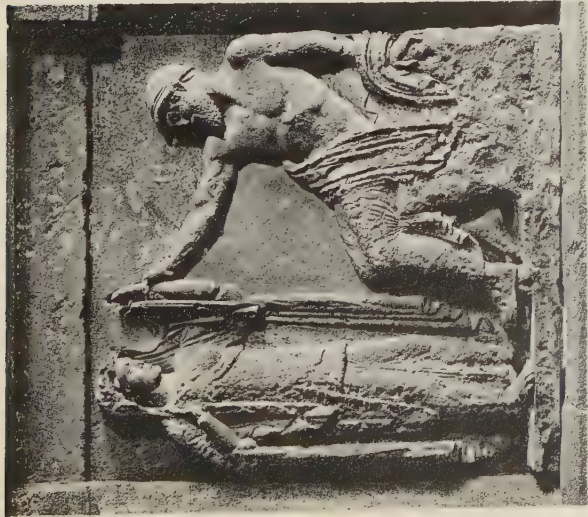


b. Apollo, from Olympia



c. Sterope, from Olympia





a. Zeus and Hera, from Selinos



b. Athena, Herakles and Atlas, from Olympia

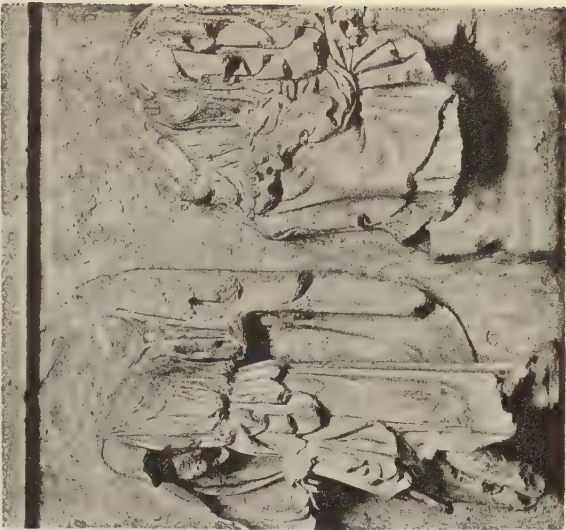


c. Eleusis Relief of Demeter, Triptolemos, and Persephone

CHARLES H. MORGAN: PHEIDIAS AND OLYMPIA

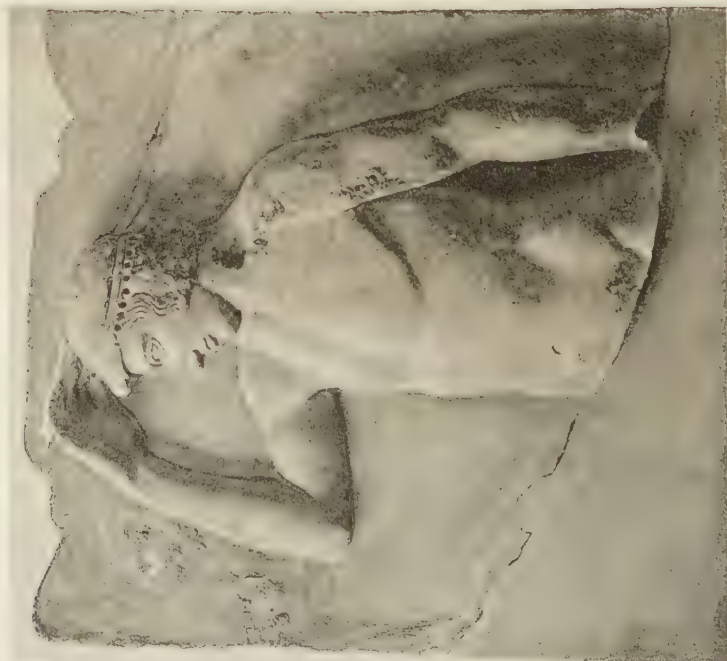


d. Herakles giving the Stymphalian Birds to Athena, from Olympia

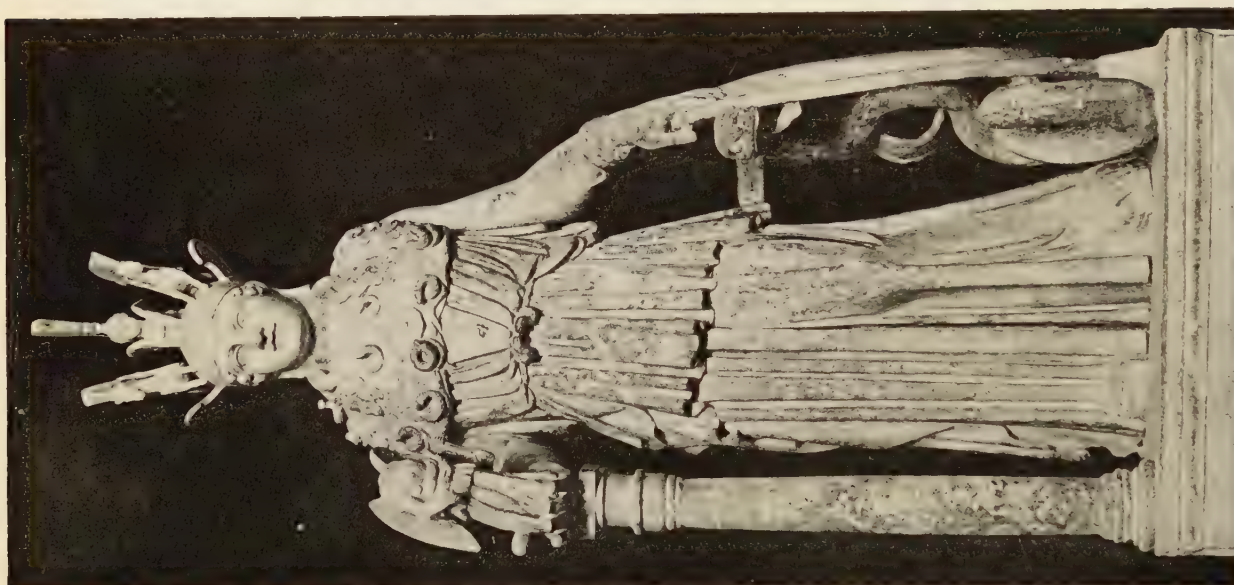


e. Hera and Athena, from the Parthenon





a. Athlete Relief from Sounion



b. Varvakeion copy of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos

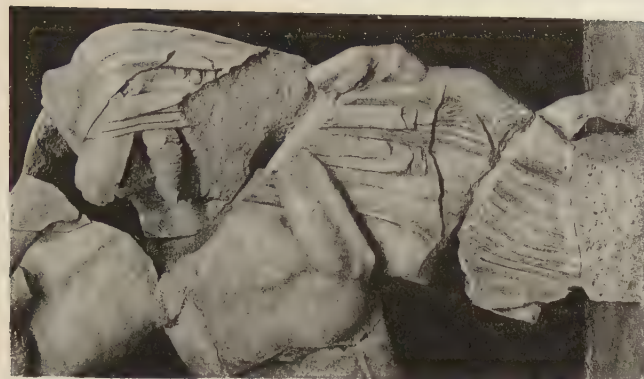


c. Maidens, from the Parthenon





a. Old Seer, from Olympia



b. Lapith Woman, from Olympia



c. Strangford Shield after Pheidias' shield for the Athena Parthenos

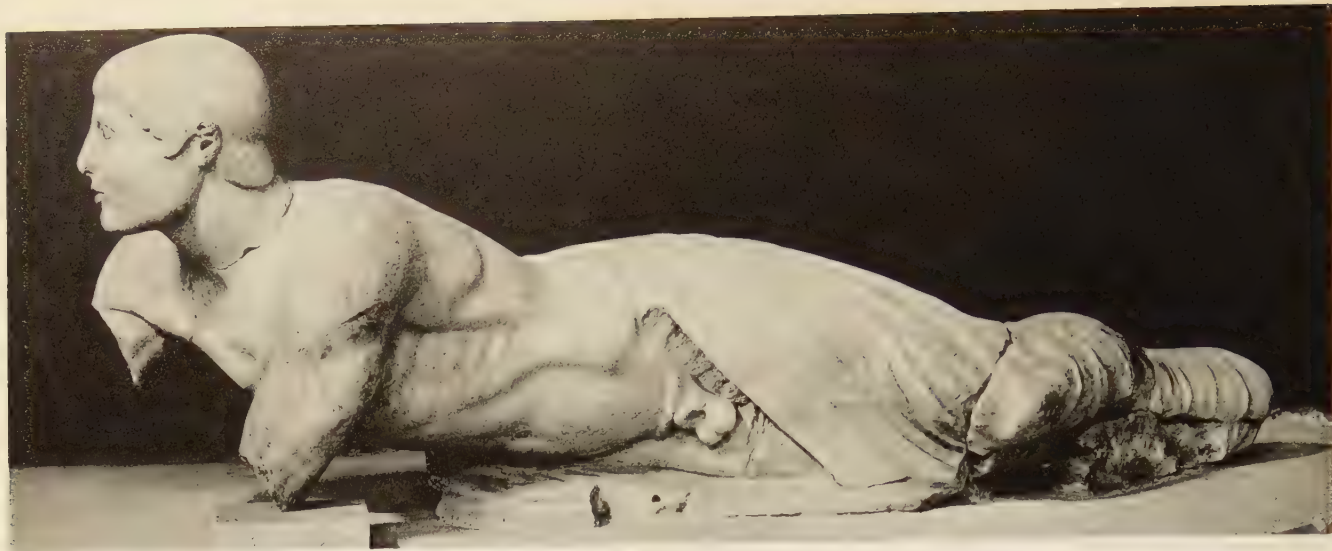


d. Kneeling Boy, from Olympia



e. Centaur and Lapith Woman, from the Parthenon





a. Kladeos, from Olympia



b. Lapith Woman,  
from Olympia



c. "Fates," from the Parthenon

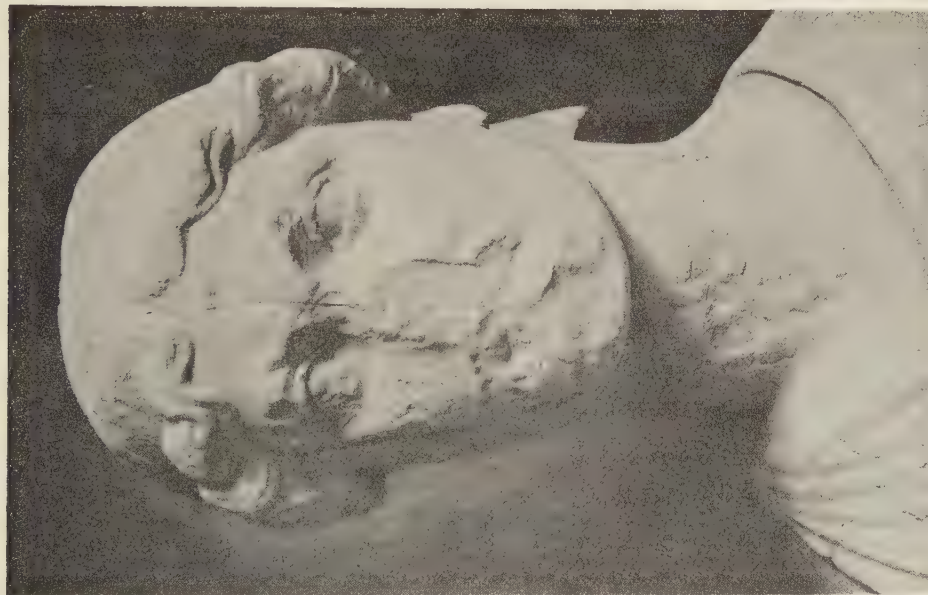


d. Kephissos, from the Parthenon

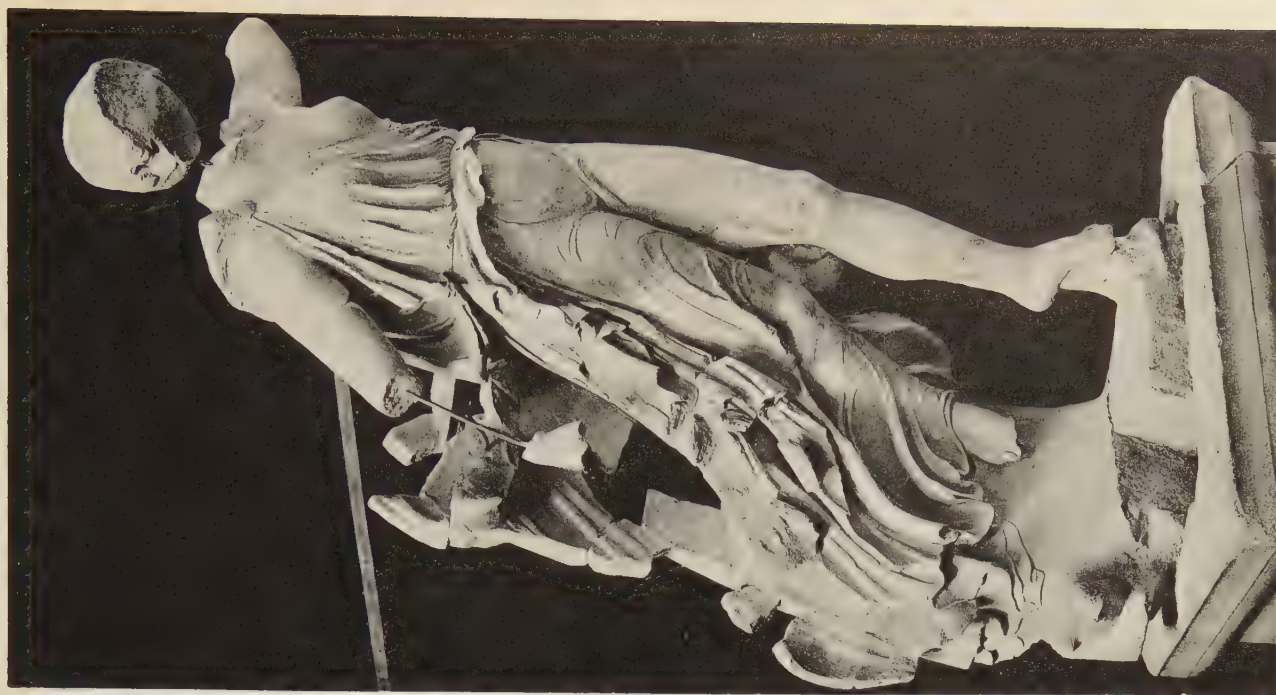




a. Head of a Nike from the Nike Temple Parapet in Athens, attributed to "Master B"



b. Copy of the head of the Messenian Nike, in the Vatican

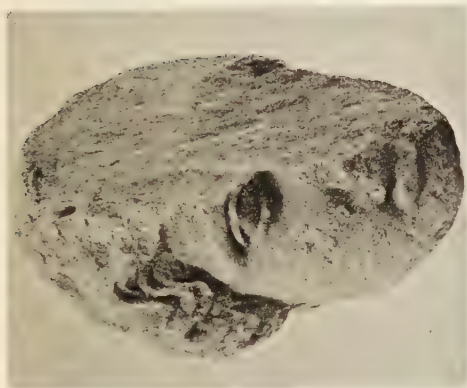


c. Messenian Nike, from Olympia, signed by Paionios

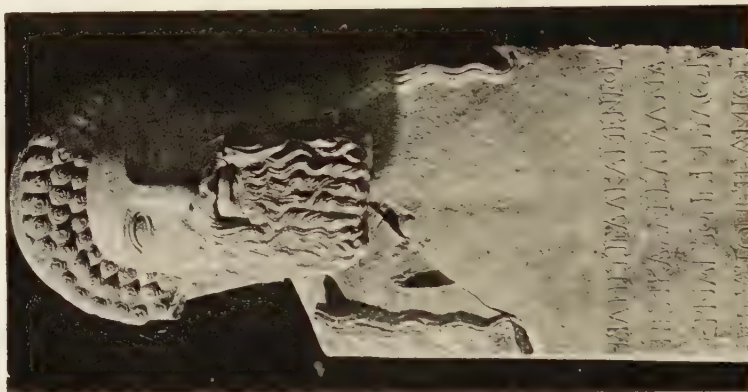




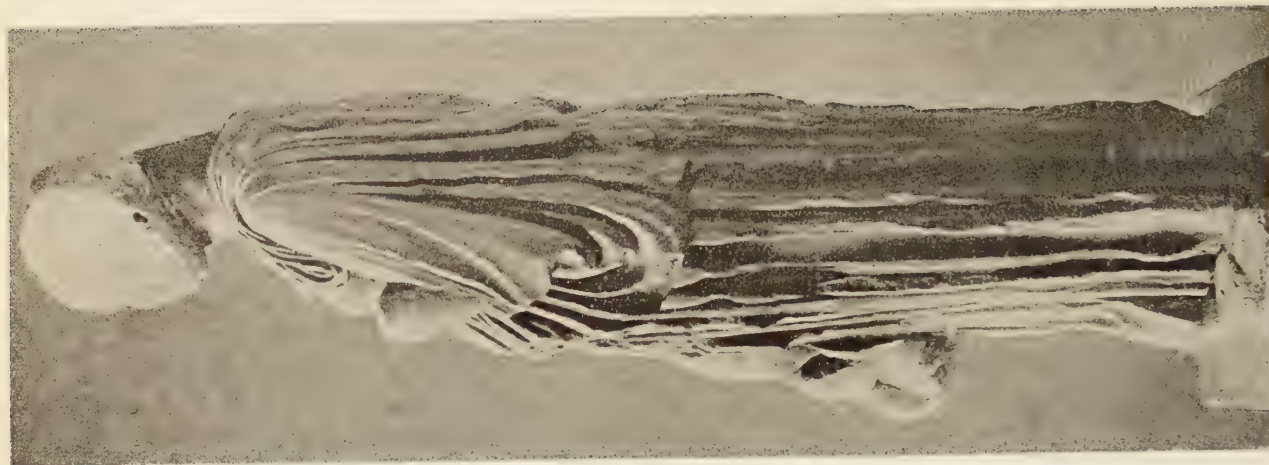
a. Prokne, from Athens



c. Head of Prokne



d. Herm, from Pergamon,  
after Alkamenēs



b. Prokne, from Athens



No. 1 (I 6523)

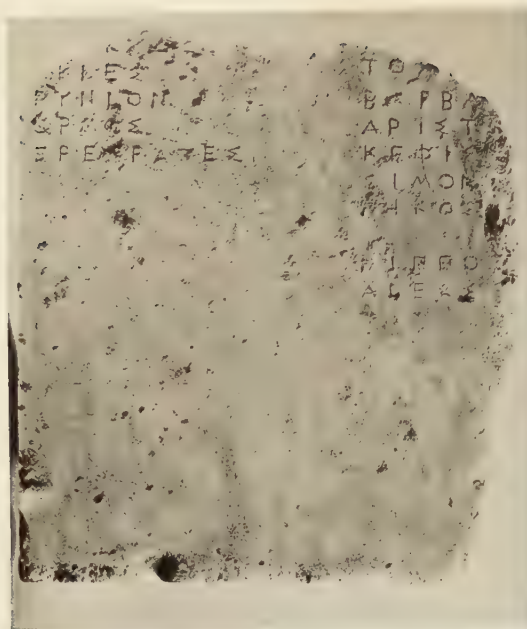


*Hesperia*, XII, no. 5  
(side)

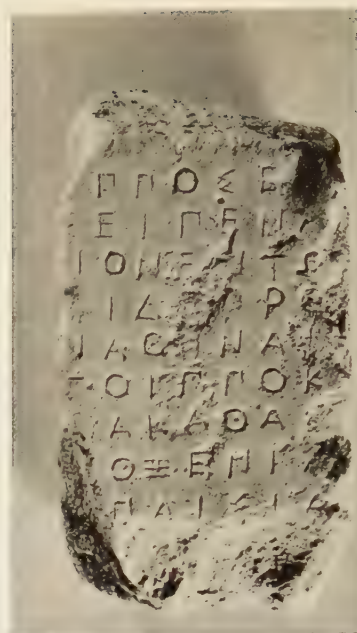


*Hesperia*, XII, no. 5  
(face)

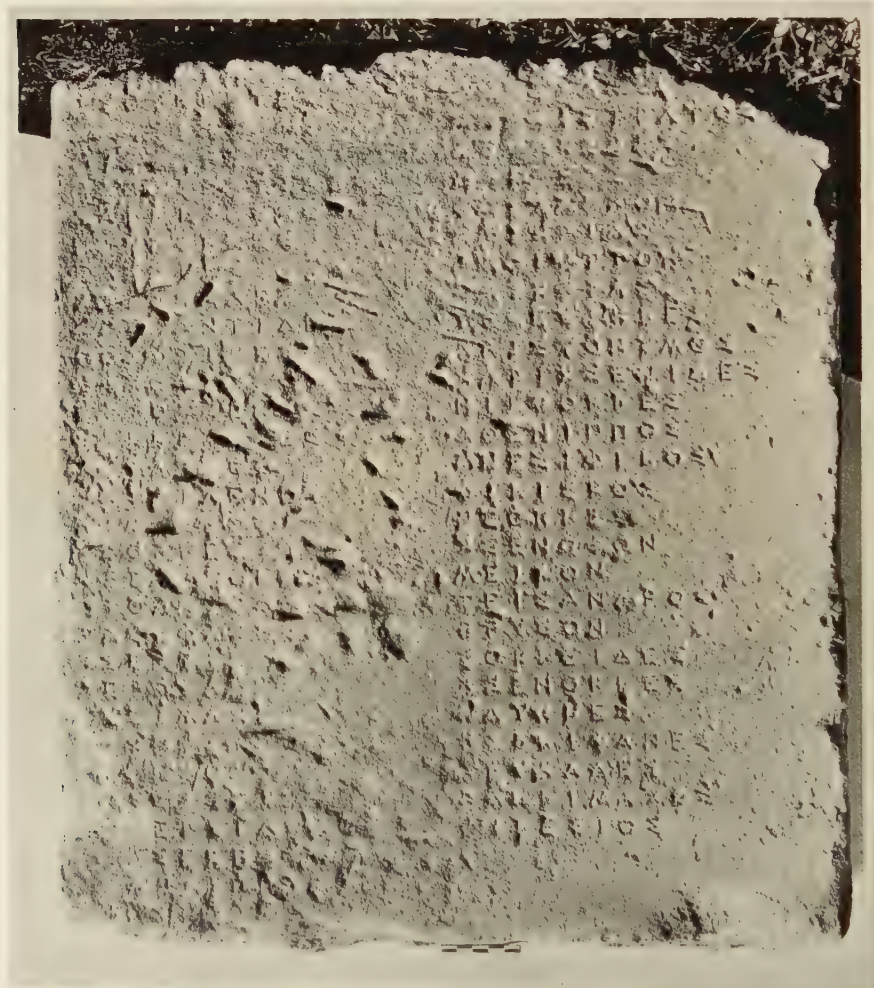




No. 2 (I 5065)



No. 3

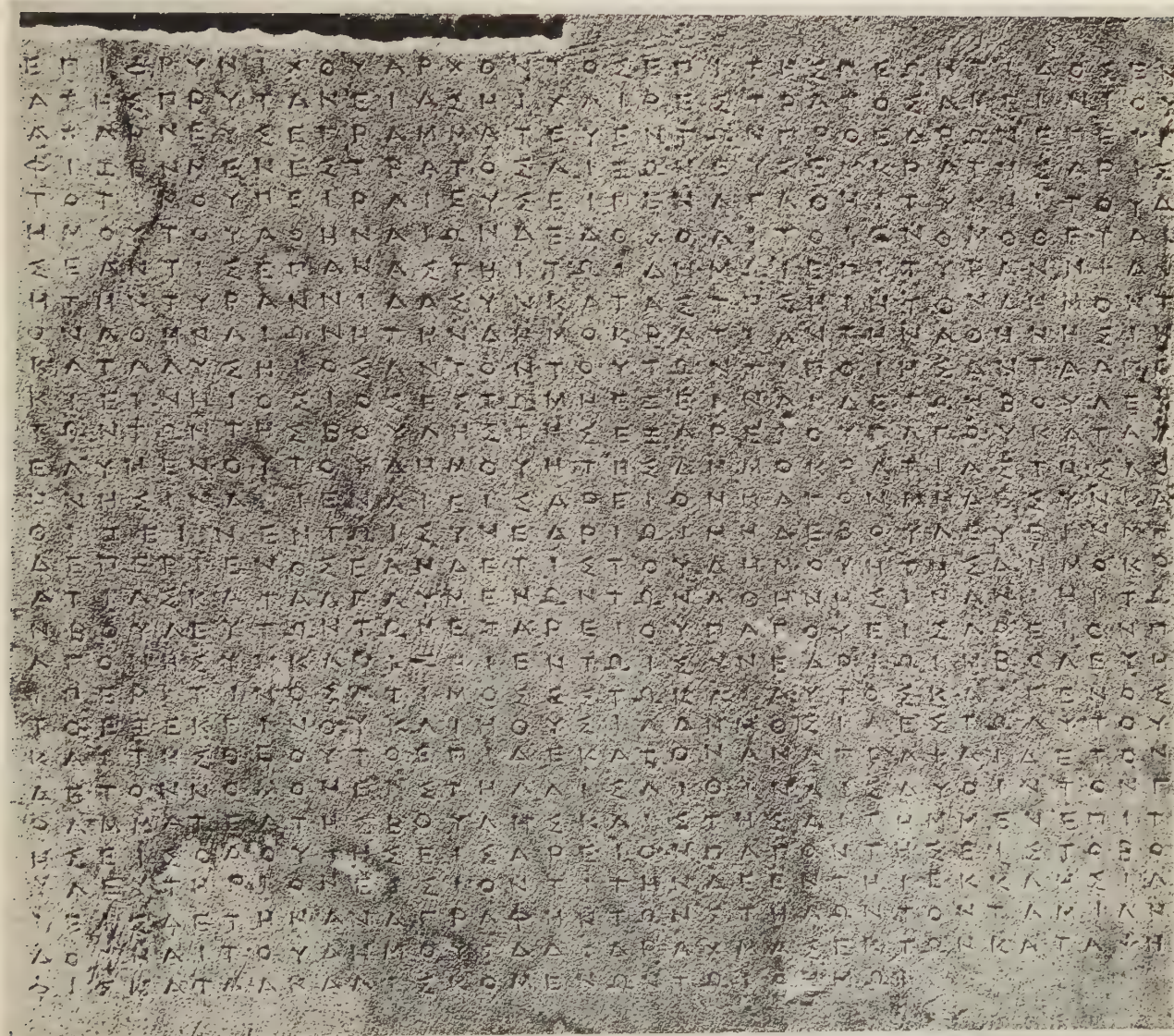


I. G., I², 952





No. 4 (I 2006c)  
Fragment *n* of the Argive Funeral Stele

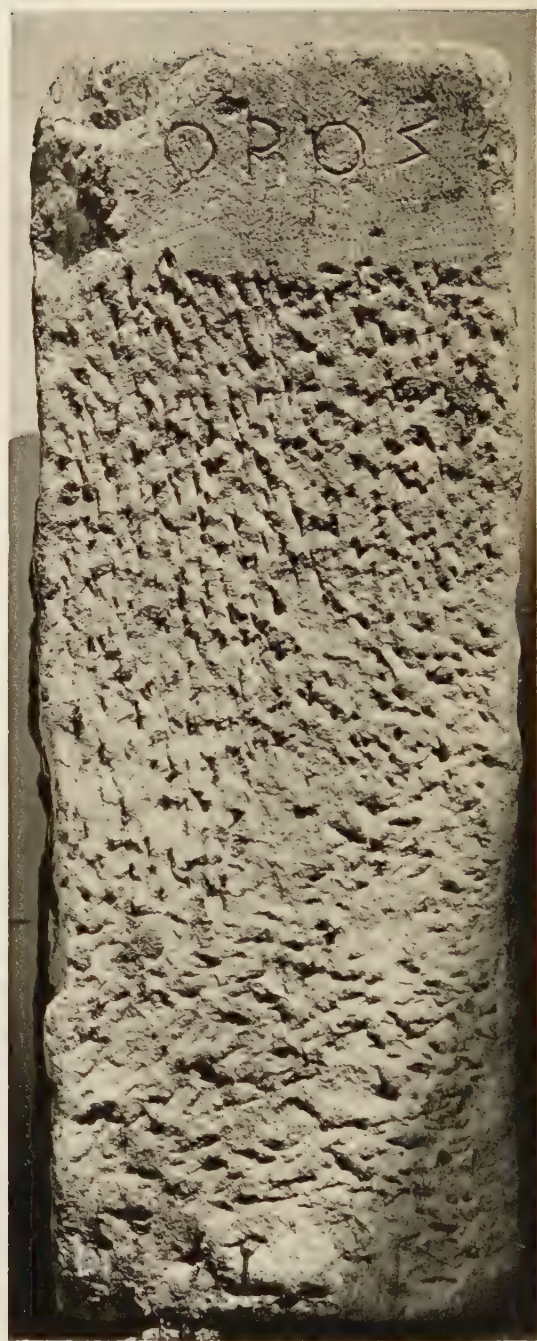


No. 5 (I 6524). The Inscribed Surface



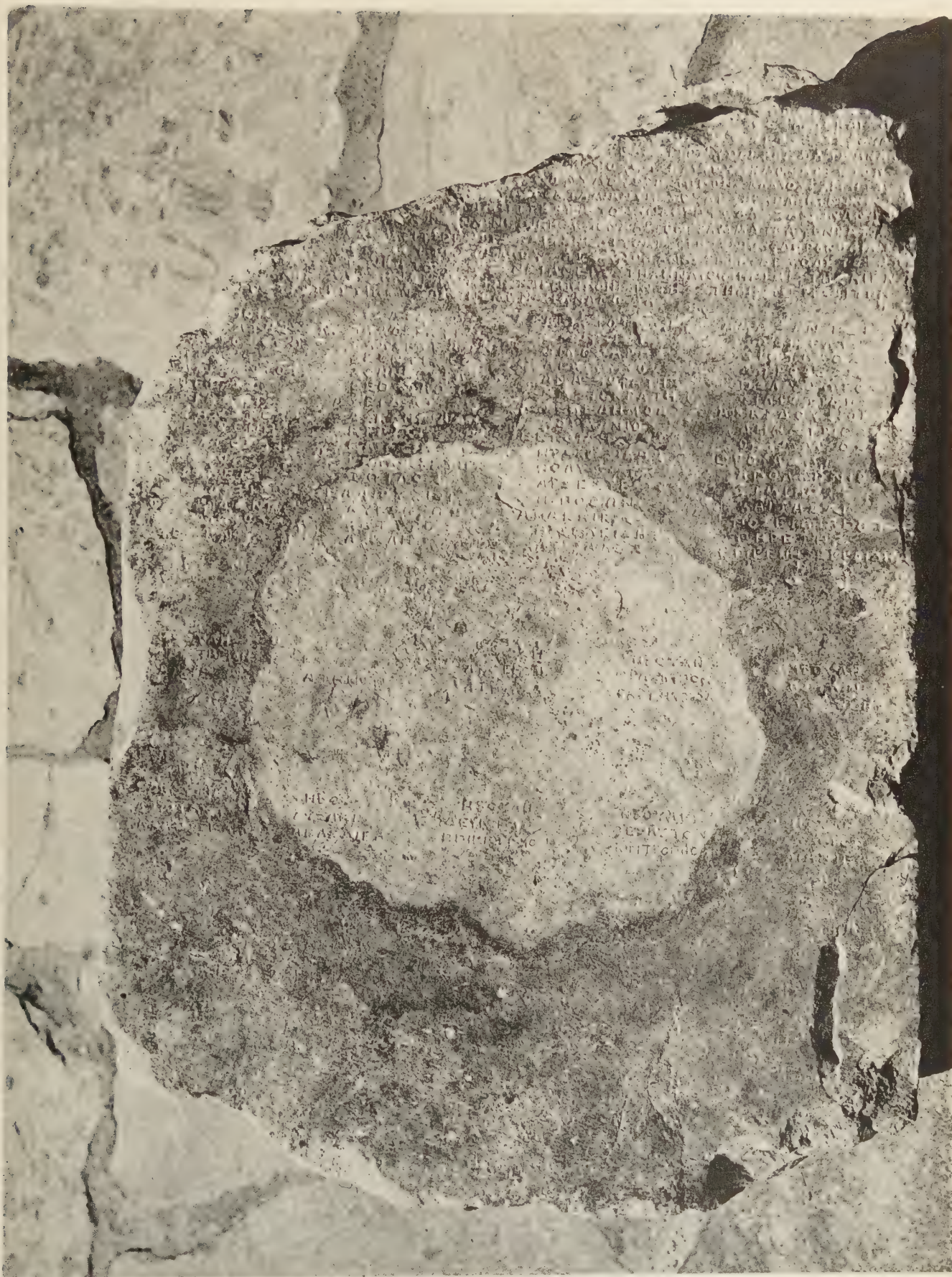


No. 5 (I6524)  
The Entire Stele



No. 6 (I2618)





No. 7 (I 6295)





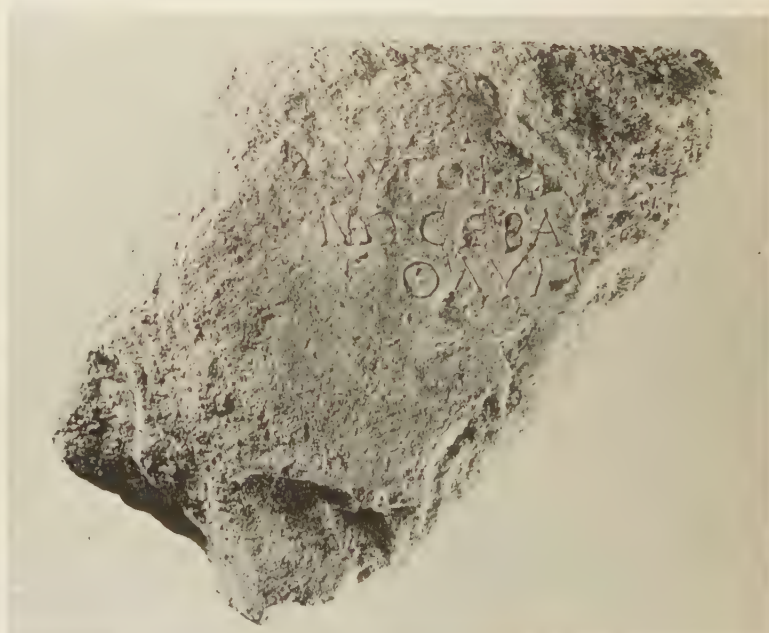
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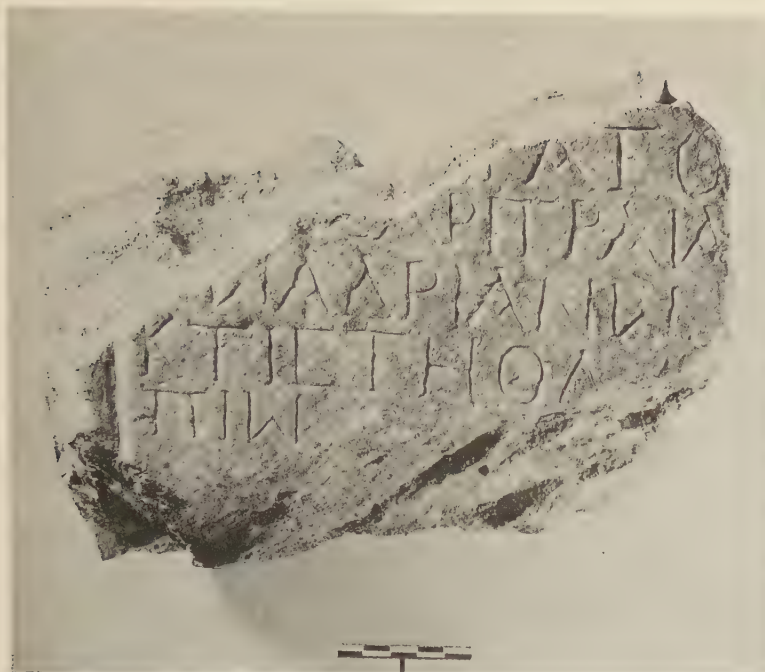


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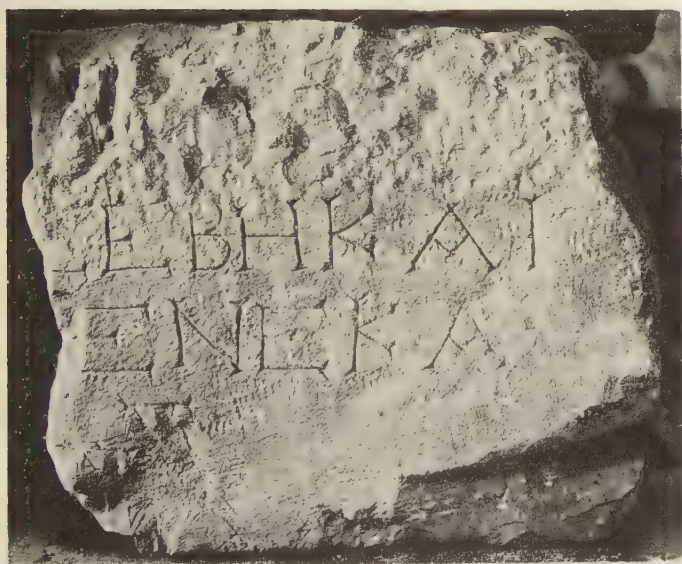




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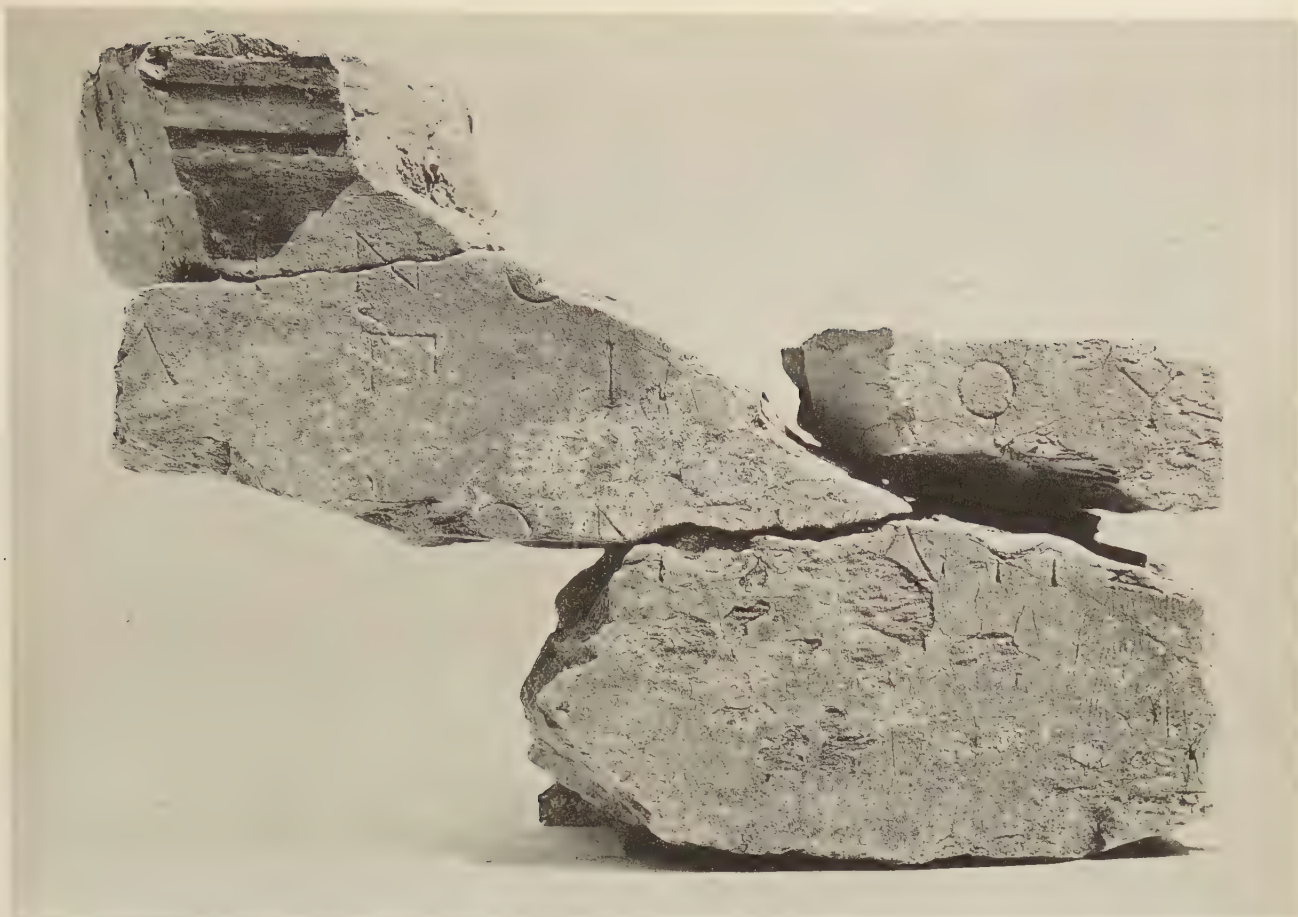
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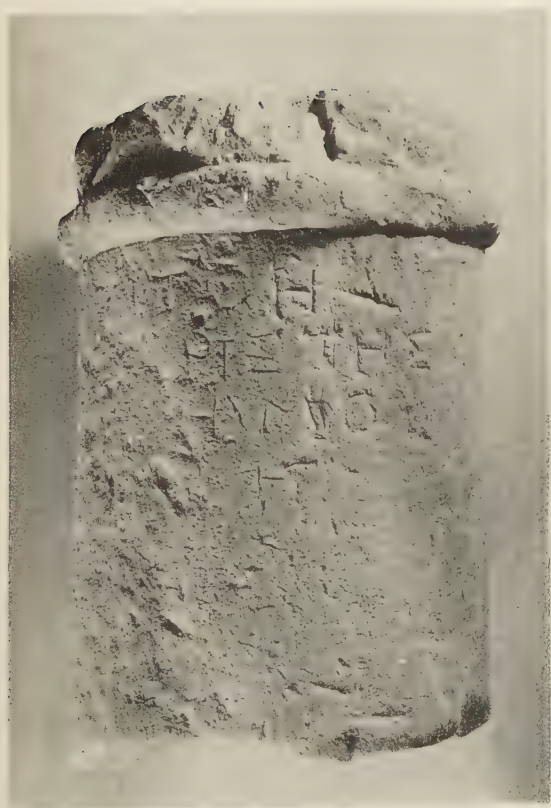
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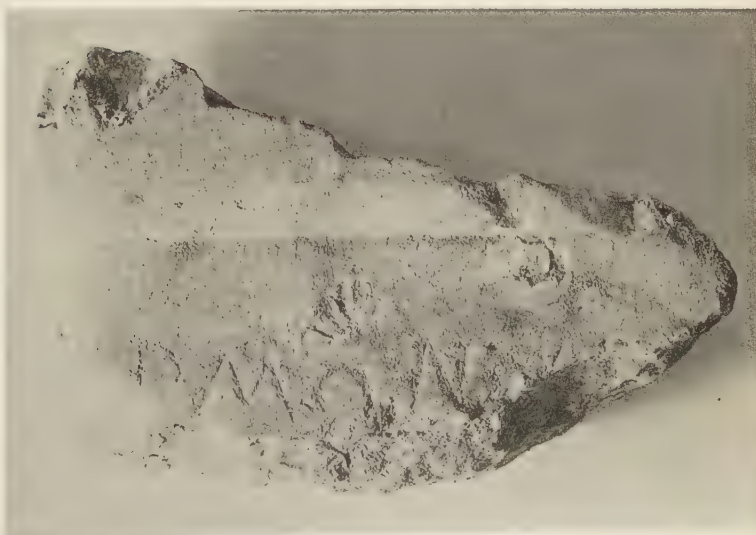
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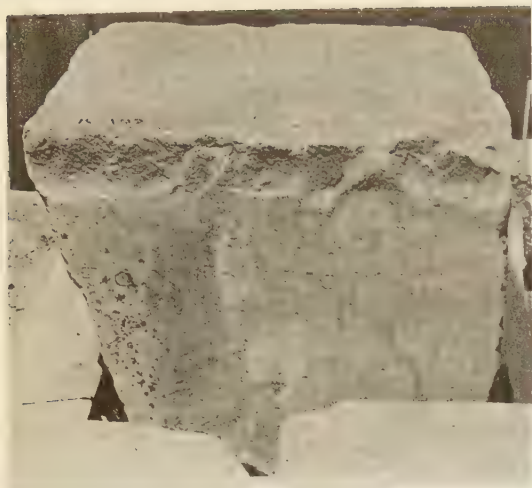


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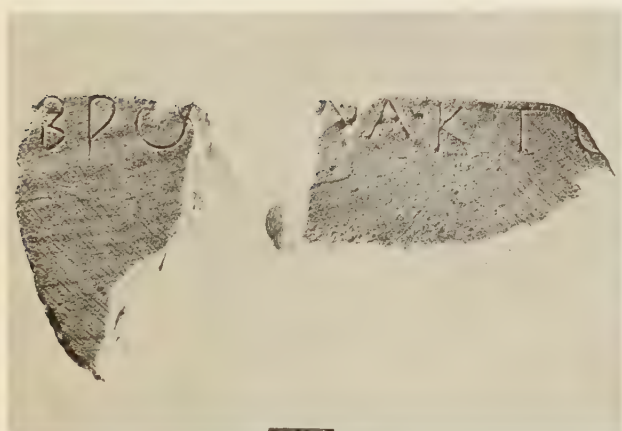




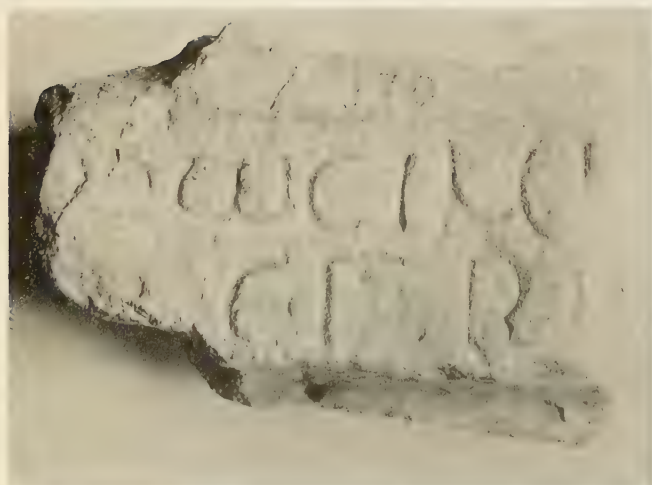
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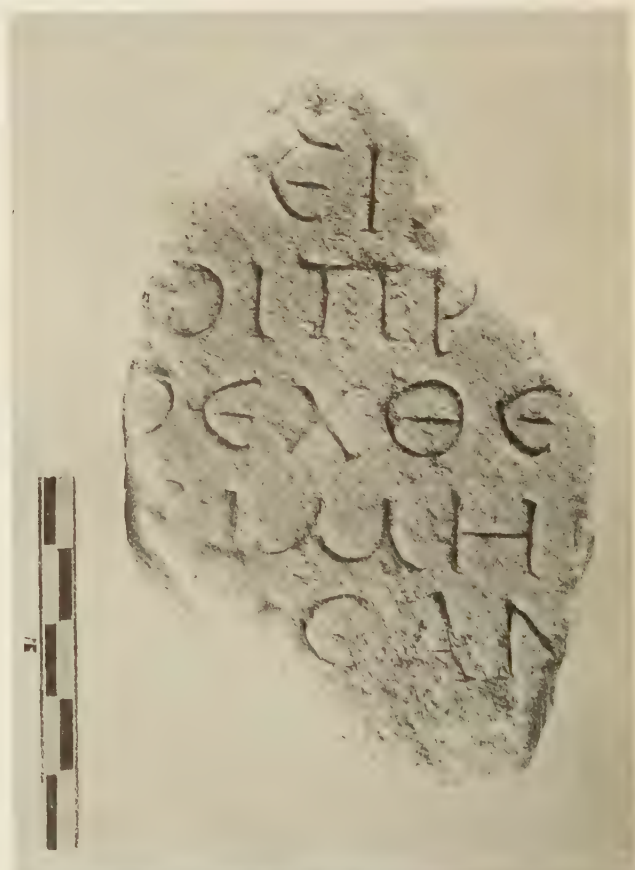
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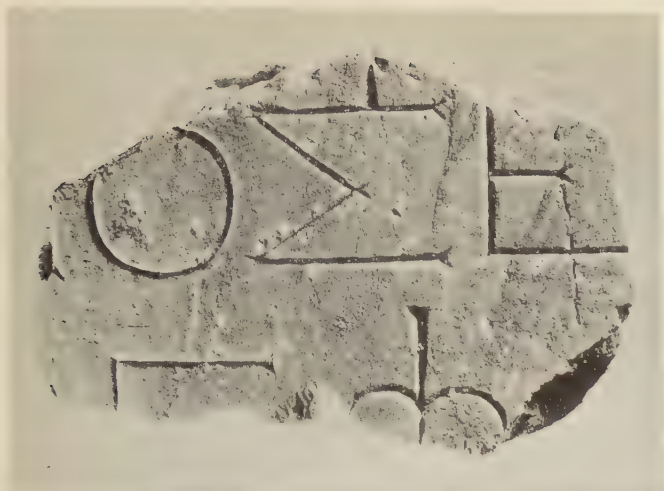
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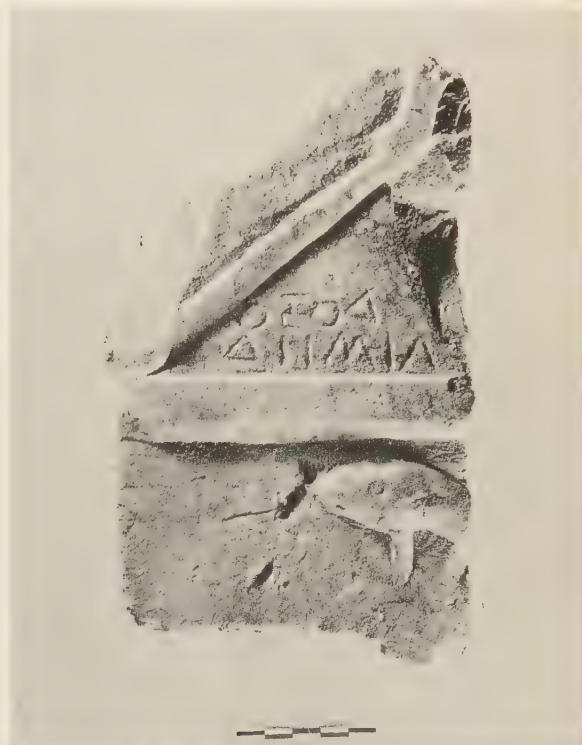
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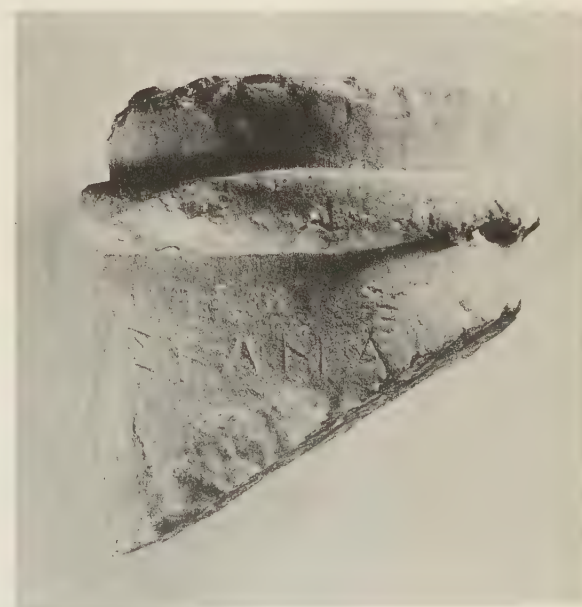
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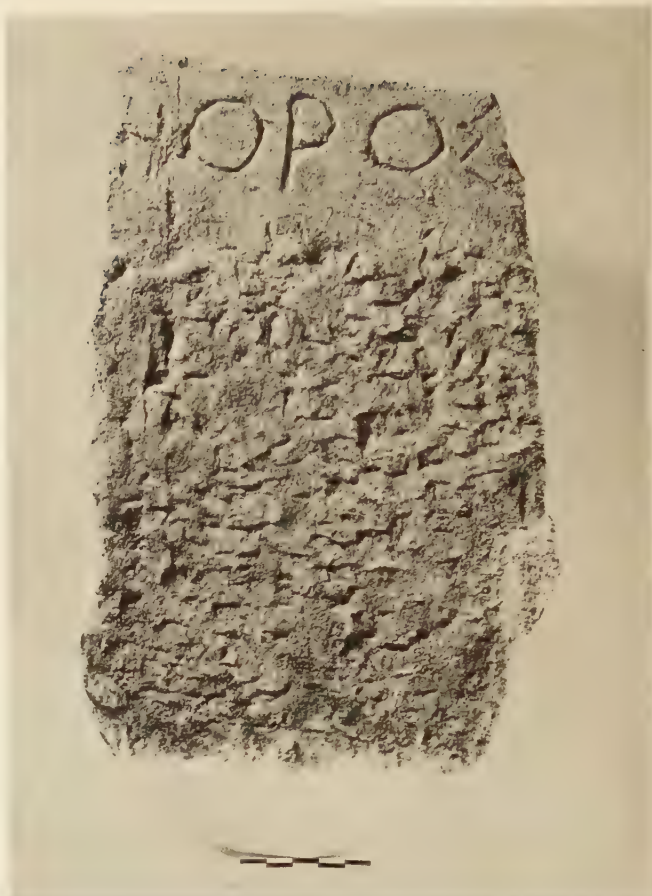


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1952



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1952



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This volume should prove useful not only to bibliographers and librarians, but also to all those for whom the accounts of early travelers in the Near East offer information not otherwise available on sites, manners, and customs.

Published February, 1952. x + 252 pp., frontispiece. Royal octavo. Boards. \$5.00.

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HESPERIA SUPPLEMENT IX

HOROI

STUDIES IN MORTGAGE, REAL SECURITY, AND LAND TENURE IN ANCIENT ATHENS

By JOHN V. A. FINE

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Preparation of commentary on the new inscriptions carried the author into a reconsideration of all evidence available for the understanding of the types of contracts involved. In chapters on Horoi, Ὑποθήκη, Μίσθωσις οἴκου, Ἀποτίμημα προικός, and Πράσις ἐπὶ λύσει, he reanalyses the evidence from literature, especially from the 4th century Attic orators, in the light of the new evidence offered by the inscriptions. The recent theories of Paoli and Meletopoulos regarding the nature of the contracts he analyses closely and finds untenable. Finally in the chapter on Mortgage and Land Tenure are set forth the conclusions to which the preceding study of types of contracts has led. They are in contradiction to previously accepted ideas: there is no evidence for the use of the mortgage contract in Athens before the Peloponnesian War and "both the evidence and the significant absence of evidence point to the conclusion that Attic land remained inalienable until the old taboo on alienability was gradually undermined by the terrific impact of the Peloponnesian War and the plague."

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By RICHARD STILLWELL

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